



THE
BRITISH REVIEW,
AND
LONDON CRITICAL JOURNAL.

“—FIAT JUSTITIA.—”

VOL. XXII.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR L. B. SEELEY AND SON,
FLEET STREET.

MDCCCXXIV.

BRITISH REVIEW,

LONDON CRITICAL JOURNAL

VOL. XXII

LONDON

L. B. SEELEY, WESTON-GREEN, THAMES-DITTON.

PRINTED BY

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THE
BRITISH REVIEW,
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MAY, 1824.

ART. I.—*Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea, in the Years 1819, 20, 21, 22.* By John Franklin, Capt. R. N. F.R.S. and Commander of the Expedition. With an Appendix of various subjects relating to Science, and Natural History. Illustrated with numerous Plates and Maps. Published by the authority of The Right Hon. the Earl Bathurst. 4to. pp. xvi. and 768. Murray, London, 1823.

THE character and conduct of Great Britain during the last thirty years of her eventful history, cannot be regarded by the patriot, the philosopher, or the Christian, without sentiments of respect and wonder. There was a time, when the gigantic ambition of her implacable enemy had determined, that she should dwell alone, and not be reckoned among the nations. A deep and powerful combination was formed to exclude her from intercourse and connexion with the civilized world. The stratagems of secret policy, and the efforts of open warfare were directed not merely against her greatness, but even against her existence, by an enemy, who regarded both with an eye of unslumbering malignity, and whose power of mischief was only surpassed by his desire to perpetrate it. From the Arctic ocean to the pillars of Hercules, from the deserts of Siberia to the confines of the Atlantic, one mighty conspiracy was formed against her. The States of the Western world took part in the unnatural association, and sought to overwhelm her, as she stood single-handed in the mighty

contest. Rejecting, however, that timid and desponding policy, which would limit effort and hope to the mere resistance of invasion, and of the death-blow which it aimed, the bolder and better counsels of the nation prevailed. Instead of permitting the enemy

—————To seek the lion in his den,
And fright him there, and make him tremble there,
a voice went forth, and cried with an energy that thrilled through all the land,

‘ Oh, let it not be said! Forage, and run
To meet Displeasure farther from the doors,
And grapple with him, ere he comes so nigh !’

The call was obeyed with an alacrity, which under the divine blessing, was the presage of success. But, what is still more remarkable, because the history of nations furnishes no parallel to the fact, those institutions for the advancement of religion, which have identified the name of Britain with a hallowed and therefore with an imperishable glory, had their birth, their growth, and their maturity in this stormy period of her annals. While the flag of England was braving “ the battle and the breeze,” in every quarter of the globe, it was protecting and extending the means of ranging the men of every nation, and tongue, and people, and language, in one sacred cause and brotherhood, beneath the banner of the cross.

When this season of peril was past, and the people of Great Britain were permitted to sit, every man under his own vine, and under his own fig-tree, and to drink, every man the waters of his own cistern, none making him afraid, the same attitude of energy and daring was still maintained. Every measure, which could extend the boundaries of domestic prosperity, enlarge the stores of scientific discovery, or increase the benign influence and empire of Christianity, and with it the sum of happiness and hope to man, was eagerly adopted, and vigorously pursued. Perseverance has been commensurate with enterprise, and the two united have commonly issued in success. Where the result has been unfavorable, the obstacles have been usually insurmountable. The end has not been attained, only because attainment was impossible.

If we were asked to name any undertakings of a public character, to which the last remark is especially applicable, we should not hesitate to instance the various attempts to discover the supposed north-west passage to China, and the Pacific Ocean. The whole series of expeditions, undertaken for this important purpose, beginning with that of Sir Martin Frobisher, who penetrated to the strait which bears his name,

in 1576, with three vessels, of which the largest did not exceed 25 tons, to the last and longest link, which Captain Parry has added to the chain of modern enterprise, is distinguished by marks of hardihood and endurance, which at once exhibit and dignify the character of England. Failure succeeded to failure, but disappointment still gave birth to hope, as the phoenix is fabled to have arisen from the ashes of its parent. The interest which the subject necessarily involves, was sustained through two centuries and a half of unsuccessful effort. Nor can we wonder, that an object, involving so many circumstances, connected with the advancement of science and the increase of commercial greatness, should have occupied the regard of a nation,

Whose march is o'er the mountain waves,
Whose home is on the deep,

and whose prosperity is inseparably identified with every discovery upon that element which is the common highway of mankind.

The two unsuccessful expeditions under Captains Ross and Buchan were followed by that of Captain Parry, from whose skill, enterprise, and experience, more favorable results were anticipated; and whose exertions were confidently expected to inform the world, whether the long-disputed communication between the Atlantic and Pacific, did, or did not exist. The attempt was made, and made under the most favorable circumstances. Every thing, which talent and courage could originate or accomplish, was tried, and tried in vain. Except the discovery of one of the magnetic poles, very near to the point, where the calculations of Halley had placed it, and the attainment of a greater western longitude than had been previously reached, we can hardly say, that very much addition was made to the stock of our nautical or geographical knowledge. Another voyage, under the same able and judicious commander, protracted through two winters, and calling into exercise every resource of ingenuity, intrepidity, and perseverance, has terminated in no more satisfactory results than former efforts. Notwithstanding these repulses, a third expedition, under the same auspices, but in a different direction, is now on the point of being undertaken. Such a purpose is truly laudable. It becomes the acknowledged maritime superiority of England, to leave no means untried for the elucidation of this great question. It is also necessary, lest after every effort the laurel of discovery should possibly be wrested from us by the seamen of Russia, and the enterprise of Kotzebue.

With such sentiments we cannot be of the number of those who think lightly of these attempts. They are suited, as we have said, to the generous character, they are worthy of the chivalrous feeling of Great Britain. Candour and truth, however, compel us to say of these expeditions, that, although originally commenced with a view to investigate a question of acknowledged interest, they have been continued upon the same principles, and in the same direction, under increasing discouragements, with a pertinacity, more resembling the desire to establish a favorite hypothesis, than the simple determination to persevere in the pursuit of truth, while there remains a reasonable hope of attaining it. Theory after theory has been built upon the same foundation, only to be thrown down by the decisions of fact. Still the probability has been argued against every practical contradiction, with a plausibility which might silence, if it failed to convince. At length, however, if we understand aright, there is at least an acquiescence in the general feeling, that all the attempts hitherto made to the west of Davis's Strait have only served to indicate that the passage is *not* to be expected in that direction.

When Captain Parry's first voyage was undertaken, it was wisely determined by his Majesty's government, to send an expedition from the shores of Hudson's Bay, by land, to explore the northern coast of America, from the mouth of Coppermine River to the eastward; to determine the latitudes and longitudes from that river to the eastern extremity of the continent; to amend the very defective geography of the northern part of North America by accurate observations; and, in proceeding along the shore, to

"erect conspicuous marks at places where ships might enter, or to which a boat could be sent; and to deposit information as to the nature of the coast for the use of Lieutenant Parry." (Preface, p. xi.)

Such were briefly the important objects of an expedition, which placed its conductors in situations of unparalleled trial, and which has been detailed in a volume more replete with a deep and thrilling interest, than any which we remember. There are instances of real courage and fortitude above the loftiest flights to which fiction has ever soared; and which cast into shade the most graphic descriptions of poetry and fancy. There are "romances in real life;" events and sufferings which could not be *à priori* supposed possible; which we read with an astonishment that partakes of incredulity; and which tempt us occasionally to ask—"Can these things be?" Of such a character is the volume before us. It is a chronicle of daring and suffering, to an extent which men have rarely dared, suffered, and survived. It is the language of

one who relates events in which he was the principal actor,
———quæque ipse miserrima vidit,

Et quorum pars magna fuit.

The manner, in which the volume has been received, the feelings of sympathy and admiration with which it has been read, and the esteem which it has secured to Captain Franklin and his gallant associates, must have convinced them, that the high qualifications, moral and scientific, which they brought to their arduous undertaking, and developed through the whole of its progress, were not only calculated, by the favour of God, to ensure all practicable success, but to cast a chastened brightness over the recollection of their common perils, miseries, friendship, support, and deliverance.

The party, engaged in the expedition, embarked at Gravesend, on the 23rd of May, 1819; and reached York Factory, the principal settlement of the Hudson's Bay Company, on the 30th of August, after a tedious and perilous voyage. The variation of the compass, which at Stromness was $27^{\circ}, 50'. W.$ was here found to be $6^{\circ}, 00', 21''. E.$

The route, which Captain (then Lieut.) Franklin proposed to take, was nearly that, which had been already passed over by Hearne and Mackenzie. The former of these travellers reached the mouth of the Coppermine River, at a point, which his unsatisfactory account would never have enabled us to comprehend, if the more accurate statements of Captain Franklin had not determined its situation. We are left to infer from Hearne's chart, that he reached the sea in lat. $73^{\circ}, 30'. N.$ Such a statement is at variance with his own computed route. The best charts and maps which have been constructed since his journey, have agreed to place it about 69° . Captain Franklin's observations fix it in lat. $67^{\circ}, 47', 50''. N.$ long. $115^{\circ}, 36', 49''. W.$ (Journal, p. 361.) Mistakes, like these, nullify all the scientific purposes of a journey: and although it may be said in extenuation, that the loss of his instruments prevented greater accuracy, yet a little skill and contrivance would have enabled him, with such materials as were at hand, to make a substitute for his broken quadrant, which might have ascertained his latitude probably within half a degree. Mackenzie places Whale Island, where he appears to have seen the Northern Ocean, in lat. $69^{\circ}, 14'. N.$ and about 400 miles west of the Coppermine River. The most approved maps have placed it about $134^{\circ} W.$

Captain Franklin, and his party, consisting of Dr. Richardson, Messrs. Back and Hood, a steersman, four Orkney boatmen, and two attendants, one of whom was John Hepburn, of whom very honorable mention is afterwards made, (the

other, being found unequal to the journey, was sent back to England,) commenced their adventurous journey from York House, on the 19th September, 1819. Their route lay through a series of rivers and lakes, impeded by the constant recurrence of falls and rapids, at which the boats were of necessity unladen, and carried with all their contents through the most difficult portages. This toilsome and dispiriting navigation continued and was conducted with the most exemplary patience and cheerfulness until the 22nd of October, when the expedition arrived at Cumberland House, a station of the Hudson's Bay Company, situated on Pine Island Lake, in lat. $53^{\circ}, 56', 40''$. N. long. $102^{\circ}, 16', 41''$. W. and about six hundred and ninety miles of travelling distance from York Factory. The variation of the compass was found to be $17^{\circ}, 17', 29''$. E. the dip of the needle $83^{\circ}, 12', 50''$. The travellers had an early foretaste of their future trials and disasters. The boat, provided for them by the governor of York Factory, was found insufficient to contain all their stores. A part therefore, including some that might justly be deemed indispensable, was necessarily left at the Factory. Surely some measures of inquiry and foresight, on the part of those by whom the expedition was planned, might have prevented the evils to which the inadequate supply of provisions and ammunition, thus occasioned, eventually reduced these intrepid travellers. Some little calculation might have accommodated the boat to her burden; or a suitable vessel might have been sent out in the Prince of Wales, to be put together on the spot, if it were feared that one could not be provided at the Factory. Much of the provision also seems to have consisted of bacon, an article the conveyance of which from its bulkiness would prove unnecessarily laborious to men, who were soon to be placed in circumstances which would make "the grasshopper a burden;" not to mention the disadvantage of so considerable a quantity of salted meat, that might be expected to promote the ravages of scurvy, a disease which invariably accelerates its work of death upon men, whose spirits subside into despondency beneath the pressure of suffering and privation. Those preparations of food which afford the maximum of nourishment, in the least possible weight and compass, are of course to be preferred. It has indeed been proved that the cases of patent meat become insipid, and cannot be preserved so well as was hoped and expected. They would, however, have afforded a delightful resource to these famished men, when their other stock was exhausted, when the fishery and the chase had failed them, and when even the miserable

supplies of mouldy * pemmican were no longer within their reach.

Another hindrance arose from the serious and vexatious difficulties, which (it is to be feared) were thrown in their way by the jealousies of the Hudson's Bay and North West Companies, towards each other, and towards the object for which the expedition was undertaken. It is perhaps to be expected that men, at a distance from the refinements and charities of their own land, should carry commercial rivalry to the extent of personal hatred and hostility. The proceedings of the two companies in former years have given us mournful evidence of the spirit by which they were actuated. Habits of dissipation and licentiousness, too frequently substituted for the amusements of intellectual life, superadded to the "auri sacra fames," would cast around their inevitable disputes an air of ferocity, which the very savages might condemn, but could not always amend. That any suggestions however of a mercenary policy, any fear, that the expedition might throw open the frozen barriers of the Northern Ocean, and bring the ships of Britain to the mouths of the Mackenzie or Coppermine, should tempt men, and especially Britons, to throw obstacles in the way of its success, is a suspicion, that we would not willingly entertain, however painfully it may be sometimes forced upon our notice. In corroboration of these remarks we quote an incident, which occurred eight days after the party left York Factory on the route to Cumberland House.

"Our boat being overladen, we soon found that we were unable to keep pace with the others; and therefore proposed to the gentlemen in charge of the Company's boats, that they should relieve us of part of our cargo. This they declined doing under the plea of not having received orders to that effect, notwithstanding that the circular, with which I was furnished by Governor Williams, strictly enjoined all the Company's servants to afford us every assistance. In consequence of this refusal we dropped behind, and our steersman, who was inexperienced, being thus deprived of the advantage of observing the route followed by the guide, who was in the foremost boat, frequently took a wrong channel." (Pp. 30, 31.)

We may also refer to Mr. Back's narrative of his journey to Chipewyan, p. 279. It is however only common justice to add, that many most honorable instances of private benevolence and public spirit are reported to have been exhibited towards the Officers of the expedition by Gentlemen connected

* Buffalo's flesh dried and pounded with melted fat—the common food of the Company's servants, agents, and Indians, when employed at a distance from the principal settlements.

with both companies, which entitle them to the gratitude, not only of those to whom their kind attentions were paid, but of every lover of science, and every admirer of the sympathies of our common nature.

The narrative includes many curious and interesting traits of savage life. We regret that no person at Cumberland House had sufficiently acquainted himself with Indian usages, to explain the motive in which the following ceremony originated, or the end which it was meant to subserve.

"An old and faithful hunter was brought to the house, that he might have the comforts of nourishment and warmth. These attentions were unavailing, as he died a few days afterwards. Two days before his death I was surprised to observe him sitting for nearly three hours, in a piercingly sharp day, in the saw-pit, employed in gathering the dust, and throwing it by handfuls over his body, which was naked to the waist. As the man was in possession of his mental faculties, I conceived he was performing some devotional act preparatory to his departure, which he felt to be approaching; and, induced by the novelty of the incident, I went twice to observe him more closely; but when he perceived that he was noticed, he immediately ceased his operation, hung down his head, and by his demeanour intimated, that he considered my appearance an intrusion. The residents at the fort could give me no information on the subject." (Pp. 49, 50.)

Among the books of American travels, with which our literature abounds, the habits and customs of "The Red Men" have not hitherto been elucidated to the extent which might have been expected. A work on this subject is still perhaps a desideratum in the philosophy and moral history of man, though the deficiency has been partly and indeed in a considerable degree supplied by Mr. Hunter's interesting "Memoirs of a captivity among the Indians of North America from childhood to the age of nineteen." That work bears the undoubted marks of a most vigorous and original mind; details a personal narrative of great interest with the most touching simplicity; and exhibits the principles of thought and action among the Indians near the sources of the Missouri and Mississippi, with great power, and (we doubt not,) with great fidelity. Dr. Richardson's account of the Cree, or Knisteneaux Indians, reflects much credit upon the ingenuity of research, candour of mind, and liberality of feeling, by which he is eminently distinguished. We subjoin a trait of nature, which under the correction of religion, would not dishonor the followers of a master, "whose name is mercy, and whose nature is love."

"One evening, early in the month of January, a poor Indian entered the North West Company's House, carrying his only child in his arms, and followed by his starving wife. They had been hunting apart from the other bands, had been unsuccessful, and whilst in want

were seized with the epidemical disease. An Indian is accustomed to starve ; and it is not easy to elicit from him an account of his sufferings. This poor man's story was very brief ; as soon as the fever abated, he set out with his wife for Cumberland House, having been previously reduced to feed on the bits of skin and offal, which remained about their encampment. Even this miserable fare was exhausted ; and they walked several days without eating, yet exerting themselves far beyond their strength, that they might save the life of the infant. It died almost within sight of the house. Mr. Connolly, who was then in charge of the post, received them with the utmost humanity, and instantly placed food before them ; but no language can describe the manner, in which the miserable father dashed the morsel from his lips and deplored the loss of his child." (Pp. 60, 61.)

It might be expected that a people, whose land is the ark and resting-place of true religion, who are instructed in the high and holy morality of the gospel, and who are enjoined to "let their light so shine before men, that they may see their good works, and glorify their Father in heaven," would, when they leave their home, carry with them a determination to extend the faith of the cross, by an exhibition of the virtues which it invariably introduces into life and practice. A Christian example would of necessity shed some hallowed influence over every individual, and every transaction within the range of its influence. Men, who themselves adorned religion, would recommend it to others : and, if the servants of the two Companies had been of this character, they would have aimed to repress the vices of Indian life, to teach the hordes of North America the doctrines of a purer creed, and to cheer them with the hopes of a future and a brighter life. But what is the fact ? This volume gives mournful proof, that European example has fostered the most degrading sensualities, to which savage life is prone ; and produced a demoralization of character and a waste of life too dreadful to be contemplated without emotions of shame, sorrow, and indignation. The time will surely come, when this stigma upon our faith and our country shall be removed ; and when they who expatriate themselves in search of wealth, instead of aiming to corrupt the unreflecting tribes, among whom they dwell, will endeavor, by the united influence of precept and example, to turn them from darkness to light, from sin to holiness, and from Satan to God. The testimony of Dr. Richardson decides the necessity of a great and general reformation. In the mean time we rejoice to find, that Governor Williams was aiming to lay the ground-work of a change so salutary, by the introduction of public worship, and the establishment of schools for the instruction of the young.

The following remarks on Bronchocele, or Goitre, a disease so frequently found in Derbyshire, so common in the Alpine districts of Switzerland and Savoy, and often so nearly allied to cretinism and idiocy, are from the pen of Dr. Richardson. They deserve to be added to the stock of information already obtained upon the subject. The French pathologists have examined into the causes and phænomena of this remarkable disease, with more research and success than those of our own country. In fact, whatever may be thought of their medical practice, (and probably it will not bear comparison with that of England,) they are fully entitled to the praise of profound and learned inquiries into those various derangements of the human body which are the causes of disease and suffering.

"Bronchocele, or Goitre, is a common disorder at Edmonton. I examined several of the individuals afflicted with it, and endeavored to obtain every information on the subject from the most authentic sources. The following facts may be depended upon. The disorder attacks those only, who drink the water of the river. It is indeed in its worst state confined almost entirely to the half-breed women and children, who reside constantly at the fort, and make use of river water, drawn in the winter through a hole made in the ice. The men, from being often from home on journeys through the plain, when their drink is melted snow, are less affected; and, if any of them exhibit, during the winter, some incipient symptoms of the complaint, the annual summer-voyage to the sea-coast generally effects a cure. The natives who confine themselves to snow-water in the winter, and drink of the small rivulets, which flow through the plains, in the summer, are exempt from the attacks of this disease. These facts are curious, inasmuch as they militate against the generally received opinion, that the disease is caused by drinking snow-water; an opinion, which seems to have originated from bronchocele being endemial to sub-alpine districts. The neighbouring plains are alluvial, the soil is calcareous, and contains numerous travelled fragments of limestone. At a considerable distance below Edmonton, the river, continuing its course through the plains, becomes turbid, and acquires a white colour. In this state it is drunk by the inmates of Carlton House, where the disease is known only by name. It is said, that the inhabitants of Rocky-Mountain House, sixty miles nearer the source of the river, are more severely affected than those at Edmonton. The same disease occurs near the sources of Elk and Peace rivers; but, in those parts of the country, which are distant from the Rocky-Mountain chain, it is unknown, although melted snow forms the only drink of the natives for nine months of the year. A residence of a single year at Edmonton is sufficient to render a family bronchocelous. Many of the goitres acquire great size. Burnt sponge has been tried, and found to remove the disease, but an exposure to the same cause immediately repro-

duces it. A great proportion of the children of women, who have goitres, are born idiots, with large heads, and the other distinguishing marks of *cretins*. (Pp. 118, 119.)

Anxious to obtain information and facilities for the Northern journey in the ensuing spring, Captain Franklin left Dr. Richardson and Lieutenant Hood at Cumberland House; and, accompanied by Lieutenant Back, and the faithful exemplary Hepburn, took his departure for Fort Chipewyan 18th January, 1820. The party was conveyed in sledges, drawn by dogs, whose powers of speed and burden are extraordinary; and whose indispensable usefulness demands an attention to their food and comfort, which is too frequently withheld. Fort Chipewyan* was reached on the 26th March, with no other inconvenience, than such as was inseparable from a winter journey of 857 miles. The travellers had no other accommodation, than could be obtained by

"clearing away the snow to the ground, and covering that space with pine-branches, over which the party spread their blankets and coats, and sleep in warmth and comfort, by keeping a good fire at their feet, without any other canopy than the heaven, even when the thermometer should be far below zero." (P. 96.)

The following anecdote from the Journal of Dr. Richardson is perhaps to be reckoned among the best authenticated instances of the kind. If the authority, upon which he received it, may be relied on, (and there seems no reasonable cause of doubt) it exhibits a singular triumph of the moral over the physical man, and an anomaly in the history of the species, for which, in the present imperfect state of our acquaintance with its sympathies and powers, physiologists and metaphysicians will vainly endeavor to account.

"A young Chipewyan had separated from the rest of his band for the purpose of trenching beaver, when his wife, who was his sole companion, and in her first pregnancy, was seized with the pains of labour. She died on the third day after she had given birth to a boy. The husband was inconsolable, and vowed in his anguish never to take another woman to wife; but his grief was soon in some degree absorbed in anxiety for the fate of his infant son. To preserve its life, he descended to the office of nurse, so degrading in the eyes of a Chipewyan, as partaking of the duties of a woman. He swaddled it in soft moss, fed it with broth, made from the flesh of the deer, and, to still its cries, applied it to his breast, praying earnestly to the great Master of Life, to assist his endeavours. The force of the powerful passion, by which he was actuated, produced the same effect in his case, as it has done in some others, which are recorded; a flow of milk actually took place from his breast. He succeeded in rearing his

* This place is situated in lat. $58^{\circ}, 42', 38''$. N. long. $111^{\circ}, 18', 20''$. W. Variation of the compass $22^{\circ}, 49', 32''$. E. Dip of the needle $85^{\circ}, 23', 42''$.

child, taught him to be a hunter, and, when he attained the age of manhood, chose him a wife from the tribe.

"The old man kept his vow in never taking a second wife himself; but he delighted in tending his son's children, and when his daughter-in-law used to interfere, saying, that it was not the occupation of a man, he was wont to reply, that he had promised to the great Master of Life, if his child was spared, never to be proud, like the other Indians. He used to mention too, as a certain proof of the approbation of Providence, that although he was always obliged to carry his child on his back, while hunting, yet it never roused a moose by its cries, being always particularly still at those times. Our informant (Mr. Wentzel) added, that he had often seen this Indian in his old age, and that his left breast, even then, retained the unusual size it had acquired in his occupation of nurse." (Pp. 157, 158.)

On the 13th of July Capt. Franklin was joined at Fort Chipewyan by Dr. Richardson and Lieut. Hood, who had brought all the stores which they could procure at Cumberland House and Isle à La Crosse. At the latter place they had received only ten bags of pemmican from the North-west Company, which proved totally unfit for use, and was left behind on the journey. Nothing was procured from the Hudson's-Bay post. The voyagers belonging to that company, being destitute of provisions, had eaten what was intended for the expedition: and in consequence of these untoward circumstances the canoes arrived with only one day's supply of this most necessary article. Facts, like these (and unfortunately they often recur) speak for themselves, and require that on all future occasions, an expedition should be as much as possible enabled to subsist upon its own resources.

On the 18th of July the whole party left Fort Chipewyan in three canoes, directing their course towards the Coppermine.

"Our stock of provision," says Capt. Franklin, "unfortunately did not amount to more than sufficient for one day's consumption, exclusive of two barrels of flour, three cases of preserved meats, some chocolate, arrow-root, and portable soup, which we had brought from England, and intended to reserve for our journey to the coast next season." (P. 199.)

This statement is mournfully ominous of the misery which they were so soon to encounter, and beneath which they must have sunk, if they had not relied on the sustaining arm and watchful providence of him, who feedeth the ravens, and clotheth the grass of the field.

They arrived on the 20th of August at a suitable place for taking up their winter-quarters; after having experienced much vexation from the decided opposition made by the Indian hunters to their desire of immediately visiting the Coppermine. The purpose was finally abandoned: but it was determined to send forward Lieuts. Back and Hood to

reconnoitre and return. From this place also Capt. Franklin and Dr. Richardson took a pedestrian excursion in the same direction, and returned, as did the others, in perfect safety, after an absence of a few days. They had now travelled 1520 miles from York House. No observations appear to be recorded; but the Chart places Fort Enterprise, (for so they named the house which they built for their winter quarters) about lat. $64^{\circ}, 57', 7''$. N. and long. $112^{\circ}, 57', 25''$. W.

At this place they had nearly lost the amiable and excellent John Hepburn, who had gone out to hunt before sunrise on the 25th. He was no sooner missed than a party of Indians was dispatched in search of him, by whom however he was not found until the evening of the 27th, when he was brought back, to the joy of the whole party, to whom he had endeared himself by a series of the most amiable and disinterested services. His character indeed is one, upon which the mind delights to dwell. It throws a relief and beauty of the highest moral description over these scenes of wretchedness, and exhibits in a remarkable manner the victory of principle and piety over every circumstance, which could excite alarm, selfishness, or despondency. He is always self-possessed, always self-devoted. His equanimity never fails; his good temper is never exhausted; his reliance on the power and appointment of Divine Providence is never shaken; his courage always rises with the occasion; and, as his sufferings abound, his consolations also abound.

While the expedition wintered at Fort Enterprise, Mr. Back volunteered the arduous, but necessary service of returning to Chipewyan, in order to transport the stores, which were expected to arrive from Cumberland House, and, if possible, to obtain additional supplies from the establishments at Slave Lake. He performed this journey under all the disadvantages, which his journal describes, with a mixture of zeal, perseverance, and intrepidity, which seem to be strikingly united in his character; and to which every individual of the party was in a great variety of instances deeply indebted. He was accompanied by Mr. Wentzel, an agent of the North West Company, whose object in this kind undertaking was to assist Mr. Back in obtaining from the traders, on the score of old friendship, that, which they might be inclined to deny to the necessities of the expedition. This is mournful language; but we fear that it speaks the truth too plainly to be mistaken. Our limits do not permit us to accompany these adventurous travellers in a journey which unhappily terminated in disappointment. The lowest observed altitude of the mercury in the thermometer at Fort

Enterprise in the winter of 1820-1 was 49° below zero or 81° below the freezing point.

On the 4th of June 1821, Dr. Richardson conducted the first party, consisting of twenty-three men and women, exclusive of children, towards their ultimate destination. The burden of each individual weighed about eighty pounds, exclusive of his personal baggage. Capt. Franklin followed with the remainder on the 14th, taking with him the frail canoes, in which they proposed to encounter the untried dangers of a navigation on the Hyperborean Sea. This increase of numbers was occasioned by the Indian hunters with their families, under Akaitcho, or Bigfoot, a chief of the tribe. The separation was made in order that the party in advance might endeavor to kill and prepare provisions for those who came afterwards. They united on the 21st of June. After a series of the most trying difficulties and bitter disappointments, arising from the negligence, cupidity, or obstinacy of their Indian hunters, they arrived at the spot, where Hearne so forcibly describes the murder of the Esquimaux by the Chipewyan Indians, who accompanied him. The skulls of the victims were still bleaching around, and identified the spot beyond the probability of mistake. It was ascertained to be in lat. $67^{\circ}, 42', 35''$. N. long. $115^{\circ}, 49', 33''$. W. About nine miles beyond this place the party reached the sea, and encamped on the Western bank of the Coppermine River, which they had been long navigating. The variation of the compass was here $46^{\circ}, 25', 52''$. E.; the dip of the needle $88^{\circ}, 5', 07''$. The water in the channel between the ice and the main land

“was of a clear green colour, and decidedly salt. Mr. Hearne could have only tasted it at the mouth of the river, when he pronounced it merely brackish. A rise and fall of four inches in the water was observed.” (P. 121.)

At this point Mr. Wentzel took leave of the expedition, and returned homewards, bearing dispatches, accompanied by four Canadians, who were dismissed in order to lessen the consumption of provisions.

Perhaps the annals of maritime enterprise exhibit few, if any instances of more fearless intrepidity than the navigation of the Polar sea, which was begun at this point.

Illi robur et æs triplex

Circa pectus erat, qui fragilem truci

Commisit pelago ratem

Primus—;

a description, strikingly applicable to those, who, nearly destitute of provisions, and wholly uncertain of the means of subsistence, launched their bark canoes upon this stormy

ocean, and conducted not only a successful, but a scientific examination of every bay, headland, and inlet, which marked an extent of coast, exceeding 550 miles eastward of the Coppermine River. The whole narrative is detailed with great modesty : but we learn enough to be convinced of the extent of hardship which must have been undergone, and the peril that must have been surmounted. It appears to have been the aim, and at first, the hope of the party, to reach Repulse Bay, situate at the northern extremity of Hudson's Bay, about lat. 66° , $40'$. N. and long. 85° . W. In this attempt they persevered from July 21st to August 18th ; but were at length obliged to desist from further progress at Point Turnagain, in lat. 68° , $18'$, $50''$. N. long. 110° , $5'$, $15''$. W. ; nearly 20° West of the place, where they hoped to connect the mouth of the Coppermine with the familiar navigation of Hudson's Bay. We think it right to state the reasoning of Capt. Franklin upon the probabilities of Capt. Parry's success in the attempt, connected with this expedition : for, although the event has not corresponded with the speculation, it is gratifying to learn, that, if the Coppermine could be reached, the Arctic sea appears to present no insuperable difficulties to the attempts of a skilful and enterprising navigator.

“ Our researches, as far as they have gone, seem to favor the opinion of those, who contend for the practicability of a North West Passage. The general line of coast probably runs east and west, nearly in the latitude assigned to Mackenzie's River, the Sound into which Kotzebue entered, and Repulse Bay ; and very little doubt can, in my opinion, be entertained of the existence of a continued sea, in or about that line of direction. The existence of whales too, on this part of the coast, evidenced by the whalebone we found in Esquimaux Cove, may be considered as an argument for an open sea ; and a connexion with Hudson's Bay is rendered more probable from the same kind of fish abounding on the coasts we visited, and on those to the north of Churchill River. I allude more particularly to the Capelin or *Salmo Arcticus*, which we found in large shoals in Bathurst's Inlet, and which not only abounds, as Augustus told us, in the bays in his country, but swarms in the Greenland firths. The portion of the sea, over which we passed, is navigable for vessels of any size : the ice we met, particularly after quitting Detention Harbour, would not have arrested a strong boat. The chain of islands affords shelter from all heavy seas ; and there are good harbours, at convenient distances. I entertain, indeed, sanguine hopes, that the skill and exertions of my friend, Captain Parry, will soon render this question no longer problematical. His task is doubtless an arduous one, and, if ultimately successful, may occupy two, and perhaps, three seasons ; but, confiding, as I do, from personal knowledge, in his perseverance and talent for surmounting difficulties, the strength of his ships, and the abundance of provisions with which they are stored,

I have very little apprehension of his safety. As I understand his object was to keep the coast of America close on board; he will find in the spring of the year, before the breaking up of the ice can permit him to pursue his voyage, herds of deer, flocking in abundance to all parts of the coast, which may be procured without difficulty; and even later in the season, additions to his stock of provision may be obtained on many parts of the coast, should circumstances give him leisure to send out hunting parties. With the trawl or seine nets also, he may almost every where get abundance of fish even without retarding his progress. Under these circumstances I do not conceive, that he runs any hazard of wanting provisions, should his voyage be prolonged even beyond the latest period of time which is calculated upon. Drift-timber may be gathered at many places in considerable quantities; and there is a fair prospect of his opening a communication with the Esquimaux, who come down to the coast to kill seals in the spring, previous to the ice breaking up; and from whom, if he succeeds in conciliating their good will, he may obtain provision, and much useful assistance. If he makes for Copper-mine River, as he probably will do, he will not find it in the longitude as laid down on the charts; but he will probably find what would be more interesting to him, a post, which we erected on the 26th August at the mouth of Hood's River, which is nearly, as will appear hereafter, in that longitude, with a flag upon it, and a letter at the foot of it, which may convey to him some useful information." (Pp. 388—390.)

Enough had been already undergone to appal men of ordinary mind and nerve: but even the experience of past endurance was to be forgotten in the wretchedness, that lay before the party. Misery is comparative: and hitherto they had passed through few of the gradations, that were to lead them to a climax of wretchedness, from which there could have been no return, had not the providence of God interposed to make them monuments of his sustaining and delivering mercy. They determined, if possible, to reach Fort Enterprise by another route, in consequence of the difficulty of obtaining provisions between Cape Barrow and the Coppermine; and on this attempt they adventured July 21st. Their voyage on the Arctic sea, after having been extended to six hundred and fifty geographical miles, terminated in Hood's River, August 25th. From this point, their journey by land commenced, after forming two small canoes out of the larger ones, in which they had navigated the ocean, and on which they now depended to cross the rivers that might impede their march. To the loss of these frail vessels much of the subsequent horror of their situation must be attributed. The former of these accidents happened on the 7th of September, in consequence of a fall, probably intentional, of the Canadian, by whom the

canoe was carried. The remaining canoe was left behind on the 23d in a state, too much shattered, as the bearers declared, to admit of being repaired. "The vessel," to use the beautiful simile of Bolingbroke, "was now full; and the last drop made the waters of bitterness overflow."

"The anguish this intelligence occasioned," says Capt. Franklin, "may be conceived, but it is beyond my power to express it." —(P. 419.)

At this period, the utter deficiency of every other food obliged the travellers on one occasion to refresh themselves with eating their old shoes, and a few scraps of leather with *tripe de roche. At another time, the marrow from the spine of a deer which had been long before killed, and which excoriated their lips as they tasted it, was received as a delicacy: the bones were rendered friable by burning, and likewise eaten.

On the 29th of September the little party had nearly experienced the irreparable loss of the devoted, generous, amiable Dr. Richardson, a man, whom to name is to praise; and who in every circumstance of this most eventful journey had dearly purchased to himself the love and admiration of his companions. They had arrived on the banks of the Coppermine, but were altogether unable to cross it, owing to the loss of their canoes. Every attempt to succeed by means of a raft which they constructed, proved abortive; and the men, wearied and dispirited, began to consider the attempt as hopeless.

"At this time Dr. Richardson, prompted by a desire of relieving his suffering companions, proposed to swim across the stream with a line, and to haul the raft over. He launched into the stream with the line round his middle, but when he had got a short distance from the bank, his arms became benumbed with cold, and he lost the power of moving them; still he persevered, and, turning on his back, had nearly gained the opposite bank, when his legs also became powerless; and to our infinite alarm we beheld him sink. We instantly hauled upon the line, and he came again on the surface, and was gradually drawn ashore in an almost lifeless state. Being rolled up in blankets, he was placed before a good fire of willows, and fortunately was just able to speak sufficiently to give some slight directions respecting the manner of treating him. He recovered strength gradually, and by the blessing of God was enabled in the course of a few hours to converse, and by the evening was sufficiently recovered to remove into the tent. We then regretted to learn that the skin of his whole left side was deprived of feeling in consequence of exposure to too great heat. He did not perfectly recover the sensation of that side until the following summer. I cannot describe what every one felt at be-

* The different kinds of gyrophora are termed indiscriminately by the voyagers *tripe de roche*.

holding the skeleton which the Doctor's debilitated frame exhibited. When he stripped, the Canadians simultaneously exclaimed, ' Ah, que nous sommes maigres ! ' I shall best explain his state and that of the party by the following extract from his journal : ' It may be worthy of remark that I would have had little hesitation in any former period of my life, of plunging into water even below 38° Fahrenheit ; but at this time I was reduced almost to skin and bone, and, like the rest of the party, suffered from degrees of cold, that would have been disregarded, whilst in health and vigour. During the whole of our march we experienced that no quantity of clothing could keep us warm whilst we fasted, but on those occasions on which we were enabled to go to bed with full stomachs, we passed the night in a warm and comfortable manner.' " (Pp. 423, 424.)

A canoe being afterwards formed from the painted canvas, in which their bedding was wrapped, the party at last crossed the river in it, one by one.

On the 6th of October, Lieut. Hood, in a state of extreme exhaustion from debility, increased by the effect, which the *tripe de roche* invariably produced upon his bowels, determined to remain behind, while Capt. Franklin, Lieut. Back, and the rest should hasten to Fort Enterprise, where they hoped to find provisions which might be sent to their famishing companions. At this period two or three of the Canadians had already perished. Lieut. Hood's resolution seemed to be principally taken through a wish to remove impediments from the progress of the rest of the party. His disinterestedness and generosity are indeed on all occasions as conspicuous as his talent ; and he seems invariably to have acted with that utter disregard of self, which must of necessity have rallied around him every kind and manly feeling of his friends and companions. Dr. Richardson and Hepburn, although both in a state of strength to keep pace with the men who went forward, were influenced in their resolution to remain with Lieut. Hood, the former by the desire, which had influenced his conduct throughout the expedition, of devoting himself to the succour of the weak ; and the latter by the zealous attachment which he had ever shewn to his officers. To poor Lieut. Hood this separation was final. On Sunday the 20th of October, he was assassinated by Michel, an Iroquois attached to the party. The circumstances of the murder shall be detailed in Dr. Richardson's own words.

" In the morning we again urged Michel to go a hunting, that he might, if possible, leave us some provision, to-morrow being the day appointed for his quitting us ; but he shewed great unwillingness to go out, and lingered about the fire, under the pretence of cleaning his gun. After we had read the morning service, I went about noon to gather some *tripe de roche*, leaving Mr. Hood sitting before the tent

at the fire-side, arguing with Michel; Hepburn was employed cutting down a tree at a short distance from the tent, being desirous of accumulating a quantity of fire-wood before he left us. A short time after I went out, I heard the report of a gun; and about ten minutes afterwards Hepburn called to me in a voice of great alarm, to come directly. When I arrived, I found poor Hood lying lifeless at the fire-side, a ball having apparently entered his forehead. I was at first horror-struck with the idea, that in a fit of despondency he had hurried himself into the presence of his Almighty Judge, by an act of his own hand; but the conduct of Michel soon gave rise to other thoughts, and excited suspicions, which were confirmed, when upon examining the body, I discovered that the shot had entered the back part of the head, and passed out at the forehead, and that the muzzle of the gun had been applied so close as to set fire to the night-cap behind. The gun, which was of the longest kind, supplied to the Indians, could not have been placed in a position to inflict such a wound, except by a second person. Upon inquiring of Michel, how it happened, he replied, that Mr. Hood had sent him into the tent for the short gun, and that during his absence the long gun had gone off, he did not know, whether by accident or not. He held the short gun in his hand at the time he was speaking to me. Hepburn afterwards informed me, that, previous to the report of the gun, Mr. Hood and Michel were speaking to each other in an elevated angry tone; that Mr. Hood, being seated at the fire-side, was hid from him by intervening willows, but that on hearing the report he looked up, and saw Michel rising up from before the tent-door, or just behind where Mr. Hood was seated, and then going into the tent. Thinking, that the gun had been discharged for the purpose of cleaning it, he did not go to the fire at first; and, when Michel called to him, that Mr. Hood was dead, a considerable time had elapsed. Although I dared not openly to evince any suspicion that I thought Michel guilty of the deed, yet he repeatedly protested, that he was incapable of committing such an act, kept constantly on his guard, and carefully avoided leaving Hepburn and me together. He was evidently afraid of permitting us to converse in private; and, whenever Hepburn spoke, he inquired if he accused him of the murder. It is to be remarked, that he understood English very imperfectly, yet sufficiently to render it unsafe for us to speak on the subject in his presence. We removed the body into a clump of willows behind the tent, and, returning to the fire, read the funeral service in addition to the evening prayers." (Pp. 455—7.)

The terrible dilemma, to which Dr. Richardson and Hepburn found themselves reduced, demands also to be described by the former, who was the actor in the most painful tragedy, by which his friend's death was followed.

"Hepburn and Michel had each a gun, and I carried a small pistol, which Hepburn had loaded for me. In the course of the march Michel alarmed us much by his gestures and conduct, was constantly muttering to himself, expressed an unwillingness to go to

the fort, and tried to persuade me to go to the southward to the woods, where (he said) he could maintain himself all the winter by killing deer. In consequence of this behaviour, and the expression of his countenance, I requested him to leave us, and to go to the southward by himself. This proposal increased his ill-nature. He threw out some obscure hints of freeing himself from all restraint on the morrow; and I overheard him muttering threats against Hepburn, whom he openly accused of having told stories of him. He also, for the first time, assumed such a tone of superiority in addressing me, as evinced, that he considered us to be completely in his power; and he gave vent to several expressions of hatred towards the white people, or, as he termed us in the idiom of the voyagers, the French, some of whom (he said) had killed and eaten his uncle and two of his relations. In short, taking every circumstance of his conduct into consideration, I came to the conclusion, that he would attempt to destroy us on the first opportunity that offered, and that he had hitherto abstained from doing so from his ignorance of the way to the Fort, but that he would never suffer us to go thither in company with him. In the course of the day he had several times remarked, that we were pursuing the same course that Mr. Franklin was doing, when he left him, and that by keeping towards the setting sun he could find his way himself. Hepburn and I were not in a condition to resist even an open attack; nor could we by any device escape from him. Our united strength was far inferior to his; and, besides his gun, he was armed with two pistols, an Indian bayonet, and a knife. In the afternoon, coming to a rock, on which there was some *tripe de roche*, he halted, and said he would gather it, whilst we went on, and that he would soon overtake us. Hepburn and I were now left together for the first time since Mr. Hood's death; and he acquainted me with several material circumstances, which he had observed, of Michel's behaviour, and which confirmed me in the opinion, that there was no safety for us, except in his death; and he offered to be the instrument of it. I determined, however, as I was thoroughly convinced of the necessity of such a dreadful act, to take the whole responsibility upon myself; and immediately upon Michel's coming up, I put an end to his life by shooting him through the head with a pistol. Had my own life alone been threatened, I would not have purchased it by such a measure; but I considered myself as entrusted also with the protection of Hepburn's, a man, who by his humane attentions and devotedness had so endeared himself to me, that I felt more anxiety for his safety than for my own. Michel had gathered no *tripe de roche*; and it was evident to us, that he had halted for the purpose of putting his gun in order, with the intention of attacking us, perhaps, whilst we were in the act of encamping." (Pp. 457, 458.)

We do not remember a case of more severe trial, than that, to which the moral sense of such a man as Dr. Richardson must have been exposed in this most awful alternative. Nor do we know a more difficult case of casuistry, than that of endeavoring to decide between the conflicting principles,

which would lead us to approve or condemn the death of Michel. That he had murdered Lieut. Hood, appears to have admitted no shade of doubt. That he had taken the life, and in part devoured the bodies of Perrault and Belanger, is highly probable, as well as the suspicion, that he meditated the deaths of Dr. Richardson, and poor Hepburn. Still, it is an act of such solemn moment and responsibility to take the life of a fellow creature, as a matter of precaution, (for Dr. Richardson does not contemplate the deed, as retributive) that we dare not approve it. On the other hand, we cannot stand by in cold unsympathizing abstraction, or rashly blame these mild and amiable men for an act, which they deemed, and probably justly deemed, one of imperative self-preservation. We gladly turn from the subject. It would have furnished materials for a case in the *Ductor Dubitantium*; and would have befitted the high-toned morality, seraphic imagination, and fervid language of its wonderful author.

After experiencing a series of the most appalling miseries, Capt. Franklin and his party, then reduced to five, arrived at Fort Enterprise, about the 10th of October, where he was joined by Dr. Richardson and Hepburn, on the 29th. This wretched band of survivors found, that every hope of assistance, on which they had relied, was utterly delusive, no provision having been forwarded agreeably to engagement, no relief whatever afforded. The whole party was left to die, and the expedition to be entirely frustrated. On the second of November two of the Canadians died, and the survivors were reduced to the last extremity of famine; having subsisted upon some deer-skins, left during their former residence at the fort, and upon the bones, which were gathered from the heap of ashes, burned, pounded, and made into soup with tripe de roche. At length a body of Indians, sent by Mr. Back, who had preceded the main party for this purpose, arrived at the fort, and brought with them a small supply of provisions. Lieut. Back's journal of his proceedings, from the 4th of October, when he left the party with three Canadians for Fort Enterprise in hope of obtaining relief for the party in the rear, and afterwards, during his journey to the Indian encampment, to which the lives of the travellers are due, is in mournful harmony with that of his companions, and describes a series of fatigues and hardships, which cannot be read without feelings of the most painful emotion.

On the 16th of November, "having united in thanksgiving and prayer," the whole party, except Mr. Back, who had gone before, and was now with the Indians, left Fort Enterprise, and on the 11th of December arrived at Fort Providence. On

the 16th they reached Moose Deer Island. Here they remained until the 26th of May, 1822, in order to recruit their exhausted strength. Hence they proceeded to Fort Chipewyan, and at length arrived at York Factory, on the 14th of July 1822.

“And thus terminated our long, fatiguing, and disastrous travels in North America; having journeyed by water, and by land, (including the navigation of the Polar Sea,) five thousand, five hundred, and fifty miles.” (P. 496.)

This eventful narrative is succeeded by an appendix of 271 closely printed pages, comprising geognostical observations, remarks on the Aurora Borealis, astronomical notices, zoological and botanical memoranda. On these subjects we would gladly dilate, did our limits permit: but we must content ourselves with a very few brief remarks. Dr. Richardson, by whom the geological details have been given, and whose zeal in this department has been in harmony with all the rest of his high-minded and energetic proceedings, has confirmed the observations of the continental geologists, and of our own able naturalist, Professor Jamieson, that the average direction of the primitive and transition strata is from N.E. to S.W. while the mean angle of the dip exceeds 45° . Gneiss seemed to be the most extensively distributed rock, and to be always, as might be expected, attended with a very scanty vegetation. The transition-rocks were principally of clay slate, and greywacke. The secondary formations comprised old red sand-stone, coal-formation, new variegated sand-stone, secondary lime-stone, and trap or porphyritic rocks, which occurred abundantly on the shores of the Arctic Sea, and throughout the whole extent of the Copper Mountains.

The remarks of the lamented Lieut. Hood, upon the interesting, but ill understood phenomena of the Aurora Borealis, are very acute and ingenious. Capt. Franklin seems to consider the seat of these appearances to be in the neighbourhood of Fort Enterprise, or in some situation between 64° and 65° N. because the coruscations were as often seen there in the northern, as in the southern parts of the sky. This opinion coincides with the remarks of Capt. Parry, and other voyagers, who in higher latitudes have almost invariably found the luminous appearances in the south. The most vivid arches of this light were generally attended by a variation of the magnetic needle, ranging from $10'$, to 1° , $30'$. sometimes to the eastward, and sometimes in the opposite direction. We are yet without the means of satisfactorily ascertaining, whether the Aurora be attended with noise, or whether it darts and plays across the firmament in silent brilliancy.

"We repeatedly," says Lieut. Hood, "heard a hissing noise, like that of a musket bullet through the air; and which seemed to proceed from the Aurora: but Mr. Wentzel assured us, that the noise was occasioned by severe cold, succeeding mild weather, and acting on the surface of the snow, previously melted by the sun's rays. At this period the mercury varied from 35 to 42. The day preceding, it had been above zero."

Hearne and others have heard this rustling noise of the Aurora. One of the partners of the North West company related to Lieut. Back the following singular fact connected with it.

"He was travelling in a canoe in the English River, and had landed near the Kettle Fall, when the coruscations of the Aurora Borealis were so vivid and low, that the Canadians fell on their faces, and began praying and crying, fearing they should be killed: he himself threw away his gun and knife, that they might not attract the flashes, for they were within two feet from the earth, flitting along with incredible swiftness, and moving parallel to its surface. They continued for upwards of five minutes, as nearly as he could judge, and made a loud rustling noise, like the waving of a flag in a strong breeze."

The opinion of Mr. Wentzel, on the other hand, seems to be supported by Mr. Hood and Dr. Richardson, whose very accurate and patient observations are deserving of the highest praise. Some ingenious experiments of Lieut. Hood have decidedly connected the flashes of the Aurora with electricity; although he has not attempted to solve the question, whether the latter was received from, or summoned into action by the former.

The zoological part of the appendix has been drawn up by Jos. Sabine, Esq. from the memoranda and specimens furnished by the zeal and industry of Dr. Richardson. The ornithological division includes two or three hitherto undescribed birds; among which may be numbered *Corvus Hudsonius*, and *Phaleropus Wilsoni*, a new variety, so named in honour of the individual to whom this branch of natural history is so deeply indebted.

The style of the volume is plain and perspicuous: it tells an unvarnished tale with the most unpretending simplicity. Minute grammatical errors are frequent; but, when we find them so continually in the writings of authors by profession, we may easily excuse them in the narrative of one, "whose life has been that of constant employment in his profession, from a very early age." The plates are executed in a manner worthy of the subjects which they are intended to illustrate, and give promise of the highest graphic excellence in the artist, Mr. Edward Finden. If we were disposed to object to any part of the illustrations, we should instance the maps, which, though doubtless accurately and laboriously con-

structed, are defective in shading, to an extent which makes it sometimes difficult to distinguish between the intended representations of land and water. This plan of projecting charts has unfortunately become very general.

We have thus endeavored to give a compendious account of this journey, so fertile in gloomy incidents, so pre-eminently marked by suffering, appealing with an energy, that may not be resisted, to the best sympathies of our nature, unlocking the deepest springs of our compassion, or hurrying us out of ourselves to hunger and freeze in the howling desert, until we start, as from a painful dream, and rejoice to find, that we have had no other participation in these calamities, than that produced by the influence of a rapt fancy, which :

Runs the wide circle, and is still at home.

The expedition seems to have been conducted in the spirit of that simple and sincere devotion which hallows and dignifies the most manly, as well as the mildest graces of human character. In every circumstance of the pathetic history we are presented with a palpable and triumphant proof of the superiority of that courage, which emanates from a religious dependence upon the power and promise of God, over that which is supplied by mere instinct and constitution. In all situations we find the officers calm, confident, self-possessed, neither fainting beneath the weight of an infidel despondency, nor giving utterance to the language of dissatisfaction and complaint. Their companions, on the other hand, whether Canadians or Indians, possess indeed the courage which thoughtlessness supplies, but fail under the pressure of severe and protracted suffering. Even the passive endurance and fortitude of the Indian character, proverbial as it has become, even the iron nerve of

The stoic of the woods, the man without a tear

has been wrung to anguish and agony, while the hearts of these hitherto untried men have been composed and fortified by religion. In the conduct of the officers and of Hepburn, a generosity, almost romantic, delights us at every step. Let any man read that harrowing account of the loss of the French frigate, *La Meduse*, upon the coast of Africa, written by two of her officers, who survived its horrors ! Let him compare it with the pages of this book ! Let him judge of the difference between them ! and then let him ask, to what principle is that difference to be attributed, unless to the prevalence of a religion, given and exemplified by him, who said,—“ By this shall all men know, that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another ? ”—We hope and trust, that the conduct of this expedition, and the truly gallant bearing of those, by whom

it was compleated, will be a satisfactory refutation of that most mischievous and unworthy opinion, which would represent a spirit of vital religion, as incompatible with prowess and enterprise. Let any man read the following paragraph written by Dr. Richardson!—let him remember, that it describes the employments and feelings of these gallant men in extremity of wretchedness, destitute of every support, but God, and trust in God!—and, if he can sneer or smile with an infidel disdain, “we would not be of that man’s company,” through the journey of life, or at the hour of death.

“Through the extreme kindness and forethought of a lady, the party, previous to leaving London, had been furnished with a small collection of religious books, of which we still retained two or three of the most portable, and they proved of incalculable benefit to us. We read portions of them to each other, as we lay in bed, in addition to the morning and evening service, and found, that they inspired us on each perusal with so strong a sense of the omnipresence of a beneficent God, that our situation even in these wilds appeared no longer destitute; and we conversed, not only with calmness, but with cheerfulness, detailing with unrestrained confidence the past events of our lives, and dwelling with hope upon our future prospects. Had my poor friend (Lieut. Hood) been spared to revisit his native land, I should look back to this period with unalloyed delight.”—(P. 449.)

Of this lamented officer it is recorded by his admirable friend Dr. Richardson, that when he was found dead by Hepburn, “*Bickersteth’s Scripture Help* was lying open beside the body, as if it had fallen from his hand; and it is probable that he was reading it at the instant of his death.”—(P. 456.)

Such were the resources, such the supports, to which these brave men turned in the hour of their worst earthly extremity; and from which they derived a peace, which the world can neither give, nor take away. Let these employments and resources be contrasted with such scenes as are detailed, if truly detailed, in a late pamphlet, entitled “A Statement respecting the prevalence of certain immoral practices in his Majesty’s navy,” and then let the conclusion be drawn, whether the good sense, good feeling, and good principle of the country would wish to choose its defenders from among men, like-minded with Captain Franklin and his associates, or with those, who are said to partake in the dreadful revelry, which that pamphlet describes! If such abuses do exist, they call loudly for amendment at the hand of every statesman, who has sufficient acquaintance with the word of God, and the indivisible connexion between general piety and general prosperity, to know, that “righteousness exalteth a nation, but that sin is a reproach to any people.”

ART. II.—*A Treatise on Love to God, considered as the perfection of Christian Morals.* By the Rev. James Joyce, A. M. Curate of Hitcham, Bucks. London: Hatchards. 1822. 8vo. Pp. iv. & 247.

THEOLOGY, the noblest and most important subject, on which we can employ our faculties, presents to the mind for its serious contemplation a variety of topics, sometimes delightful, sometimes awful, and always interesting. It brings us always when rightly studied to the hallowed paradise of revealed truth, and refreshes us with a faint prelibation of the felicities of eternity.

We consider Mr. Joyce happy in the selection of the particular theme, to which his volume is devoted. It is one of the highest order, of the most pleasing character, and of universal interest. Love to God is the noblest quality of an intelligent being. How sweetly and incessantly does it glow in the lofty ranks that encircle the eternal throne! Its implantation in the heart of man is the commencement of his perfection and happiness: and his progress in excellence, and in real enjoyment, is to be measured by the augmentation and influence of this principle. The more abundantly we experience its power and bring forth its fruits, the more heavenly we are, and the more meet for heaven.

Our author in his introductory remarks observes, that love to God has been less treated of by Christian writers than might have been expected. His work is divided into three parts; in the first of which he illustrates the dispositions, that are included in love to God; in the second he shews us, in what manner this principle improves our conceptions of future happiness; and in the third he derives from it an argument for the divine origin of revelation.

“Love to God,” our author observes, “is invariably enforced in the Scriptures, as the essence of pure religion.” (P. 12.)

Whether we look to the Mosaic or the evangelical œconomy, to the gospels or the epistles, to the remotest ages of a past or a future eternity, this principle arrests our notice as the primary law, the great commandment, and the source of the purest happiness.

Of the dispositions, that are included in this hallowed principle, the first adduced by the author is, Admiration of the divine perfections. He briefly considers the divine character in itself, and as it is exhibited in nature, and in redemption, and states, that the love of sin, ignorance, a cavilling spirit, and that fatal delusion which forgets the amiable attributes

of God in the contemplation of those that are awful, are incompatible with real admiration of the divine perfections.

The author next speaks of Gratitude, as connected with love to God; in doing which he adverts to those divines who describe the mere love of excellence, apart from all consideration of personal advantage, as a quality superior to gratitude. This notion is, in our view, not merely "too aerial and refined," but it is altogether a partial view of a most important subject, and therefore unjust. We would briefly observe, that we can only love an object according to the knowledge that we have of it: we can only love God, as he is revealed to us, on the ground of those relations, in which he stands to us, and of those counsels and measures, which he has adopted on our behalf. This we think to be incontrovertible. All real love pre-supposes knowledge. The questions to be answered are,—what do we know of God? how is he revealed to us? is he made known to us absolutely, as to what he is in himself in all the rich array, and matchless glory, of infinite, unsullied, immutable, and eternal perfection; or relatively, as to what he is to us, by a manifestation of his adorable perfections in the engaging character of a benefactor, providing for the recovery and welfare of an alienated and perishing branch of his great family? It cannot be denied that God is so far revealed absolutely as to be the object of our highest moral esteem: but he is more especially and abundantly revealed to us in a relative view; and consequently our love to him must, from the nature of our circumstances, be, in a great degree, the love of gratitude. Let this be called selfish! It is yet what God demands of us. Let us love him, because he first loved us! Then we comply with the directions of scripture: and while we adhere to them, we shall be equally remote from the cold and abstract speculations of the sage, and from those fervid reveries, and that impalpable mysticism of fanciful theologians, which, notwithstanding the fascinating charm with which they are invested, contribute but little to real piety and happiness.

In the following chapter, our author considers a supreme regard to the glory of God, as a disposition, that enters into the principle of love to him. On this subject we were, indeed, rather surprised to find Mr. Joyce adopting the language of a school, to which he certainly does not belong, when he speaks of "experiencing an entire annihilation," p. 47. in the contemplation of God's excellencies: but we perfectly concur with him in all that he means to advance. The subject of glorifying God does not seem, in our opinion, to be in general clearly stated, and the notions perhaps of the ma-

majority of Christians on the point, are confused. It may be sufficient at present to observe upon it, that all men must propose some aim or other to themselves in all their conduct; and all their aims are probably reducible to three classes, selfish, social or benevolent, and sacred. The latter of these is the glory of God: and his glory is our aim, either when we ascribe all praise to him, as the father of lights, and the author of all good, or when we so counsel and act as to lead others to admire his perfections and goodness.

A regard for the divine favour is next stated to be an ingredient in the principle of love to God.

"It is," says our author, "in the very nature and essence of affection, to look for a reciprocity and interchange of regard." (P. 51.)

That most tremendous calamity, the loss of the divine favour, is then powerfully illustrated. We do not, however, view this as one of the happiest sections of the work: it seemed to us better calculated to give us a sense of the value of the divine favour, than to shew how a regard for it is connected with the principle of love.

The principle of love to God includes further, a habit of communion and intercourse with him. The means of holding this communion, the advantages proceeding from it, the imperfection of it on earth, the difference that exists on this point between the godly and the ungodly, are laid down with great perspicuity and animation.

Moreover, a desire of similitude to God is included in the principle of love to him. Great as this subject is, and calculated to awaken the noblest feelings of a Christian, we were glad to see the author take a practical view of it. He knows the higher walks of piety; but he also knows what human nature is: and it is pleasing and satisfactory to observe, that sober and plain reality is not forgotten amidst the bright conceptions of imagination, the glow of feeling, and the stream of eloquence.

The next feature introduced is delight in the service of God; and it is considered, as a virtue, included in love to him.

"Those persons, whose hearts are won to the love of God by the disclosures of the gospel, discover an inherent beauty in these laws, which makes the observance of them delightful." (P. 81.)

"Whatever gratification the patriot of a well-ordered commonwealth can feel in the exact observance of its laws, whatever admiration he experiences in contemplating its constitution, whether the excellence of its spirit, the grandeur of its objects, the equity and suitableness of its enactments, or the success of its results; the loyal subjects of the heavenly King, the patriot of the universal empire of God, experiences a much more abundant measure of purer admiration and joy in reflecting on the divine system, in cherishing a dis-

position of love to his heavenly Father and all-perfect Governor, and in obeying his wise and gracious commands.—(P. 82.)

In the last place the love of our fellow-creatures is said to be inseparably connected with love to God; which, “if it be genuine and like his own divine affection towards the creatures of his hands, is a kind of universal benignity, which embraces every sentient being, and delights itself in kind thoughts and feelings, and beneficent operations among all who come within the sphere of its influence. The bosom in which is enshrined this holy principle, cannot be a den of fierce and malignant passions, engendering designs of mischief and acts of hostility towards those who have the same nature with ourselves; it is the seat of gentler and more heavenly affections, the suitable retinue of the sovereign and supreme principle.”—(P. 97.)

Such is a brief outline of the first part of this treatise; in which the author’s remarks, though striking, are not numerous, nor are his illustrations copious. We are inclined to think that he would have done greater justice to his subject, to himself, and therefore to his readers, if he had dwelt more largely on some of these points.

In the second part of the volume he intends to prove, that the operations of divine love on the mind throw great light on the nature of our final happiness. In entering on this subject, Mr. Joyce shews, in the first place, chiefly from a view of friendship and parental feelings, that the affections are sources of large delight.

“Every one of common discrimination and sensibility must have experienced a feeling of admiration and delight in surveying the works of nature, especially in her more sublime and beautiful exhibitions and forms. But from the peculiar weakness and perversion of the human heart, these sublimities and beauties are often contemplated and enjoyed without any consideration of the perfections of their divine Author. And, in this case, though there may be a deep and exquisite feeling of the natural scenery before us, yet no benevolent affection is kindled. The pleasure enjoyed is simply a pleasure of taste, such as arises from natural beauties presented to the contemplation of a mind which can discern and feel them.

“Now, let a person thus capable of being elevated and enchanted with the visible charms of nature, learn to carry on his view beyond the material and inanimate effect, to the great and glorious Author who retires behind the veil of his creation, and works unseen. Let him consider whose power creates and arranges the elements of nature, whose intelligence organizes, combines, and adapts the different parts to their several purposes; whose goodness enriches and beautifies the earth and the heaven for the preservation and happiness of his creatures; whose providential care superintends every particle, however minute, and continually maintains whatever property of usefulness and beauty he may have at first imparted: in a

word, let a person consider the glories spread in such beautiful and various and sublime profusion around him, as the effect and proof of the divine goodness, and especially of the love of God to man; and forthwith, as by a more efficacious spell, a new glow of beauty will be thrown over the face of this fair creation, and an increased flow of delight will spring up in his soul. The pleasures of taste will then be blended with the exercise of affection.”—(Pp. 113—115.)

He further argues, that moral excellence interests and increases our affection in a high degree. We love the good rather than the great. Some traits of moral grandeur in bad characters exempt them from entire hatred, and rescue them from oblivion. Friendships, that are founded in piety and virtue, are the most solid and permanent friendships. Natural affection in parents is considerably heightened by the virtuous qualities of their children.

“But,” (says our Author) “our perceptions of beauty in moral excellence, and our sentiments of admiration and affection for those who display it, become more pure and perfect, as we ourselves improve in the love and exercise of holiness.” (P. 127.)

The moral sense of the true Christian, his feeling discernment of good and evil, is rectified by the Gospel, which shews the different consequences of each in time and eternity: but he more especially discovers the hatefulness of sin and the beauty of holiness, while he contemplates the propitiatory sacrifice of our Redeemer. He has also the sacred influence of the Spirit to purify his faculties; and hence he is continually advancing in his similitude to the divine perfections.

Mr. Joyce then goes on to consider the provision, that is made for the exercise of affection in heaven. The great change, that we shall undergo, both as to body and soul, a new heaven and a new earth, the society of perfect spirits, and the immediate vision of God, are the chief particulars which he has adduced. Thus there is in heaven an abundant provision made for exciting our affections. It is impossible not to admire the animated piety, the rich imagery, and the moral beauty of this chapter, though perhaps the author has exceeded the strict limits of sobriety in his interesting dreams concerning holy legends, solemn celebrations, and festivals in heaven; in all which speculations it may be thought, that his fancy plays too much with the rainbow.

But he has now arrived at the point, to which the preceding discussion is only preparatory. He is to state, how the exercise of affection throws light on the happiness of heaven. Here he digresses through some pages, to demonstrate the superior nature of the happiness, derived from the

exercise of affection, to that, which springs from other sources of enjoyment. The pleasures, derived from sensuality, avarice, and ambition, are selfish and short-lived; while those arising from affection are benevolent, increasing, everlasting; they never weary, never disgust. He then advances to his conclusion, in the following animating statement.

“ In order then to obtain a sublime notion of the nature and degree of happiness above, nothing remains but to give full scope to the most soaring imagination, by enlarging without limit, and refining from all imperfection and alloy the utmost measure of enjoyment, derived from the noblest feeling of disinterested regard, exercised under the most auspicious circumstances, among men.

“ Now the exercise of affection, even on earth, as in friendship, in conjugal and parental love, has been often productive of such delight, that life, and health, and rank, and opulence are no longer valued and enjoyed than the intercourse of affection is maintained. But oh, how unspeakably beyond the happiness of the most disinterested and ardent friend, or the most tender and affectionate parent, must be the joy which springs from the same principle in heaven, where our affection will rise as much higher than on earth as the provision made for its exercise is infinitely more abundant and complete; where, in a word, our capacities being multiplied and enlarged, and our natures purified, we shall be united in a celestial intercourse of regard with ‘ the innumerable company of angels, and the spirits of just men made perfect,’ and (what transcends every other privilege) actuated with the supreme principle of love to God! In truth, the provision which is made for the exercise of affection above, is at the same time a provision made for the enjoyment of happiness; for affection and delight in heaven are inseparably blended together. As the affection improves, so will the joy. As the love which glorified spirits exercise, approximates towards the love which God displays to them, so will their bliss approximate towards his ineffable and supreme felicity. Every consideration, which shews us the copious sources of our regard in heaven, may with equal effect be applied to demonstrate the rich abundance of our celestial delight. Whatever lofty consideration, whatever divine employment, whatever reciprocation of heavenly amity between glorified spirits, whatever new and magnificent blessings imparted or promised by the Fountain of all good, will awaken, as we have before seen, fresh exercises of affection; each and all must at the same time open new springs of divine delight in the soul. Here we have ‘ the well of water springing up unto everlasting life;’ ‘ water which whoso drinketh shall never thirst:’ ‘ the flood which maketh glad the city of God;’ ‘ the rivers of pleasure, which flow at God’s right hand for evermore.’” (P. 178.)

After our very slight sketch of this division of the volume, which, we readily allow, can only give an imperfect idea of it, we can only farther remark, that we perfectly concur with the author’s leading positions. The sum of all is

this. We are so constituted by our Creator, that a large measure of our purest happiness on earth originates in and is composed of the healthful exercise of all the warm, pure, tender, and benevolent affections of the heart. But this happiness is of a higher order, more stable, more exquisite, and more elevated, when moral excellence calls the affections into exercise: and as moral excellence will in another world be exhibited in its glory and perfection, without any interposing shade, without any deteriorating alloy, first in the all-glorious Jehovah, and then in those beings who people the realm of final beatitude; and as all those beings will constitute one family, drawn by a sweet and strong attraction to a common centre, and by an influence of the same nature sweetly and strongly drawn to each other; we must conclude, that great happiness, resulting from unabated love, will be perpetuated through the line of our unending existence. All will be light; and all will be love, the love of esteem, the love of gratitude, the love of kindness; and therefore all will be happiness.

But, though we have read the pages of Mr. Joyce with no ordinary satisfaction and delight, we cannot sanction any thing like an attempt at being minute in a description of the future state. He expatiates on his favorite theme with ardour, and certainly, as we think, with somewhat too much an imposing air, as though some great discovery was about to be made; but all that he arrives at is a plain and obvious truth, in which we readily acquiesce. The moment he attempts to become minute, he forsakes certain truth for uncertain conjecture. In these matters there is a barrier that we cannot pass; there rests a veil upon them that we cannot pierce through: and the more closely we meditate on spiritual existence, the more powerfully do we feel our weakness. When we leave our divine record, and argue analogically from what we are, to what we shall be,—from what we see, to what we do not see, we may be right, but it is as evident that we may be wrong; and, though some admire these things, the wise, the calm, and the judicious are slow to approve and fearful to advance them. As for ourselves, when we advert to these points, we check our vain curiosity; we wait in silence for the stupendous disclosures of eternity; and we feel a solemn gratitude, and all the satisfaction we wish for, when we read the sober and delightful and matchless statement of the beloved disciple: “Beloved, now are we the sons of God, and it doth not yet appear what we shall be: but we know that, when he shall appear, we shall be like him; for we shall see him as he is.”

We now proceed to the last part of the treatise, in which Mr. Joyce considers

“the principle of love to God, as furnishing strong evidence in favour of the divine authority of the Scriptures.” (P. 185.)

On this head we cannot forbear to quote his masterly delineation of the nature and value of experimental evidence.

“Natural philosophers describe various processes, by which, they tell us, certain results will be obtained. The student may put their declarations to the test by trying the experiment, and he thus gains an experimental conviction of the truth of their doctrines. It is in the same manner that the Gospel offers itself to our acceptance as the means of improving the characters and increasing the happiness of men in this world, and preparing them for a glorious perfection of joy and holiness in the world to come. Let them embrace the Gospel with sincerity, and try the experiment, whether its promises, so far as they relate to the present state, are not fulfilled in the growing virtues and consolations of their character. If they find in the midst of sorrow a support and comfort with which they were before unacquainted; if they are able to resist allurements which formerly overpowered them as weak and easy victims; if they feel themselves relieved from the dread of the future punishment which their past guilt deserved, by contemplating the propitiatory sacrifice of Christ; if they experience an increasing regard for the exercises and duties of piety and virtue, and a proportionate alienation from every act of sin; if the prospect of affliction and death is viewed with greater calmness, resignation, and fortitude; if their thoughts and affections are less devoted to the present world, and are set upon their more appropriate objects, “the things above;” then the proposed experiment or test of the Gospel has succeeded, and they have in confirmation, if it be wanted, of the evidence derived from other sources, an experimental conviction of the truth and value of the Scriptures as the Word of God. This kind of evidence is not so striking and conclusive to others as to ourselves, because our consolations and dispositions are hidden from them, and our outward actions, which alone come under their observation, may be ascribed to different motives, and admit of various interpretations.” (P. 185—187.)

The author enters, as many others have done, into a review of the sentiments of the Grecian philosophers concerning the chief good. On this subject we quote the words of Lactantius.—“Non necesse est omnia circuire: unum eligamus, ac potissimum, quod est summum et principale, in quo totius sapientiæ cardo versatur. Epicurus summum bonum in voluptate animi esse censet: Aristippus in voluptate corporis: Calliphon et Dinomachus, Cyrenaici, honestatem cum voluptate junxerunt: Diodorus cum privatione doloris summum bonum posuit: Hieronymus in non dolendo: Peripatetici autem in bonis animi, et corporis, et fortunæ. Herilli summum bonum est scientia: Zenonis, cum

naturâ congruenter vivere · quorundam Stoicorum, virtutem sequi. Aristoteles in honestate ac virtute summum bonum collocavit. Hæ sunt fere omnium sententiæ. In tantâ diversitate quem sequimur? cui credimus? Par est in omnibus auctoritas." In opposition to all these statements Mr. Joyce maintains, that

"The sacred principle of love to God, considered as the chief good, affords a complete solution of the problem, so often studied, but never explained or understood by the heathen philosophers; and shews, how perfect happiness and perfect holiness are realized in complete union; so that the dignity of the one is not compromised, nor the purity and fulness of the other alloyed or diminished." (P. 208.)

The author then turns from the splendid conjectures of the Greeks to consider the intellectual character of the Jews, of which he gives a low estimate: but these people, so inferior to several other nations in mental cultivation, had a religion that clearly laid down the love of God in all its operations as a fundamental principle; a principle which other nations with all their learning and sagacity could not discover. Whence did the Jews derive this advantage, but from above? Surely, if it be admitted, as it is clearly proved, that this principle, not discovered by the pagan sages, was possessed by the Jews, we are constrained to draw the conclusion, that their religion is from God.

Alive, as we hope we are in some measure, to the beauties of Grecian and Roman composition, so richly scattered over their poetry, history, oratory, and philosophical disquisitions, we confess that we derive but little pleasure from the minute examination of their theological and moral opinions. The classic charm (we apprehend) arises more from the language and chaste style of thought, than from the intrinsic worth of the sentiment: not that we deny that the pages of pagan lore are sprinkled with thoughts that are truly noble, and with maxims that are really useful. We do not wish to degrade the writings of antiquity in the estimation of any one: but it is just to assign to them their proper place, equally remote from enthusiastic love and supercilious contempt. From them we derive a large part of our knowledge; and the careful study of them, as has been proved by the experience of ages and of nations, is a most wholesome discipline to the mind, teaching it to unfold and exercise its powers in the best manner. But, if we enter on the most laborious examination of their opinions; if we carefully study the rigid doctrines of the porch, the acute lucubrations of the Lyceum, or the lofty and gorgeous eloquence of the Academy; if we sift and ponder the virtue of the one and the moral beauty of

the other; we are not aware that we derive much benefit from our labour. The subject is too painful to supply amusement, and too barren to furnish much real profit. We cannot express ourselves better than in the words of a celebrated historian.—“The philosophers of Greece deduced their morals from the nature of man, rather than from that of God. They meditated, however, on the Divine Nature, as a very curious and important speculation; and in the profound inquiry, they displayed the strength and weakness of the human understanding.” Man was with them the creature of time rather than of eternity; a moral rather than a religious being. Maxims of moral prudence, rules of social decorum, and directions for superstitious observances, abound in their accomplished writings: but they never view man, whatever fine sentences may occasionally present themselves to us, as a creature whose virtue towards men is to proceed from piety towards God; and in whose bosom principles are to abide and rule which make him more the creature of heaven than of earth. We find nothing among them that assumes the form of experimental piety. After all the acuteness of their intellect, the splendour of their eloquence, and the chaste propriety of their thoughts, one verse of the Scriptures would infinitely outweigh all their volumes. The Pagan philosopher is a man groping in a dim light in a cheerless cave; the Christian is a man standing in the effulgence of mid-day on a lofty eminence. To compare the voice of pagan philosophy with the voice of divine wisdom, is to compare the chirping of a grasshopper with the music of the spheres. So little can the vaunted reason of man accomplish, when it is left to itself.

Nevertheless their theological and moral sentiments are valuable, as they shew, what the powers of man can do without revelation; and we agree with Mr. Joyce, that every sort of evidence, that establishes the truth of Christianity, deserves attention: and we perfectly coincide with him in opinion that the comparison of the Jewish and Pagan doctrines furnishes a strong argument in favour of the divine origin of the former. The point lies within a small compass. From the days of Thales to those of Cicero, a period of five centuries, a host of men lived in Greece and Italy, who possessed eminent talents, who travelled for knowledge in almost every direction, who cultivated various sciences, who enjoyed the benefit of repose for calm contemplation, and who from different circumstances were led to the most elaborate investigation of truth; and we see the result. On the other hand, the descendants of Abraham, remarkable for no intel-

lectual attainments, were in possession of a creed, that taught the character of God, that brought them into familiarity and alliance with him, that built virtue on the solid basis of piety, that inspired the soul with the noblest views and the best feelings, and that, in a word, laid down the love and fear of God, and delight in him, as the excellence and happiness of man, and therefore as his chief good. Let these things be viewed in contrast! and let any one ask, how it came to pass, that, while the great, the wise, and the renowned of the world were wrapped in the deepest darkness and were walking in vice and misery, there rested upon the Jews, an obscure and despised people, the rich glory of a resplendent light, while many of them were eminent in goodness and serene in happiness? Do we not see here the finger of God? The solution of the question is easy, if we admit that the one party was self-taught, and that the other was taught from above, but on no other supposition. It were well if the sceptic would candidly weigh the argument.

In taking a general view of the work, of which we have now given a slight account to our readers, we are disposed to consider it rather as constituting three treatises than one; of which the first is pious, the second metaphysical, and the third literary. We should have been pleased to see the matter more skilfully arranged, with less digression, less repetition, and less irrelevant amplification. The subject being one which regards the religion of the heart rather than of the understanding, it strikes us, that there is something too elaborate in the manner in which it is handled: and in the regular course of the work a more simple style might perhaps have been better.

After all deductions, however, the volume before us must be always admitted to be the work of a real Christian and elegant scholar, who thinks for himself, and who expresses himself in language that savours of no school and party; of one who can elevate the mind by the grandeur of his conceptions, and enliven the heart, that is capable of moral sympathy, by the delineation of his own pure and animated feelings; of one who can recommend piety without abandoning its most sacred peculiarities, and defend it with the stores of erudition and the cogency of argument; of one, in short, who can write so that the Christian must admire, and the philosopher cannot despise him. We rejoice, and are thankful, to see such talents so employed.

ART. III.—GARDENING.

1. *Flora Domestica, or the Portable Flower-Garden, with Directions for the treatment of Plants in Pots; and Illustrations from the works of the Poets.* London: Taylor and Hessey. 1823. 8vo. pp. xxxiv. and 396.
2. *History of Cultivated Vegetables; comprising their Botanical, Medicinal, Edible, and Chemical Qualities, Natural History, and Relation to Art, Science, and Commerce.* By Henry Phillips, author of the History of Fruits known in Great Britain. London: Colburn. 1822. 8vo. 2 vols. pp. vii. and 813.
3. *Sylva Florifera; the Shrubbery, Historically and Botanically treated; with Observations on the Formation of Ornamental Plantations, and Picturesque Scenery.* By Henry Phillips, F.H.S. London: Longman, and Co. 1823. 8vo. 2 vols. pp. vii. and 669.
4. *An Encyclopædia of Gardening, comprising the Theory and Practice of Horticulture, Floriculture, Arboriculture, and Landscape-Gardening, including all the latest improvements, a General History of Gardening in all Countries, and a Statistical View of its present state, with Suggestions for its future progress in the British Isles.* By J. C. Loudon, F.L.S. H.S. &c. London: Longman, and Co. 1822. 8vo. pp. xviii. and 1469.

THERE is, perhaps, no employment which combines in itself so many advantages as gardening. It was this, which formed the occupation of man in his state of innocence; and it appears to partake, in a less degree than most others, of those evils which cleave to all worldly pursuits in consequence of the fall. The market-gardener indeed, or even the nurseryman, being continually employed in the same routine with a view to profit, may not in general be sufficiently aware of the advantageous nature of his employment, though we are disposed to think, that their calling is accompanied with a greater proportion of happiness than that of most others. But to those persons, whose main pursuits in life are of a different nature, the recreation, afforded by the cultivation of a garden, is calculated to yield enjoyment of no common kind. While the *scientific* practice of horticulture opens an unlimited field for experiment and research, and has a tendency to enlarge and benefit the mind by the numberless instances it brings to view of the wisdom and power of the Almighty in his wonderful works, it likewise promotes health of body and cheer-

fulness of spirits ; and at the same time, supplies us with luxuries and delicacies, which receive a double relish from being reared by our own care, and matured by our skill. There is likewise no amusement more calculated to soothe the mind, when discomposed by the cares and crosses of life ; it allays the excitement occasioned by the vexatious circumstances which are continually occurring in this restless world ; and, like oil, poured upon the surface of the troubled waters, induces a calm and quiet serenity upon the angry and turbulent feelings of the mind.

Of late years horticulture has obtained much more attention as a *science* than formerly ; its operations are more skillfully conducted and with greater certainty as to the results. The nature and habits of different cultivated plants have been explored with patient and successful attention ; and plans have been adopted for giving to each, with greater facility and œconomy, that kind of soil, of temperature, and of exposure, which is most suitable to its prosperity and perfection. For a considerable time past, gardening has engaged the attention of many individuals of scientific minds, who have devoted great assiduity and expence to the improvement of their favorite pursuit ; and especially has the science been advanced by the institution of the London and Caledonian Horticultural Societies ; both of which are conducted upon the most liberal scale, but the former,* from its enlarged means, and daily increasing patronage, is particularly calculated to advance the object for which it was incorporated.

* It may not perhaps be known to some of our readers, that this Society has a large garden, expressly devoted to experimental research into every thing connected with horticulture in its various branches, at Chiswick ; in which, every plan which is likely to be of benefit to the art, is, and will be subjected to a practical trial. There is also a considerable and increasing library at the Society's house in Waterloo-place ; where also the Fellows hold their Meetings every fortnight during the session, when papers are read, and exhibitions of new varieties of fruits and flowers, or handsome specimens of those, which are known, are produced ; and scions, seeds, and plants of vegetables of peculiar use or interest are distributed. A volume of the Society's transactions appears once in two years, a splendid work, embellished with very highly finished colored engravings, but far too costly a publication for most persons. We cannot help lamenting, that such a collection of useful and original information as these volumes contain, should be thus rendered inaccessible to those to whom they would prove of the greatest value ; and we think that the Society would do well either to publish an edition in a cheaper form, with no other embellishments than are *necessary* to illustrate the papers, (something in the way of the Caledonian Horticultural Transactions,) or else to give persons the option of purchasing the work, without the beautiful, and consequently expensive, colored plates of fruits and flowers. Should this remark fall under the notice of any active member of the Society, we hope he will be induced to give it his impartial consideration.

The prevalence of this taste for horticultural pursuits has called forth many works from the press upon the subject: amongst these are the volumes which stand at the head of this article; upon each of which in their order we propose to offer some remarks.

The first is an anonymous work, with a Latin and an English title, the latter of which is somewhat singular, "*The Portable Flower-Garden.*" The author in his preface thus states his object in publishing it—

"As I reside in town, and am known among my friends as a lover of the country, it has often happened, that one or other of them would bring me consolation in the shape of a myrtle, a geranium, an hydrangea, or a rose-tree, &c. Liking plants, and loving my friends, I have earnestly desired to preserve these kind gifts; but, utterly ignorant of their wants and habits, I have seen my plants die one after the other, rather from attention ill-directed, than from the want of it. I have many times seen others in the same situation as myself, and found it a common thing upon the arrival of a new plant, to hear its owner say, 'Now I should like to know how I am to treat this. Should it stand within doors, or without? Should it have much water or little? Should it stand in the sun or in the shade?'—Even myrtles and geraniums, commonly as they are seen in flower-stands, balconies, &c. often meet with an untimely death from the ignorance of their nurses. Many a plant have I destroyed, like a fond and mistaken mother, by an inexperienced tenderness, until in pity to these vegetable nurslings and their nurses, I resolved to obtain, and to communicate such information as should be requisite for the rearing and preserving a *portable garden* in pots. This little volume is the result." (P. xiii.)

We find then, that this book is written with the benevolent intention of imparting to the inhabitants of our smoky metropolis some of the pleasures, which are to be derived from gardening; to enable them to have a kind of '*rus in urbe*;' to facilitate the management of the *Horti in fenestris*, which Pliny speaks of;* and to prevent that appearance of desolation and misery, which the dried sticks and drooping heads of the plants in the yards and windows of the good people in London for the most part present; and which nothing but an instinctive love of plants and gardening, "an inborn, inextinguishable thirst of rural scenes," could render tolerable in their eyes. And we have no doubt, that care and attention to the rules laid down in this volume would produce a great alteration for the better in this respect: but still we fear, to say nothing of the necessary stagnation of air in a large city, that till Mr. M. A. Taylor's act comes into full effect, the

* Jam in fenestris suis, *plebs urbana* in imagine hortorum quotidiana oculis rura præbebant.—*Pliny*, l. xix. c. 4.

dingy deposit of *blacks*, &c. from the countless chimneys around, will continue, by clogging up the pores of the leaves, to prevent that full appearance of health and vigour, which constitutes the chief beauty of a plant.

Let it not however be supposed, that this book contains nothing but a dry treatise upon the management of plants in pots! It is, independently of the instruction it affords in this respect, a very entertaining and agreeable work, abounding in anecdote and information, and especially in poetry; indeed an undue proportion of it is consumed in this latter description of ornament, especially when such poetic plants as the bay, or the olive, or the myrtle, or the rose, are under consideration. But the chief fault we have to notice in the work is the want of scientific arrangement. Instead of an alphabetical course, in which Latin and English names are strung together indiscriminately, it would have been far better and quite as practicable to arrange the plants in the alphabetical order of their *Genera*, with an Index of reference at the end, containing the common names and synonyms. This would have made the work much more complete, and we should not then have such a miscellaneous succession of names, as coreopsis, corn-flag, coronilla, cotyledon, cowslip, &c. nor different species of the same genus treated of at opposite ends of the book. In addition to this we meet with frequent incorrect statements, as when the geranium is said, p. 145, to be divided into three *genera*, which, whether under a natural or artificial arrangement, must be wrong. We are told, that “the guelder rose, being a native of North America, will bear our climate very well.” (P. 160.)

This it will certainly do, as it is also an English plant and commonly to be met with in our hedges. The *Daphne Mezereon*, we are likewise informed,

“is a native of almost every part of Europe. With us it is very common in the beech-woods of Buckinghamshire.” (P. 129.)

Now we are greatly disposed to question, if there be a single plant of this shrub to be found in these woods; nor indeed can we allow that the *mezereon* has any just title to be considered as indigenous. We should have supposed, that it had been substituted by mistake for the *Daphne laureola*, which abounds in the situation mentioned: but that plant and its *habitat* are properly noted in its place. We have also to complain of the omission of some of our most favorite plants, well fitted for pots, such as the *tigridia pavonia*, of the flower of which Sir J. E. Smith says, no description can do it justice, the *volkamerias*, the *flaxes*, particularly *linum arboreum*, the *buddleia globosa*, the *crassula coccinea*, &c. and we think,

that such pot-herbs as balm, and mint, and basil, and the scarlet bean, as well as such unwieldy plants as privet and laburnum and hawthorn, and also the water-lily, which last must by reared in a *leaden cistern*, (not very "portable,") might have been omitted to make room for them.

On the whole, however, we consider this a well written, pleasing, and useful book : the style is for the most part smooth and perspicuous ; and we have great pleasure in recommending it to the patronage of our readers.

The next work upon our list is from the pen of Mr. Phillips, who has already been before the public as the Author of the *Pomarium Britannicum*. His history of cultivated vegetables, however, does not extend, as the title imports, to a disquisition upon all those subjects of the vegetable kingdom, which require, or have obtained the care of the agriculturist and gardener ; but is principally confined to such herbs and plants as are reared in our gardens and fields for *use*, and to such exotics as are cultivated abroad, as leading articles of commerce.

There is a fund of valuable and entertaining information in this book, collected with a labour and assiduity, which reflect great credit upon the persevering author ; and we cannot but express our satisfaction at the frequent endeavours which he makes to lead his readers "from nature up to nature's God." The plan of the work is very similar to that of the *Flora Domestica*, being arranged according to the alphabetical order of the English names ; each article contains historical and mythological notices, and quotations from ancient authors and old herbalists, with remarks upon the medicinal or œconomical properties of the plant under review, interspersed with amusing anecdotes and scraps of poetry ; concluding occasionally (and we wish it had been more generally the case) with the best mode of propagation and culture.

We cannot refuse our readers some extracts from his account of the asphodel, which, indeed appears to be the much desired panacea.

"Pliny calls it one of the most sovereign and renowned herbs that the world produces, and says that the roots, boiled with husked barley, are certainly the most restorative diet that can be taken by consumptive persons. He adds that no bread is so wholesome as that which is made of these roots and the flower of grain mixed together. Among the physicians of ancient celebrity, who wrote on this plant, Nicander recommends it, as an antidote against the poison of serpents and scorpions, if either the seeds or roots be drunk in wine. Dioscorides and Ætius prescribed the wine in which asphodel roots were boiled as an excellent diuretic. Galen says, the roots burnt to ashes and mixed with the *fat of ducks*, are the best

remedy for alopecia, and that it will recover the hair that has fallen off by that disease. Xenocrates affirmed, that a decoction of the root in vinegar was a cure for the ring-worm, &c. We are informed, that Chrysermus, the physician, boiled the root in wine, and by it cured the swellings of the kernels behind the ears; and that Sophocles used it, both boiled and raw, with good success against the gout. Simnus esteemed it the best diuretic drink for the gravel, when boiled in wine. Hippocrates prescribed the seeds of the asphodel against the hardness of the spleen, and the flux, which proceeds from that cause. He also applied the root, pounded, as a liniment for horses or dogs &c. afflicted with the mange; (which it is said) would both effect a cure and restore the hair. Dodoens adds, that a dram weight of the root, when boiled and taken in wine, relieves the pains of the side, the cough, the shrinkings of the sinews, the cramp, &c. The asphodel is said to be useful in driving away rats and mice, which have so great an antipathy to this plant, that, if their holes be stopped up with it, they will die, rather than pass it If the root is put into the water which swine drink, it prevents their being affected with a pestilential leprosy, or if they have taken the disorder, it restores them to health. The vinegar, in which the root has been boiled, if used for washing the body, cures scorbutic eruptions. Some roast the root in hot ashes, and rub their face and hands with them, in order to remove all blotches and purify the skin." (Vol. i. P. 36—42.)

This is a wonder-working herb: but yet we do not know whether the house-leek is not the more wonderful of the two; for that (we are told) is a remedy for burns and scalds, St. Anthony's fire and the shingles, for chopped hands, scrofulous eruptions, and sun-burns, for inflammations in the eye, the red gout, and erysipelas, "it removes corns from the toes and feet," and is an antidote for the poison of venomous reptiles and noxious plants.

Under the head, cabbage, we are informed of the origin of a term, given to an alleged propensity in a very useful class of handicraftsmen.

"The word cabbage, by which all the varieties of this plant are now improperly called, means the firm head or ball, that is formed by the leaves turning close over each other; from that circumstance, we say the cole has cabbaged, the lettuce has cabbaged, or, *the tailor has cabbaged*. 'Your tailor instead of shreds, cabbages whole yards of cloth.' Hence arose the cant word applied to tailors, who formerly worked at the private houses of their customers, where they were often accused of cabbaging, which means *rolling up pieces of cloth*, instead of the list and shreds which they claim as their due." (Vol. i. Pp. 91, 92.)

The "*Sylva Florifera*" may be considered, as an extension of the "*History of Cultivated Vegetables*," to that of flowering shrubs, and not only of these, but also of such trees of larger growth as are planted for ornament or profit; as the ash, and lime, and birch. This is perhaps upon the whole a

more useful and amusing work than the former, and contains more *practical* information. The Introduction furnishes some good hints for laying out a shrubbery, and for managing the plantation of trees, so as to produce the best effect ; and the respective articles treat, often very copiously, upon the history, antiquity, and natural properties of the plant under consideration, as well as of its habits of growth, and mode of propagation and culture.

There is no want of poetical illustration in this work, in which it abounds even more than the former. Sometimes we are overdone with quotations ; for instance, in treating of the rose, we have English ballads, French sonnets, and Italian odes without end ; as well as the whole of Shakspeare's celebrated scene in the Temple Gardens, of the manner, in which the white and the red rose became the respective badges of the houses of York and Lancaster. Occasionally too these embellishments are introduced, when they have little connexion with the subject they are intended to illustrate. Speaking of the yew-tree our author says—

“ Our forefathers seem to have been particularly careful in preserving this tree sacred ; the branches of which they carried in solemn procession to the grave, and afterwards deposited under the bodies of their departed friends

Let's talk of graves, of worms, and epitaphs,
Make dust our paper, and with rainy eyes
Write sorrow on the bosom of the earth !

Let's choose executors, and talk of wills !” (Vol. ii. P. 286.)

What has this passage to do with the yew-tree ?

The anecdotes, with which both Mr. Phillips's works abound, much enliven his descriptions. We give the following example, which completely throws the boasted virtues of ‘ Rowland's Macassar Oil ’ into the shade.

“ A young woman in Gunbery, in Lower Silesia, having had a malignant dysentery, which occasioned the falling off of all her hair, was advised by a person, some time after her recovery, (as her hair was not likely to grow again of itself, her head being then as bare as her hand,) to wash it all over with a decoction of boxwood, which she readily did, without the addition of any other drug. Hair of a chesnut colour grew on her head, as she was told it would do ; but having used no precaution to secure her face and neck from the lotion, they became covered with red hair to such a degree, that she seemed but little different from an ape or a monkey.” (Vol. i. P. 149.)

We notice likewise with approbation the useful cautions, which are given with respect to poisonous plants ; as the danger of the yew-tree to cattle ; and the expediency of burying or burning the clippings of hedges of this plant, instead of sweeping them out of a garden ; by which many accidents have happened. On one occasion,

“the clippings of a yew-hedge, have destroyed a whole dairy of cows, when thrown inadvertently into a yard.” (Vol. ii. P. 294.)

To what is said of the mezereon bush v. ii. p. 77, we would add our advice, that not only should “children be especially cautioned against gathering the berries,” but that, where there are children about, the berries should be *rubbed off* as soon as they are formed: for, when ripe, they are very tempting to look at, and not of an unpleasant flavour at first, but they prove a deadly poison to those who eat of them.

There is the same want of scientific arrangement in the four volumes of Mr. Phillips, which we complained of in the *Flora Domestica*, and the same evils result. Thus we have the different species of brassica, as brocoli, cabbage, &c. and sea-kale a totally distinct genus, corambe, placed under the head *cabbage*. The different species of the acer, the pinus, the clematis, &c. also occur scattered up and down in the two volumes of the *Sylva*, according to the alphabetical rank of one or other of their English synonyms, in consequence of which the derivations of the names have to be continually repeated. We frequently meet, besides, with unaccountable and contradictory statements. What can Mr. Phillips mean when he says—

“Beet was first cultivated in this country in the year 1548, a period when many valuable plants were introduced *to gratify a luxurious monarch?*” (Hist. Vol. i. p. 80.)

We should have imagined, that this slur upon the character of our excellent Edward VI. was unintentionally occasioned by a misprint, were it not, that the correct date is assigned to the first cultivation of the plant. We have also a pompous account of the inestimable benefits, which flax has conferred upon the English nation.

“Without the aid of flax this island might have remained unknown and unpeopled. Its assistance enabled the European sailor to discover a new world.” (Hist. Vol. i. P. 190.)

as if flax furnished the *only materials* for sails to ships: and yet shortly afterwards we are told, that

“the sails and cordage of a first-rate man of war require 180,000lbs. of rough *hemp* for their construction.” (P. 222.)

We also learn that

“the *onion* is sometimes employed as a *sinapism*.” (Vol. ii. P. 24.)

The remarks which are made upon the *Hortus Kewensis* are by no means always correct. We imagine Mr. Phillips quotes from an old edition, but as the present was published so long ago as 1810, the references for these works ought at all events to be made to it. As an instance, he says of the *colutea*, (*arborescens*.)

“The *Hortus Kewensis* states from Lobel that this plant was first

cultivated in England in 1570, but on referring to the third part of Turner's Herbal, which was printed in 1568, we find that it was then common in this country." (*Sylva*, Vol. i. P. 139.)

Now the *Hortus Kewensis*, says of this plant—*Cultivated* 1568. *Turn. Herb. part 3. folio 70.*

The greatest fault, however, which we have to find with Mr. Phillips, is the bombastic absurdity of his style. The attempts he sometimes makes at the sublime are truly ludicrous, and his metaphors are, for the most part, miserably chosen. Had he been sensible of his "deficiencies in the graces of style," and gone on uniformly in the plain unostentatious way in which some parts of his works are written, we should not, from the useful information he affords, have complained of his style being something heavy. But, when he gets into heroics, we can only compare the effect to the efforts of a cart-horse, mimicking the curvets of a thorough-bred hunter. If our readers want a specimen, let them read the allegory of commerce under the article, cotton! It is astonishing, into what sad nonsense this love of fine writing occasionally betrays our author. Speaking of the tulip-tree, he says—

"It is hardly possible to contemplate this noble tree without having all sordid and angry passions driven from the breast, and exchanged for those of peace and philanthropy. The late Marquis of Londonderry took great delight in a tree of this kind, which grew on his lawn at Craysfoot in Kent; where long may it remain sacred, as a memento to mankind, that the most exalted situations are often the most perilous, and that happier hours may be spent under the shade of *Liriodendron*, than near the blazing splendour of a throne!

————— Who that lives
Hath not his portion of calamity?

Who, that feels, can boast a tranquil bosom?"

(*Sylva*, V. ii. Pp. 241, 245.)

We assure Mr. Phillips, that these remarks are made with no other view, than to induce him in any future work, with which he may favor the public, or in any subsequent edition of those before us, to confine himself within proper bounds, to examine particularly the nature of his own proper talent, and, while he has unquestionably the power of contributing much to the instruction of others, not, by an injudicious attempt to shine in a sphere, to which he has no pretensions, to detract from his otherwise valuable publications; to remember his own motto, and abide by it—*Ἀμαθεστέρον φράσον καὶ σαφεστέρον*. We sincerely thank him for the entertaining and useful information he has afforded us, and take leave of him, hoping that a rapid sale of the present impressions of his works, will afford him the opportunity to improve them.

“London’s Encyclopædia of Gardening,” though the last work on our list, is by no means the least, as it forms one volume in demy 8vo. of very nearly 1500 pages, and “independently of the numerous illustrative engravings, and condensed descriptive tables of fruits and flowers, contains a much greater quantity of matter than the four folio volumes of ‘Miller’s Dictionary.’”

There is no reason to complain of any want of arrangement in this book, which is systematically and scientifically divided. It consists of four parts; the first *historical*, relating to the origin, progress, and present state of gardening in different parts of the world; the second treats of gardening as a *science*, and takes into view the anatomy and physiology of plants, and their botanical arrangements under different systems; the third contains the *practice* of gardening in all its branches, and descends to all particulars connected with the kitchen, forcing, pleasure-garden, the shrubbery, the plantation of forest-trees, and landscape gardening in general. The fourth part is upon the *Statistics* of gardening; comprising its present state, as practised in the British Isles, the literary works connected with the subject, the laws affecting it, and hints for improving it in the education of gardeners. The whole is illustrated with numerous well-executed wood cuts, by Branston. A very useful practical, or, as the author calls it, *Kalendarian* Index, follows, as an appendix, giving, besides other information, the regular routine of culture for every month in the year, with references to the body of the work for particular instructions, in what manner it is to be carried into effect. And the whole is closed by a copious *General Index*, in which, however, the two first letters only of each word being arranged alphabetically, a person has the trouble of hunting over four or five columns or more sometimes for a reference, which after all he is very likely to overlook.

We cannot withhold the meed of praise, which is certainly due in no ordinary degree to the talents and industry of the compiler of this voluminous work. There is perhaps scarcely any subject, connected with the present state of the science and practice of horticulture, which is not fully and ably treated; the most recent and useful information in every department of gardening is selected with great judgment, and expressed with so much perspicuity, as almost to enable a novice, with a little practice, by attention to the directions given, to perform with success every necessary operation. In short, it is such a book as we should most highly approve, and feel great satisfaction in recommending, but for one or two circumstances, which compel us to say, that no person, who has any respect for Christianity or morals, can consistently be instrumental in giving it circulation.

Our reason for using such strong language is, that the principles of infidelity are most artfully mixed up with the technical information it contains, in such a manner as to render the perusal of it highly dangerous to the youthful mind. There is indeed no open or direct attack upon Revelation : but there are throughout those insidious remarks, which, by implying its admitted falsehood, are ten times more dangerous, than if the tenets of the Christian faith were directly and openly impugned. In the very outset of the work, the Paradise of the Scriptures and the garden of the Hesperides are classed together under the title

“ of the fabulous gardens of antiquity.” (P. 3.)

the former,

“ as exhibiting the ideas of a *poet*, whose object was to bring together every sort of excellence of which he deemed a garden susceptible.”

A little way further on he says,

“ Trees and even bushes appear to have been held in superstitious veneration as early as the time of Moses ; of which the story of the burning bush may be adduced as a proof.” (P. 102)

And at the conclusion, in his remarks upon the education of young gardeners, he advises them to devote their *Sunday* to the study of the scientific part of their profession ; and throughout the work, the opportunity is never omitted, of sneering at religion, or of attempting to cast odium upon its professors. But this is not all. We sometimes meet with the grossest licentiousness, with such abominable ribaldry, as nothing but a depraved and vitiated mind could have dictated. We will not defile our pages with a specimen ; but, merely to shew, how naturally immorality, irreligion, and revolutionary principles go together, will produce a single sentence, in which the author's political sentiments are most unnecessarily intermingled with the course of a scientific history.

“ The French revolution, however favorable to the progress of society by the emancipation of energies and intellects, and by the general subdivision and distribution of property, has, as was to be expected, been injurious to gardening, as an art of design.” (P. 35.)

It really is lamentable, that a book, calculated to be so useful in its department, and written with so much ability, should be rendered so noxious as to prevent any conscientious man from promoting its circulation ; and it seems like infatuation in an author, thus to render his own work odious in the sight of the major part of the community for which it was written. We cannot however but observe the mischievous diligence and perverse subtlety, with which sceptics have in all ages endeavored to disseminate their evil principles : and therefore we feel it a duty to detect and expose, as far as we can, the treacherous modes, that are adopted to advance its progress.

ART. IV.—*Sermons on important points of Faith and Duty.*

By the Rev. R. P. Buddicom, M.A. F.A.S. Minister of St. George's, Everton, and late Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge. London: Seeleys. 1822. 12mo. 2 vols. pp. xviii. and 773.

THESE volumes fairly redeem the pledge given in their title-page. They are Sermons on important points of Faith and Duty. In giving our readers a general insight into their contents, we shall chiefly be guided by the nature of the subjects to be noticed.

The second and third sermons in the first volume are fair specimens of the work. They state many of the common hindrances to comfort and success in prayer, and give the following description of those preliminary qualifications, without which it is only a formal exercise.

"If prayer be any thing, it is the utterance of one self-condemned, to the Being by whom he was made, the Judge by whose verdict he must abide, the Redeemer through whose mercy he may be saved—even to Him who, to exhibit and magnify his compassion here and in heaven, in time and in eternity, has given us his own Son, *in whom we have redemption through his blood, even the remission of sins.* If prayer have any especial requisites, contrition must be its very essence. *We acknowledge, O Lord, our wickedness, and the iniquity of our fathers, for we have sinned against thee. Do not abhor us, for thy Name's sake; do not disgrace the throne of thy glory: remember, break not thy covenant with us.* The compilers of our Liturgy were men deeply and practically acquainted with the truth as it is in Jesus; and they have made an humble scriptural confession of sin the prelude to prayer. Unaffected, indeed, by our condition while in unpardoned transgression and unsanctified nature; ignorant of the solemn fact, that if we are not *washed, justified, and sanctified, in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of God,* we cannot enjoy his love, or see his face, or partake his glory; our prayers will be but empty breath, our intercourse with Heaven but a lifeless form. *They that be whole need not a physician, but they that are sick.* Without a proper sense of the evil predominating within us, there can be no holy freedom in prayer; no aspiration of the soul towards heaven; no unrestrained utterance of the Psalmist's cry, *Make me a clean heart, O God; and renew a right Spirit within me.* Uninfluenced by that first principle of Christianity,—that without an interest in the propitiation of Him who died for us, the Just for the unjust, we lie under the sentence of Divine wrath—though we have a name to live, we are dead. While the unconscious lips are imploring mercy and deliverance; while they are pleading his agony and bloody sweat, his cross and passion, his precious death and burial, his glorious resurrection and ascension; the heart is altogether estranged from the spirit of supplication; and the prayer

itself is the painted flame, without the heat that forms its worth and reality." (Vol. I. Pp. 21—23.)

On the absence of fervour from our devotions, he has this animated and well sustained passage.

"If this fervour in prayer be wanting, the deficiency originates in an evil heart of unbelief, which departs from the living God. We want faith. We do not acquiesce in the scriptural declarations of our condition, and our danger, or we could never continue thus indifferent. Imagine the sensations that arose in the mind of Hagar when she turned from Ishmael, perishing with thirst, and cast her eye upon the well in the wilderness. Figure to yourselves the feelings of the manslayer, when he first beheld the walls of the city of refuge, and knew that the avenger of blood was tracking his footsteps with unwearied speed. Did the one seek the water, and the other the inviolable sanctuary of the consecrated city, with languid, lagging pace? Surely not. They knew that life depended upon their activity, and they urged exertion to its utmost speed. Did we, in like manner, know and believe the record of God, that without an interest in his covenant of mercy we are undone for ever; that in unpardoned sin we can enjoy no peace with Heaven, no true tranquillity of conscience, no real hope, no abiding comfort in the time of our tribulation, no sure refuge in a dying hour, no salvation in a judgment-day; we should be found fervent, earnest, importunate in prayer, and we should succeed accordingly. *If thou knewest the gift of God, and who it is that saith unto thee, Give me to drink, thou wouldest have asked of him, and he would have given thee living water.*" (Vol. I. Pp. 32, 33.)

Mr. Buddicom's statements respecting the native character of man, and his moral inability to awake from the lethargic and deathlike slumber of sin to spiritual life, are in strict accordance with the standard of doctrine maintained by the church of which he is a minister, and with that of the oracles of God. We refer to the sixth sermon in the first volume, but more particularly to the third sermon in the second.

"Regard his condition. For all the purposes, indeed, of self-gratification; for the pursuit of present enjoyment; and for an inordinate love of the things and joys of time, and sense, and sin, there are principles and faculties of life and action too powerfully developed, too plain, too palpable, to be denied. There is a vigour of enterprise, a restlessness of activity, a perseverance of effort, which obtrude themselves upon our notice; and we must close our eyes against the course and current of human action not to observe them. The passions are agitated; the thoughts are absorbed; the affections eager; but the pursuits to which all are naturally given with entire and unceasing devotion, while they mark the activity of life, mark also the energy of that carnal mind which is enmity against God. They are symptomatic, not of the health and being, but of the disease and death, of the soul: just as the more vigorously and ardently one deprived of reason follows the object of his perverted mind, the more plainly is the

inveterate malignancy of his case marked in the eye and estimation of a discerning physician. One thus dead may be a treasury of knowledge; he may perform the external duties of religion; he may be not merely sensitive and active for present enjoyment or superiority, but zealous for public duty, and amiable in social life. But bring the man to the law of God, as the test of his spiritual state; as the Gileadites brought the men of Ephraim to the test of the Shibboleth at the passes of Jordan; and his pretension to a spiritual existence, as his natural endowment and hereditary possession, will be just as real as the claim of the shadow to those properties of matter which essentially reside in the substance. Bid him love the Lord with all his heart, and soul, and mind, and strength: bid him deny his pride, his self-indulgence, his love of honour, his overweening respect for human esteem, and his desire to establish, before a pure and holy God, a righteousness of his own, as his plea of merit and justification: bid him love the Divine law for that very character of spirituality and holiness which the finger of Jehovah has stamped upon it: bid him subordinate every passion, as it rises in all its first energy from the recesses of his heart, to the Divine command, and say, *Father, not my will, but thine be done*: bid him have one impulse of duty, the *love* of God; one rule of conduct, the *law* of God; one end of life, the *glory* of God;—and then mark the consequence. This is the standard of truth; he will fall far below it. This is the balance of the sanctuary; he will be weighed, and found wanting. This is the test of the life of God in the soul; and he will prove his possession of its power and its prevalence exactly as the dead body proves its claim to the powers and functions of natural life, when the nerves and muscles are agitated beneath the potent stimulus of the Galvanist; every motion the while being as involuntary, and as much unconnected with the mind, will, or affections, as are the sympathies of creatures in different worlds. There will be no habitual insensibility to things divine and eternal; there will be no vigour in the exercises of spiritual religion; none of those sacred joys, and hopes and fears; none of those high and heavenly principles, which mark the character of renewed and converted man.” (Vol. II. Pp. 44—46.)

The necessity of a supernatural and divine influence descending upon the soul, thus wrapped in the sleep of death, is stated with our author's characteristic energy.

“While the seer prophesied at the bidding of Heaven, there was, indeed, a noise and a shaking; and the bones came together, bone to his bone: the sinews and the flesh came upon them, and the skin covered them above, but there was no life in them; the spark, which was to give them being, remained itself to be enkindled: but when he did his further bidding and said—‘Thus saith the Lord, Come from the four winds, O breath, and breathe upon these slain, that they may live!’—immediately the breath came into them, and they lived and stood upon their feet, an exceeding great army. Even thus the Gospel will be a dead letter, or produce only the semblance of life, until the Spirit from on high, that Spirit which on the glorious day of

Pentecost came down from heaven, on its life-giving errand, shall in like manner come into the sinner's heart; commend the Gospel to him in all its fulness and fitness; convince him of sin like the three thousand hearers of the first Christian sermon, the first fruits of the Gospel harvest; take of the things of Christ, and shew to him; animate his apprehension to discern the beauty and the requirement of evangelical salvation; overrule his will to choose the better part; sanctify his affections, that they may be fixed on the faith and virtues which Redemption demands from its aspirants; and renew his heart with that heavenly nature which bears, as its stamp and mark of currency, the image and impress of Jesus Christ." (Vol. II. Pp. 50, 51.)

Nor are these doctrines put forward only in some particular discourses. They find a place, more or less prominent, in all. The sole basis, too, on which the reconstruction of this ruined edifice of fallen nature can be effected, is laid open to the eye in its full, and broad, and ample proportions.

"*Other foundation*, as we know, on which to erect a system for the advancement of divine glory, or for the recovery, resting-place, and salvation of sinners, *can no man lay, save that is laid, which is Jesus Christ*. Let us, therefore, take him as that sure ground-work, which the Apostle declares that the Lord had laid in the Zion of his church, and on which its present and everlasting interests shall safely and triumphantly rest. Very willingly indeed would the pride, and ignorance, and alienation of man's natural heart, build upon other and unhallowed ground. Very willingly would man place that house, which he hopes should reach to heaven, upon the treachery of the quicksand, instead of the stability of the Rock of Ages. Rather than rest upon the free and all-sufficient mercy of his Redeemer, and upon the consummated purposes of Divine love in his incarnation and passion, he would erect his expectation of eternal life, either on his own righteousness, or upon a monstrous alliance, which he imagines may exist in the great work of his salvation, between his own righteousness and the righteousness of his Redeemer. He would unite his own work, and the merit of Jesus; and thus claim equality of glory with him in the work of his salvation. But what are the decisions of Scripture? What is the testimony of that Voice, spoken to us by the truth of Heaven; that Voice, whose least declaration shall be ratified in the judgment-day? *Be it known unto you, that there is salvation in none other: neither is there any other name under heaven given to men, whereby they may be saved.*" (Vol I. Pp. 162, 163.)

If there is one point on which this truly scriptural writer urges his readers more frequently than on any other, it is that of not giving to the Saviour a partial, but an entire reception.

"The Christian, acting under a presiding sense of duty, and under the impulse of grateful affection, will aim that God in all things may be glorified by Jesus Christ. And if he can manifest that the religion which the Holy Spirit has taught him at the feet of Jesus, gives him, not only a name to live, but the inclination and the power to subdue

sin, deny himself, and follow the law of life with the undeviating rectitude of a sincere believer, the Author of a Gospel producing effects of a character so marked and important, will be regarded with reverence and affection. Men will ascertain that he has not ascended with his Saviour into the Mount, conversed with him in the privacy of his chamber, sought him in his ordinances, been united with him in the sacrament of his passion, studied his word, and prayed for the presence of his Spirit, without a sanctifying result too plain to be denied. He will be traced, even by the most superficial observation, to have been with his great Teacher in the synagogue, for instruction ; at the cross of his Redeemer, for pardon ; at the throne of the Intercessor, for acceptance ; and at every stage of the life of his perfect Pattern, for example." (Vol. I. Pp. 80, 81.)

The discourses we are reviewing possess one quality among many, which entitles them to particular notice, and adapts them for extensive usefulness. Each of the greater number of them is, so to speak, a *continuous application* of its topic. Some, who sustain the high office of instructors of their fellow-men, preach and write, as though they had to deal with abstract truth, irrespective of man. Mr. Buddicom throughout his volumes handles truth as the instrument of reaching the human heart, and deals with man as immediately concerned in that truth. He does not, through four fifths of his sermon, leave us at an uncertainty, whether or not we have a specific and personal interest in his subject : but from his exordium to his peroration, one, and another, and all are impressed with a conviction, that he is charged with a commission, not only of a general, but of a special and individual character : *I have a message from God unto thee.*

To the selection of this text indeed, more especially for three sermons, as has been done by our author at the close of his first volume, we must acknowledge we have some objection, chiefly, because there is an utter incongruity between the occasion of the words, and their application. The message of Ehud was a message of destruction : but the message of a christian minister is a message of salvation ; and, while there are so many texts, which directly declare this truth, such as—'We are ambassadors for Christ'—'we preached unto you the gospel of God'—we do not see what advantage arises from rousing up the painful images, with which in the history of Eglon it stands associated. Indeed, though we are far from objecting to the accommodation of scriptural passages to a kindred sense, for the sake of occasional illustration, or from habitual delight in the richness of scriptural imagery, yet in any case we do not think the text of a sermon a fit place for such accommodation, inasmuch as that is, or ought to be, an authoritative and inspired

authentication of the several doctrines or statements, which follow.

The sermon, which has the best show of originality, is the twelfth in the second volume. The subject is DAVID'S INCONSIDERATE WISH: and the practical inferences of the writer well merit an attentive perusal. It is in this manner, that the recorded and apparently venial failings of eminently great and devoutly good men are made to speak in an admonitory tone to their brethren in infirmity. We select one passage as an exemplar of the whole discourse.

“ David refused to drink of the water, and poured it out upon the ground, *not merely as a victory over his own temptation, but as an affectionate rebuke of that precipitate love which had induced the rash exploit of his captains.* Among those, who regard the monarch's wish as the mere venial expression of a momentary feeling, he will be considered as having thus made ample amends for the peril which his thoughtlessness had occasioned. Even they who may be disposed to view the transaction more seriously, as involving a degree of sin, will esteem this wise and generous act of forbearance as the best apology to be made to his captains for his own culpable impatience of thirst; and as the kindest caution against such lavish exposure of their lives in future. There is a magnanimity of self-denial in this action, irresistibly impressive. It is related of Sir Philip Sidney, once the ornament of England, and the envy of Europe, that after having received his mortal wound in the bloody skirmish of Zutphen, some water, of which he was eagerly desirous, was given him by his attendants. As he was raising it to his lips, a mangled and bleeding soldier was carried past him, whose eyes were anxiously, yet despairingly, fixed upon it. ‘Take it,’ said the generous commander, by whom the action was not unobserved; ‘thy need is even greater than my own.’ I would not undervalue this generous sacrifice, which would probably be more extensively admired than imitated. The self-denial of David, is however, still more remarkable. Our countryman resigned his own gratification to the more pressing want of his fellow-soldier. The king of Israel not only abstained from an indulgence to which he must have been solicited with an eagerness not to be appreciated, except by those who have felt the extreme of thirst, but had moral courage enough to deny to others what he felt improper to allow himself, and to do this at a moment when, by offering the water to the brave men whose courage had procured it, he might have obtained the praise of a self-restraint and generosity almost without parallel. Let this be your example. Let your own conduct prevent others, if possible, from sin: and if unguarded nature, and unsanctified desire, should at any time exhibit a dangerous example, or place a destructive temptation in the way of others, endeavor, by repentance and an earnest supplication for pardon through the cross of Christ, to be justified from the imputation of your sin. Endeavor also, as a solemn duty no less necessary to your neighbour, than the former to your own soul,

to exhibit such plain and practical proof of self-denial, as shall exhibit a genuine sorrow, and correct, if possible, the error or sin into which your example may have seduced those around you. Guard well the avenues by which evil may approach yourselves; and be unslumbering watchmen for the spiritual welfare of those whom the providence of God may have committed to your protection and care.

“*David poured the water out unto the Lord.* What does this phrase imply? He offered it as a solemn drink-offering to the Most High. He made the very temptation by which he had been assailed, and by which he had been in some degree subdued, a mean of praising God by an act of self-denial, which Divine grace enabled him to practise. Be this conduct, my dear hearers, the model of your own. Sacrifice every unholy desire, and every incitement to sin, to that God in whose strength you must overcome them. Crucify them upon the cross of your Saviour's love. Convert into an offering of praise the occasions of evil; and glorify God by the very snares which the enemy of man has laid for your souls.” (Vol. ii. p. 212—215.)

We have only further to notice a few slight blemishes. There is a trifling error in vol. i. p. 71. It was not the *multitude*, but the Jewish *council*, who adopted the sentiment, which he takes as the basis of an excellent discourse on the EXEMPLIFICATION OF RELIGION. An instance of bad taste occurs in vol. ii. p. 70, which we rather hope is not original with our author, but culled from some tome of antiquated theology.

“We have, indeed, but a *hin* of this spirit, compared with the *ephah* that descended in such glorious largess upon the world, on the triumphant ascension-day of Jesus Christ.”

In the sermon ON THE CHARACTER AND CONVERSION OF CORNELIUS, there is an obscurity, which, if not inherent in the sentiment of the author, we should be glad to see removed from his language.

“A good life has its value: prayer to God, mercy to man, a spiritual regard to family religion, have their value. They come up before the Lord, not with a claim of merit, but with a plea for mercy.” (Vol. II. p. 319.)

Now we are perfectly assured of Mr. Buddicom's concurrence, when we assert, that the Christian system allows no *plea for mercy* at the hands of God, but that, which is derived from the obedience unto death of Immanuel.

The sermons in general, which owe their appearance before the public to “a severe illness which long excluded their author wholly or partially from public ministerial service,” bear ample testimony to his qualifications for a work to which, we trust, he has returned.

ART. V.—*Travels in various Countries of Europe, Asia, and Africa.* By Edward Daniel Clarke, LL.D. Part the Third. Scandinavia. Section the Second. London: Cadell. 1823. 4to. pp. xviii. & 555.

THIS posthumous finale to Dr. Clarke's series of ponderous quartos partakes of most of the features of its predecessors. It begins at Christiania, and ends in Petersburg, and thus introduces to the notice of the reader much curious information concerning parts of Norway, Sweden, and Russia.

The work having been already ushered into public view in other journals, we shall not attempt to give a particular analysis of its contents, but be satisfied with extracting a few of the more interesting statements from those parts of the author's travels, which are the most new to our countrymen. For this reason, as his former remarks upon Russia have obtained much notoriety and provoked sufficient discussion to settle their merits in the estimation of the public, we shall say nothing about the latter part of his volume.

The following statement affords not only by what it says, but by what it implies, a remarkable picture of the state of society in Norway. In visiting the magnificent establishment of a wealthy merchant in Christiania, this conversation took place:—

“ ‘ I must send to England,’ said he, ‘ for almost every thing: all the linen of my family is sent annually to London to be washed.’ And when we observed that the stock of linen must be very large to admit of such an arrangement, he added, ‘ that it was absolutely necessary to have a large stock of every thing in Norway, and each man must keep it within his own stores.’ ‘ We cannot,’ said he, ‘ go to market, or to shops, as you do in English towns: here those, who would live handsomely, must collect into their own warehouses, from all parts of the world, whatsoever they may have occasion for, from the flour of which they make their bread, to the beef, the pork, the poultry, and all the stores necessary for a whole year's consumption. This makes living in Norway perhaps more expensive than in any other part of Europe. Mr. Anker told us, that he had thirty servants upon his own establishment, and that his brother kept sixty. The fuel, consumed upon his premises, for the number of different stoves amounted to above four times as much as a nobleman's family would consume in Copenhagen: and we were rather surprised to hear him say that fire-wood was an expensive article, in such a region of timber. But horses constitute the article of heaviest expenditure to a gentleman in Norway, owing to the general high price of hay.”

“ The great preparation for the year's consumption in Christiania, as in all the rest of Norway, is made in the autumn. The season of

slaughter for the supply of the whole winter, takes place in the month of October; and the number of cattle killed upon this occasion is astonishing. The smallest and most private families salt a certain quantity; but in the larger houses it is a work of peculiar exertion, especially for the mistress. To become a good Norwegian wife, a lady must absolutely be educated in Norway. The mistress of each family presides over all the autumnal hoarding of provisions, and in person directs every operation. In one morning that we called upon Mr. Anker eighteen bullocks had been slaughtered, and his stock was not by any means complete. Some of the meat is pickled; the rest dried. The fat is melted into tallow, and nothing wasted. Even the blood is saved." (Pp. 14—16.)

The most surprising part in this statement is that, which relates to Norwegian linen, washed in London; which, if correctly reported, would seem to indicate a remarkable dearth of willing laborers in Christiania for the common purposes of life. But we presume, that the determining cause of this preference must be the consideration, that to increase the number of dependents upon a large family by adding to it those, who would have to wash for all the rest, would enlarge greatly the number of mouths, and consequently create a corresponding necessity for still further augmenting the enormous annual stores to be collected in autumn. This disuse, however, of native industry must aggravate and tend to perpetuate the poverty of the country, and will account in great measure for the immense accumulation of wealth, which is found in the hands of a few individuals amidst surrounding penury. The want of regular markets also, by promoting waste, must concur with this cause in crippling the resources of the country, and keeping the amount of its maintainable population low. Hence we are the less surprised, when we are told, that

"the port of Frederickstad was for the most part possessed by two merchants." (Pp. 27, 28.)

May not the same cause also have something to do with the fact, that

"Norway has many beggars, and Christiania is full of them? In the northern districts they are less numerous, but here they actually swarm. The very passages and chambers of the inn where we lodged were never free from mendicants. They would open the doors of our apartments without hesitation, and enter even into the bedrooms. If they found any person within, they were clamorous for money; if not, they supplied themselves with whatever they could lay hold of as most portable. Some of them had the audacity to steal stockings belonging to our servants, from their bedrooms, before their faces." (P. 33.)

Dr. Clarke indeed attributes this nuisance altogether to

"that mixture with the inhabitants of other countries, to which, as a place of foreign commerce, Christiania is rendered liable." (P. 34.)

And no doubt this has its effect. But it acts chiefly (we suspect) through the medium of that discouragement of native industry, which the facilities of commercial adventure, amidst its many advantages, have entailed upon the country.

"The consequence, however, of so much indigence, mixed with so much wealth, is a constant call upon the rich to support and maintain the poor." (P. 34.)

This state of things introduces some just observations, which we gladly transcribe, together with the splendid panegyric upon his munificent host, with which they stand connected.

"Nothing conduces more to keep the latter in a state of indigence, than the institution of poor-houses, however benevolent the views of their founders. Bernard Anker, the pattern in his own example of benevolence towards the poor, supported two houses of this description at his own expense; but then he wisely contrived, that they should become houses of industry as well as of charity. He eminently possessed that 'voluntary and active charity which makes itself acquainted with the objects which it relieves; which seems to feel and be proud of the bond which unites the rich with the poor; which enters into their houses; informs itself not only of their wants, but of their habits and dispositions; checks the hopes of clamorous and obtrusive poverty with no other recommendation but rags; and encourages with adequate relief the silent and retiring sufferer, laboring under unmerited difficulties.' If ever there were a man in whose individual character every qualification had been combined, fitted to form the patriot, the statesman, the friend and guardian of society, the deliverer of the needy, the public benefactor, the patron of genius, of literature, and the arts, it was Bernard Anker." (Pp. 34, 35.)

Might it not further be suggested to so enlightened a merchant and philanthropist, that to employ the poor in honest industry, before they become dependent on charitable support, would be a still more profitable direction of their energies, by substituting a preventive for a corrective system, and by stimulating voluntary labour so as to save the necessity of resorting to that which is compulsory?

Of a piece with the description already given, are the only remaining facts, which we think it necessary to mention. Christiania, though containing nine thousand inhabitants, and exporting annually the value of 150,000*l.* sterling, has no bank.

"There is not a pound of fresh butter to be bought in Christiania. All persons use what they make themselves, or they salt it for keeping. The farmers, who live higher up the country, go for two months, from June to August, up the mountains, to pasture their cattle. They then live in little temporary wooden sheds; and it is during these two months that they make the greatest part of their butter, which is salted, and brought to the fair at Christiania in the winter, upon

sledges. The butter is bought by the families in the neighbourhood, for the use of their servants : but the better sort of people eat the butter imported from Holstein. So little has the custom of selling fresh butter prevailed, that if a person wished to dispose of any, he would hardly find a purchaser. The cattle, during winter, besides hay and straw, where these may be had, are chiefly foddered with the leaves and small branches of a species of poplar, gathered at the end of the summer, and stored for winter provision." (Pp. 70, 71.)

The laboring poor are chiefly fed and lodged by their employers, and, where this is not the case, are often, especially if they happen to have large families, reduced to great distress, as might be expected indeed from the universal practice of storing.

We must next give a specimen (for we can do no more) of the author's enterprising disposition in investigating subterraneous curiosities and treasures. Speaking of the entrance to the great iron-mines of Persberg, in Sweden, he says,

"As we drew near to the wide and open abyss, a vast and sudden prospect of yawning caverns and of prodigious machinery prepared us for the descent. We approached the edge of the dreadful gulph whence the ore is raised, and ventured to look down, standing upon the verge of a sort of platform, constructed over it in such a manner as to command a view into the great opening as far as the eye could penetrate amidst its gloomy depths : for, to the sight, it is bottomless. Immense buckets, suspended by rattling chains, were passing up and down : and we could perceive ladders scaling all the inward precipices ; upon which the work-people, reduced by their distance to pigmies in size, were ascending and descending. Far below the utmost of these figures, a deep and gaping gulph, the mouth of the lowermost pits, was, by its darkness, rendered impervious to the view. From the spot where we stood, down to the place where the buckets are filled, the distance might be about seventy-five fathoms ; and as soon as any of these buckets emerged from the gloomy cavity we have mentioned, or until they entered into it in their descent, they were visible ; but below this point they were hid in darkness. The clanking of the chains, the groaning of the pumps, the hallooing of the miners, the creaking of the blocks and wheels, the trampling of horses, the beating of the hammers, and the loud and frequent subterraneous thunder from the blasting of the rocks by gunpowder, in the midst of all this scene of excavation and uproar, produced an effect which no stranger can behold unmoved. We descended with two of the miners, and our interpreter, into this abyss. The ladders, instead of being placed like those in our Cornish mines, upon a series of platforms, as so many landing places, are lashed together in one unbroken line, extending many fathoms ; and, being warped to suit the inclination or curvature of the sides of the precipices, they are not always perpendicular, but hang over in such a manner, that, even if a person held fast by his hands, and if his feet should happen to slip, they would fly off from the ladder, and leave him suspended over the gulph. Yet

such ladders are the only means of access to the works below." (Pp. 101, 102.)

The continuation of this description is executed with equal force, and introduces the reader into a condition of human existence not to be contemplated without a train of painful reflections.

Besides this mine, Dr. Clarke visited the silver-mines of Kongsberg and the copper-mine of Fahlun: and much valuable information is communicated by him in respect to the geological structure of the rocks, and the method of working the produce in each. But for these details we must refer those, who are intent on prosecuting these branches of study, to the work itself. Nor can we even enter into an examination of the author's proofs, that the death of Charles the Twelfth was occasioned by an assassin; or of his anecdotes concerning the political eccentricities of Gustavus the Fourth.

The population of Stockholm is thus singularly analysed.

"The number of inhabitants in the whole city is estimated at something less than the population of the city of Bristol: it amounts to 72,652. In this number there were, at this time, thirty-six wig-makers, and only one cutler; forty-seven vintners and not a single chimney-sweeper; nineteen coffee-roasters, although coffee had been prohibited, and only nine coppersmiths; seventy goldsmiths and jewellers, and only four brasiers; one hundred and thirteen keepers of ordinaries, and only one toolgrinder. We could find nothing good that had been manufactured in the country, excepting *iron, tar, and gloves*. The gloves of Scania are the best in the world; but all other articles were of inferior quality, unless they had been imported from England, in which case they were considered as contraband, and were sold at immense prices, and in a clandestine manner. The glass works were all bad: the same may be said of all the works of joiners and cabinet-makers; cloth, leather, &c. &c. Yet one of the most singular sights in Stockholm is the boot and shoe market: this is a building near the Palace, to which there is an ascent by a flight of stairs, where ready made boots and shoes are sold very cheap; and were it not for the inferiority of the leather, and the negligence shewn in the work, boots are no where better made. The astonishing quantity exposed for sale, in this market, is really worth a visit to the place: it is a kind of gallery, filled with stalls, and attended by women. With regard to other articles of trade, the inferiority of the Swedish workmanship, and in many instances the total want of the article itself, is very striking. A whole day may be lost in inquiring for the most common necessities." (Pp. 270, 271.)

But we should do injustice to the volume, if we did not give some account of its most remarkable peculiarity, the narrative of a most formidable and perilous expedition from Stockholm to Abo; in the course of which some very interesting and

valuable phænomena are detailed, relating to the formation of ice.

The travellers set out at the commencement of the winter-season, which, though the best season for travelling in Sweden, is not so, as will soon appear, for the purpose of crossing the Aland isles, in the passage from Finland. They commenced their journey on the fourteenth of December, in a close vehicle, but soon found the cold so piercing, that even a bottle of Madeira became solid in the carriage, and the travellers at length discovered, as the natives told them, that they would be less sensible of the action of the atmosphere in an open carriage than in a close one. On the seventeenth they set sail from Grissehamn: and of this adventurous navigation we must enable the author to communicate a few particulars to our readers.

“The wind had been gathering strength the whole of the preceding night; and we endeavored, but in vain, to prevail upon our boatmen to take in a few reefs in the enormous sail with which they ventured forth in their small and rude bark. The carriage had been put on board soon after sunset; and we seated ourselves within it, to avoid as much as possible the piercing nature of the blast. Scarcely had we cleared the rocks around the bay of Grissehamn, when the vessel, gunnelling on her lee-side from the pressure of so much canvas, neither proportioned to the boat nor to the weather, shipped a sea, that threatened at once to sink her. The effect of this was rendered the more alarming by the beginning of that horrid state of confusion, in which men lose all presence of mind: one pulled at the boom, another let slip a wrong rope, and all management of the boat seemed to be lost. We made our escape from the window of the carriage, by means of the main-stay, which was within reach; and in another instant, those who could swim would have taken to the water, with a view to reach one of the rocks over which the sea was beating, and thence endeavor to gain the nearest shore. At this dreadful moment, when disorder and the tempest seemed to govern every thing, the man at the helm, by a daring but dextrous effort, put the vessel quite about, and saved us all. The management of the sail was then recovered; and, getting under a lee-shore, we rolled back to Grissehamn.”—(Pp. 302, 303.)

Thus ended their first attempt at departure. Three days afterwards they made another, with no less danger, though with better success.

“Our mariners, who belonged to Aland, and were impatient to return, came to summon us on board; saying the weather was more mild and the wind somewhat favorable, and that they wished to sail with all possible expedition. After what we had before experienced, it was wrong in us to venture a second time, without a certainty of a more tranquil sea; but it was much greater rashness to allow the car-

riage to be conveyed in the same boat. The Grissehamn and Aland boats are neither accustomed to the transportation of carriages, nor are they suited to their conveyance. The sight of our vessel, half filled with snow, in which the carriage, propped upon poles, yet rolled about with the slightest motion, reminded us of an old distich, not inapplicable to our present folly in venturing on board:—

“Seven men of Gotham
Went to sea in a bowl,” &c.

We set sail. The morning was dark: and the shore here is so formed, that the appearance of the horizon and of the sea cannot be discerned until the land has been cleared. The sky looked fearfully red towards the east, and as fearfully black towards the west, in which quarter the wind was. We expressed our apprehensions to the boatmen; but they said that within four hours they could take us over, and that the wind would not increase within that time. Scarcely had we cleared the land, when we beheld a sea, at which even our Alanders were appalled: at the same time it came on to blow with great violence, the gale gathering force at every instant. But the storm of wind was nothing, compared to the state of the sea; which, having been agitated for many days, presented to our astonished boatmen mountains of boiling water. Nothing could more effectually convince us of our serious situation, than seeing the consternation of the crew. We begged them to put back, as they had done before. This they confessed they would gladly accede to, but that it was impossible: that all we could now do was, to bear up to windward, in the hope of making one of the Aland Isles, and avoid being driven into the Baltic. Within ten minutes after our danger became apparent, every hope seemed to vanish. Our interpreter, as a seaman in the East-India service, had doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and often sailed in storms in the Atlantic Ocean; but he confessed he had never beheld such a sea as was here gathered in the Aland Haf. One of the Alanders, an experienced sailor, took the helm, and made his comrades lower the foresail. The mainsail could not be dispensed with, as we were falling fast to leeward; and without bearing to windward we must inevitably perish. We continued to luff from time to time; but when “the rising world of waters,” in mountain-breakers, threatened to overwhelm us, the yells of all our boatmen became a signal to the helmsman to oppose to it the stern of the vessel; and thus, letting her drive before the sea, to fall off to leeward, being carried into a gulph of foam, which broke over both sides of our boat, and covered us with the waves. Half drowned and gasping, we saw far behind us, when we were lifted upon the tops of the billows, another boat in equal distress; and this occasionally disappeared so completely from our view, as to make us believe she had foundered: but when she hove again in sight, she was so far to windward of us, that there was not the smallest chance of our being able to reach her by swimming, in case of our being upset: and we afterwards learned, that she had entirely given us over, and had too much to do in baling the water, which filled on her leeward side, to think of rendering us any assistance. The principal part of our distress was attributed, by the boatmen, to the having our car-

riage on board; and they reproached us on this account. Every time the vessel heeled, the weight and swing of this vehicle, propped high in the boat, made her ship more water than she would have done otherwise. We soon came to the resolution of consigning it, with all we had, to the deep, and gave orders to the men to heave it overboard. This was attempted, but they assured us we should sink the vessel in so doing, and abandoned the undertaking. By cutting away, however, the props upon which the carriage was supported, we contrived to lower it upon the ballast, and the vessel labored less in consequence. Still, however, the storm increased; and the sea washed over us continually. Huddled together near the stern, we could only trust to Providence, and, in the intervals when the sea left us, watch the countenance of our undaunted helmsman. After all, we knew not how our escape was effected, being quite stupified and benumbed by our dreadful situation. All that the author could recollect of the first glimpse of hope was, that, after long struggling in endeavours to recover the vessel's lee-way, the island on which the Aland telegraph is stationed appeared at a great distance to leeward, under the boom of the mainsail. Soon afterwards, getting another island to windward, the sea was thereby rendered somewhat more tranquil, and the boatmen set up a shout, saying "*Bra! Bra!—Ingen fara! Det har ingen fara!*"* After this we sailed through the Sound, and close to the shore; but could not land on account of the surf. Having passed these islands, we steered for Ekero, the sea being much more calm, and arrived there soon after mid-day."—(Pp. 307—310.)

The rest of the journey was partly performed upon the ice, by means of sledges; and the author says—

"The first day of our sledge-travelling convinced us of the folly and inconvenience of being pent in close carriages, when performing a winter-journey in such a climate. Never was any mode of travelling more delightful than this of the open sledge. In the carriage, we were always complaining of the rigours of the temperature: in the sledge, although exposed to the open air, we found no inconvenience from the utmost severity of the frost. The atmosphere was so clear and dry, that, being well clothed, the effect of it was charming. An intensity of general cheerfulness seemed to keep pace with the intensity of the season; brilliant skies; horses neighing and prancing; peasants laughing, and singing—"Fine snow! brave ice! brave winter;"—merry-making in all the villages; festival days, with unclouded suns; nights of inconceivable splendour and ineffable brightness; the glorious firmament displaying one uninterrupted flood of light, heightened by an Aurora Borealis, while boundless fields of snow reflected every ray. Add to this the velocity, with which the sledge-drawn traveller is made to fly over sea and over land, over lakes and over plains, amidst islands and rocks, through snowy groves and forests bending with the weight of glittering icicles; here

* 'Bravo! Bravo! No danger! There is no danger!'

winding through thick woods, there at large upon the solid main—"durum calcavimus æquor;"—in the midst of scenery so novel, but withal so pleasing in the richness, the variety, and the beauty of the effect! The snow too, in itself, is not one of the least of the wonders; for, though it be not seen to fall, it gradually accumulates." (Pp. 320, 321.)

On another occasion, when they were waiting to embark from one of the Aland isles for Finland, they were stopped by finding the sea frozen in a single night; of which singular phenomenon the following account is given:

"Nothing tends so effectually towards the freezing of the sea as a fall of snow into the salt-water. At this time of the year, when the temperature is nearly that required to effect the freezing up of these passages, a fall of snow is sure to bring this to pass; although an instance had seldom occurred in which the wide opening between Vardo and Kumlinge was thus suddenly rendered solid. Near the shore, it seemed to have been the work of an instant; the waves being caught by the intensity of the frost, and fixed upon the surface in all their undulating forms." (P. 330.)

In the further progress of this dangerous expedition, the ice appearing thin and hazardous, Dr. Clarke met with a still more fearful adventure than any which he had yet encountered. He was walking along the ice with guides, all provided with pikes, the effect of which in bringing up water on being plunged into the ice gave warning, that the ice was unsound. Upon this the guides deserted him, and shifted each for himself; and he was left to struggle with his own difficulties, as he might. After many falls, however, and hazards, he contrived to reach the rocky shore of an island, to the edge of which the ice did not extend. From this island he again launched in a boat, which was set fast in the ice, a party of natives undertaking to force it through.

"The sail belonging to this boat, when produced, was found to be frozen into a solid sheet of ice: but, after much labour, this was hoisted; and, a plank being fastened with nails along the ribs of the boat, to prevent her staving, she was laid upon her side; and we all got into her, except two of the men, who remained upon the ice, holding by her bows. In this manner she scudded before the wind upon the surface of the thin and rotten ice; which soon giving way to the superincumbent weight, we sunk, boat and all, into the water; the two peasants, without, remaining suspended, one at the prow, the other at the stern. Now began a part of the operation, in which these men, accustomed to such trials, shew very considerable dexterity. By giving their vessel a swinging motion, alternately raising and depressing the prow, as it was forced by the sail upon the ice, they continually succeeded in breaking a way through it; and penetrated along the channel, thus formed, towards the open sea, by a tedious but sure progress of about 400 yards in an hour. Fortunately

ly, a fair wind blew with great violence; which aided the undertaking more than any thing else, the men being nearly exhausted, before the passage was thoroughly effected."—(Pp. 349, 350.)

After getting into the open sea the travellers were again in danger of being set fast, by a sudden fall of snow, and its rapid effect upon the water.

"The change was so rapid, as the snow continued falling, that when we were drawing near to the Sattunga shore, we found ourselves sailing through immense moving slabs of ice; which were driven with such force against each other, that the noise of their striking together, all around us, was like the sound of a hundred drums beating: our boat was driven against them with a degree of violence that made us apprehensive of her splitting. At about two miles distance, we descried a boat, already beginning to be set fast, and working its way as we had done before, in a part of the sea where these floating masses had already fixed themselves into a compact state. The water itself seemed full of snow; but this appearance always takes place whenever its particles are beginning to congeal. That the whole passage would speedily become frozen, was very evident; and this change actually took place in the course of the night. An open channel admitted us within 250 yards of the Island of Sattunga: and here the ice was strong enough to bear the weight of our boatmen, while they drew their vessel out of the water, and laid her up in a snug birth for the night. This birth, at any other time, would have been considered by me as an object of great curiosity: it was a beautiful cave of ice, hung with pendent icicles and spangling crystal gems, the palace of the seals, and temple of their amours: but under the pressure of fatigue and cold and hunger, all its beauties could not detain me, even for an instant. The boatmen had already quitted it: and, having cast my eye over the arched roof and sides of this natural wonder, I followed them, through a forest, to the village."—(Pp. 351, 352.)

The whole journey was closed in the following picturesque manner:—

"I found the whole body drawn up, as in military array. The dress of the Sattunga peasants was moreover uniform: they were all clad in the same simple and cleanly manner, wearing white sheep-skin jackets, dark fur caps, seal-skin sandals: and each person had his safety-pike in his hand. They amounted in all to thirty-seven persons; and the proudest general in Europe might have rejoiced to number such men among his troops. We had some little distance to march by land, until we came to the sea-shore opposite Kumlinge; when all of them were formed into a procession upon the ice, exhibiting a scene altogether new to me. First went a party of scouts, as pioneers, proving the ice with their safety-pikes. Then came the Swedish post to Finland; the mail-bags, fastened upon a very small sledge, being drawn by a single man. Then followed another party of scouts, with their pikes as before; and, after these men, my own sledge, bearing whatever clothes I had with me, and a small stock of provisions which

I had purchased for my friend in Kumlinge, whom I expected to find in want of common necessities. Next advanced a promiscuous multitude of travellers, without much order or caution, preceding their respective sledges, and attentive only to the preserving a proper distance from each other, so as not to huddle together on any one spot: and, behind all these, another party of the peasants, ready for any work in which their assistance might be required. The whole retinue, when extended upon the ice, reached to the distance of two English miles; and in those intervals when I could sufficiently abstract my mind from all sense of danger to survey this curious train, the effect produced by the appearance of such a numerous host, marching over the abyss of water, was very pleasing." (Pp. 360, 361.)

"We had not long quitted the shore of Sattunga, and were advancing towards an island in front of our route, when two seal-hunters suddenly made their appearance from behind some rocks, raising their voices as loud as they could, and were seen with their lifted pikes, calling to the foremost of our scouts, and bidding them to halt and fall back as quick as possible. The cries of "*Keep off! keep off!*" in the Swedish language, were at first not heeded by our guides: but as we drew nearer, we could distinctly hear these men telling our pioneers that the ice was open in several places, and every where, according to their own expression, "*too rotten to be trusted.*" (P. 362.)

"When we were farther from land, we found the surface, which had been hitherto smooth and glassy, fixed in a variety of irregular and fantastic shapes, rough and indented, but hard as adamant, and evidently shewing to us those broken masses, which appear only, when the waves of the sea have been suddenly fixed and rendered solid during their turbulent state. One can hardly conceive any thing more extraordinary, than a frost capable of causing such an effect: nor would it have been produced without a heavy fall of snow at the time, mingling with the salt-water. These slabs of ice form instantaneously, and, by the commotion of the waves being thrust edgeways out of the water, become fixed, in all directions, into one solid bed. Our walking was, in consequence, rendered painful and tedious, a work of difficulty, and often of alarm; apertures and chasms among these huge masses shewing us the liquid abyss beneath our feet; and frequently, when we thought ourselves the most secure, we were found to be in the greatest peril. Not a step could be taken without first proving, every one with his pike, where he should set his foot: nor was it at all safe to tread in the footsteps of those who had gone before; since the same ice, which had sustained the weight of one of our party, might, as indeed it happened more than once, give way with the next, and we had a narrow escape of losing two of our guides, who were saved by the dexterity, watchfulness, and courage of their comrades." (P. 363.)

"Being now at a considerable distance from any land, the prospect widened on all sides, and became at every instant more desolate and appalling. The wind had carried off every particle of snow: and we journeyed for many miles over a surface clear and transparent as

glass. At mid-day I halted, to distribute some slight refreshment among our guides. As I served out to them their allowance of biscuit and Swedish brandy, they all stood bare-headed, and said grace. What a scene, for such solemnity! While they were engaged in their brief and scanty meal, I surveyed the distant waste. Towards the East, all was bleak and open; a vast region of "thick-ribbed ice," wherein hardly a single object relieved the wandering eye. The sun, scarce elevated above the horizon, put forth ungenial splendour; for, although shining in cloudless majesty, his rays came across the chilling desert, rather reminding one of what he wanted than of what he gave. The thermometer, when exposed to his full beams, scarcely acknowledged his presence. (Pp. 364, 365.)

In this way they at length reached Kumlinge, and in the course of their further progress were gratified by the sight of an Aland congregation, sledging across the ice to their several homes. They were however exposed to much suffering from the extreme severity of the frost, and the danger of exposing any part of their faces to the air, till by indefatigable perseverance they were finally, on the second of January, landed in Finland.

This expedition may almost be put in parallel with some of the perils of the polar journey: and yet after all, as it often happens in human life, as if to shew that our dangers and deliverances are regulated by a wiser hand than our own, the author's most imminent peril was encountered at Abo: for, having incautiously closed the chimneys of his apartment by an iron slider, to increase the warmth, he and his companion very narrowly escaped death from the carbonic acid gas, which was generated by the burning wood.

We must find room for a remarkable natural phænomenon, namely, the sudden effect of the sound of an organ upon an inexperienced Fin.

"We repaired to the organ-loft, with a view of conducting thither some of the Finland peasants, whom we had observed expressing their astonishment, which amounted almost to fear, whenever the organ was heard. They were some of the wild race of the Fins of Savolax, who had been attracted by curiosity into the Cathedral. Having conducted them into the organ-gallery, we prevailed upon the organist to allow them to touch the keys with their fingers: but the moment any sounds were produced, they started back and were evidently alarmed. The organist then played a voluntary, and introduced one of their own national airs: the effect it had upon them was singular enough: it changed their apprehensions into immoderate mirth. Roaring with laughter, like so many savages, they began to imitate the motions, which the organist made with his arms and feet. At the same time, being altogether unable to account for the sounds they heard, as these were varied, so their starting was renewed, being always followed after-

wards by laughter, and seizing hold of each other as for protection. The shocks of an electrical apparatus could hardly have produced greater agitation in persons who have not felt their influence, than did the solemn tones of this fine instrument among these simple Finlanders, who had evidently never before heard any thing similar, although by no means utter strangers to all musical sounds, however striking to them the difference between the notes of an organ and their own rude musical instruments, to the sound of which their poetry has been sung for many ages." (Pp. 405, 406.)

The annual fair at Abo, bringing together a concentration of native Hyperboreans in their peculiar costumes, is a phenomenon of another kind.

"The best trade which any dealer can exercise in Abo, is that of supplying the natives of the interior districts with the different commodities they may require." (P. 438.)

"The fair begins upon January the twentieth, and continues but three days; during which time it is almost impossible to penetrate through the square where the market is held, or any of the streets leading to it, owing to the many thousands of Fins, and other tribes, present upon the occasion; bringing frozen *fishes* and *corn* for sale; and bartering these commodities against salt, brandy, tobacco, domestic utensils, and sometimes silver vessels; which, with trinkets and other trifles, they severally return back to the countries whence they came. What would be thought of it, if at a fair in England, in one of our southern counties, (as for example, the fair of Lewes in Sussex) the natives of the Orkney Isles were to be seen annually present, buying up the principal commodities, exposed for sale? Yet distances of this kind, and much greater, are traversed by the natives of Scandinavia, who visit the towns of Norway, Sweden, and Finland, journeying for a little *tobacco*, or *brandy*, or for an *iron pot*, or any trifling articles of hard ware, from one end of this extensive region to the other." (Pp. 440, 441.)

A comparison between the universities of Upsala and Abo is drawn with the author's usual strength of coloring. Of the state of literature in the several countries, to which this volume relates, some estimate may be formed from the following statements.

"There is not in all Norway one bookseller's shop. In Christiania and in Tronyem there are, it is true, bookbinders and stationers, who sell a few Bibles, Prayer-Books, and Almanacks; but it is vain to look for other publications." (P. 37.)

In Stockholm we are told—

"The booksellers here have no catalogues; or if any thing of this kind be produced, it is written wholly in the Swedish language. And with regard to the dealers themselves, never were persons of their profession so little likely to recommend their wares, as the booksellers of Stockholm. If a customer enter, they rise not from their seats to assist him in looking over the dusty lumber of their warehouses: and if they were disposed to shew him this civility, the search would be

vain ; because the books, not being bound, but lying in quires, and confusedly mixed together, can only be regarded as so many reams of paper in a stationer's shop." (P. 231.)

In Abo again—

"There are three or four booksellers' shops, but they are worse than those of Stockholm. The owners of these shops are only to be found in attendance during one hour in the day—from eleven till twelve : and if a stranger, calling at that hour, is desirous of examining the books, he is not allowed to touch one of them. A catalogue, written in the Swedish language, is put into his hand, which is all he is permitted to see : and when he has been at the pains of examining the list, he finds it to consist entirely of Swedish publications, few of which are worthy of notice." (P. 442.)

In both Sweden and Finland it is curious to observe, that with learned professors, collected in universities, there seems to be absolutely no promising system of instruction, nor any discipline for the management of youth ; and as for conveying information to them by the help of the press, the expedients, to which professors are obliged to resort, in order to accomplish so arduous a business, are not a little amusing.

Of the still remaining similarity between the Swedish language and our own, Dr. Clarke has recorded the following singular proof. In speaking of the Aland isles, he says—

"Among these islands the Swedish language is said to exist in its most ancient and pure state : and it here approaches so near to the English, that a servant of our own country who travelled with us, was able to understand and sometimes to converse with the natives. Persons at all accustomed to read old English books in the Gothic letter will have little difficulty in reading old and pure Swedish." (P. 356.)

We subjoin a specimen of Swedish poetry, of which Dr. Clarke has given us the original, and a literal prose translation. It is by Professor Frantzen, and entitled—"The human face or countenance." The state, in which we present it, is from the pen of a friend, who has endeavored to preserve in English the peculiar metre of the original, and therefore solicits the indulgence of the reader to an attempt, in which not only the ideas, but the structure, measure, and number of lines are Swedish.

I.

Now the sixth empurpled morning,
Heav'n with orient light adorning,
O'er the forest glows.
Look, on golden wing disporting,
Where the butterfly comes, courting,
To the fragrant rose!

II.

Through the waves are pearls reflected,
Where the swan with neck erected
Spreads his lonely sail.
Wine the blood-red grape is swelling ;
And the dove his modest dwelling
Decks in Eden's vale.

III.

Yet unseen is Nature's glory,
Yet untold the finish'd story
Of omnific might.
Man, the wonder of creation,
Lifts his head with exultation,
To behold the light.

IV.

Fairer far than polar whiteness,
Red with more than eastern brightness,
Rose primeval man.
Morning sank from view, defeated.
E'en the star of day retreated,
Sick, and pale, and wan.

V.

To those heav'n-directed features,
Earth, with all her vassal creatures,
Duteous homage paid,
To those eyes, Love's graceful portal,
Beaming forth with hope immortal,
Through their tears display'd.

VI.

Angels, borne on wings of duty,
Aw'd by that unwonted beauty,
Their creator view'd ;
Who, his image there impressing,
On the work bestow'd his blessing,
And pronounc'd it good.

VII.

Ye, whose dream of rash conjecture
Gives to chance his architecture,
To the fount repair !
There your own bright face, reflected,
View with awe, and stand corrected !
Blush, and tremble there !

VIII.

See the bold and noble bearing,
Proof of worth, and sign of daring,
In the hero's glance !

Mark his air, that quails resistance!
View the port, that drives to distance
Coward Arrogance!

IX.

Next the face, with beauty blooming,
Note,—those blushing cheeks, illuming
Selma's morning veil!
Mark her eyes, on low earth levell'd!
Trace her long dark locks, dishevell'd,
Floating in the gale!

X.

Master-work of Heav'n's inditing,
Link, with angels men uniting,
Miniature of God,
Robe of the immortal spirit,
Wilt thou not with her inherit
That unseen abode?

XI.

Yes. The high angelic college
Shall thy gentle pow'r acknowledge,
When they hear thy voice.
Yes, my Selma. 'Midst heav'n's treasures,
I shall still 'mid Eden's pleasures
In thy smile rejoice." (Pp. 392—397.)

There are sixteen well executed illustrative engravings in the volume, besides characteristic vignettes at the head of the several chapters.

On the whole, as a detail of adventures, and a record of manners and of national habits and resources, this volume does not yield in interest to any of the author's performances. There is also a good deal of miscellaneous information contained in it, which renders it valuable. In reading it however, one observation perpetually recurred to our minds, which will apply to most of the travels of the amiable and lamented writer. In the extensive acquaintance, which he formed with mankind in various parts of the world, it is natural to look for some addition to our stock of knowledge concerning the advantages or disadvantages, which they possessed, of a religious nature, and for some suggestions as to the best mode of benefiting them in this most important particular of human life. But on this subject the work we are now reviewing is lamentably barren. There is a vast deal of the table-talk, and political gossip of the circles, to which he was introduced, and much speculation about the civil condition of the inhabitants. But of their religious wants, or attainments, we learn but little. Indeed the small respect,

which our author seems to have shewn to the sabbath, as a day of rest from travelling, added to the superficial nature of his remarks, when religion is incidentally spoken of, would lead us to fear, that this topic was one of too subordinate an interest in his excursive and active mind. In one place, where he is accidentally admitted into a singular scene of undisguised nature in an Aland dwelling, he is led to express the following not very uncommon sentiment.

“It is in scenes like that which the interior of this hut exhibited, the mind is forcibly struck with a conviction of the relative nature of human happiness; that it belongs to no rank or situation in life, as a peculiar possession; but that in all stations, gifted with health and virtue and just government, Providence has vouchsafed an equal portion of this blessing.” (P. 328.)

From this last observation we must dissent, not being able to doubt, that the retired or public situation, and greater or less cultivation of mind, as well as the more or less perfect notions of religion and the other life, possessed by different individuals, must affect the sum of human enjoyment or suffering: nor can we conceive, how a Swedish miner amidst the smoke and noise of his infernal enginery can possibly possess or acquire as many sources of enjoyment, though he may be, and it is his duty to be, as contented with his lot, as Sir Isaac Newton. Indeed an extension of Dr. Clarke's remark would lead us to conclude, as many do, that all men are on a level with respect to religious advantages, and that neither the prevalence of surrounding immorality, nor the poison of a heathenish creed endangers our hope of an hereafter. We should then have little scope for the exercise, either of enlarged humanity, or of missionary zeal, but might thoughtlessly

‘Take the good the gods provide us,’

and concern ourselves little with the situation of our neighbours. This, however, is a repose of mind, which our readers (we are persuaded) will not be solicitous to cultivate; and we cannot refrain, in expressing our obligations for the legacy of entertaining and useful information, bequeathed to us in this volume, from adding our earnest recommendation to those future travellers, who may be tempted by curiosity to visit the same regions, to carry with them something of the spirit of Pinkerton, Henderson, and others, who have not returned from their arduous and distant journeys, without leaving, wherever they went, as a memorial of their footsteps, that blessed book, which guides the traveller through the wilderness of this world to the haven of his eternal rest. Science may enlighten, or literature inform, but religion only can save the perishing children of mankind.

- ART. VI.—1. *A Treatise on Prayer*; with a few forms of prayer, designed to assist in its devout discharge. By the Rev. Edward Bickersteth, Assistant Minister of Wheler Chapel. Seventh Edition. London: Seeleys. 1822. 12mo. Pp. 301.
2. *A Treatise on the Lord's Supper*; designed as a guide and companion to the Holy Communion. In Two Parts. By the Rev. Edward Bickersteth. Third Edition. London: Seeleys. 1823. 12mo. Pp. 301.

ONE satisfactory proof of the increase of true religion amongst us, is the increased demand for books upon every part of doctrinal and practical piety. The works of our earlier divines are now eagerly sought, and purchased at prices more proportioned to their worth than were formerly offered. They are therefore beyond the reach of ordinary readers. Indeed, were they in this respect more attainable, the length to which they are often extended, the profundity of their views, the quaintness and obscurity of expression by which they are frequently marked, would unfit them for the improvement of a very large class of readers in the more lowly walks of life, who must want money to purchase, talent to understand, and time to bestow upon them. The religious world is therefore much indebted to those who partly by compilation from ancient stores, and partly by bringing forward the treasures of their own minds and experience, favor us with such manuals of devotion, and such summaries of divine knowledge, as befit the every-day wants of a Christian; and may prove a light to his feet, and a lantern to his paths, as he treads the narrow way that leadeth to eternal life.

The author of the works to which the present article is devoted, has made a contribution of no common value and excellence to the general treasury of sacred knowledge. His former publication was admirably calculated to promote a study of the oracles of truth. "The Scripture Help" was written under such manifest impressions of the importance of the subject, such a glad and grateful sense of its value, such a fund of experimental acquaintance with the doctrines, duties, and privileges of religion, such a presiding view of the wisdom, righteousness, peace, hope, and joy, which the reception of the Bible will invariably produce, such a deep and settled persuasion, that in its pages alone can be found the answer to that all-important question,—
 "What shall I do to be saved?"—as were well fitted to advance corresponding feelings in every considerate mind; and to awaken them in the hearts of those who had been satis-

fied to remain in ignorance of the things which belong to their peace. Few books have been lately published, more powerfully tending to promote that interest in the word of life, which is the foundation of all practical godliness. The voice of the religious public has assured its author, that his labour has not been vain. The sale of the volume in its original has been almost unprecedented; and a very judicious abridgment has been made by the author himself, for the use of the poor, and for the instruction of children, at a price, which marks his disinterested desire of usefulness.

Among the many testimonials which Mr. Bickersteth has received in favour of "*The Scripture Help*," is one of mournful interest, already alluded to in our review of the *Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea*, as detailed by its intrepid and able journalist, Captain Franklin. Anecdotes like this invest it with a peculiar claim to our regard. We can enter into the feeling of delight and gratitude, with which the author may hope that he was instrumental in affording instruction and consolation to a gallant and devoted servant of his country, beneath a pressure of bodily suffering which has probably never been surpassed, and at the awful moment of his tragical death.

"The acceptance," (says Mr. Bickersteth) "which it has pleased God to give to '*The Scripture Help*,' and the testimonies which the writer has received of the benefit derived from that work, have induced him to endeavor to call the attention of Christians, and particularly of the young, for whom he wishes to be considered as especially writing, to another most important means of grace." (*On Prayer*. p. vi.)

To this mingled feeling of thankfulness for past success, and anxiety for future usefulness, we owe the two valuable little volumes, entitled, "*A Treatise on Prayer*," and "*A Treatise on the Lord's Supper*." In these manuals the author has pursued his former path with the same "spirit of love, and of power, and of a sound mind," which so eminently distinguished the *Scripture Help*. And the three volumes will doubtless become delightful companions to the devout retirement of many Christians. They are in fact well calculated to promote that spiritual communion and intercourse with God, in the privacy of the closet, in the devotion of the family, in the solemnities of public worship, and in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, on which depends so much of the bearing and influence of real religion upon life and conduct.

"In treatises on subjects which have so often engaged the attention of Christian writers, new sentiments can neither be desired nor expected. The direction—ask for the good old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein, and ye shall find rest for your souls, is well

applicable here. The writer willingly availed himself of the ideas suggested by any former author." (On Prayer, p. viii.)

Such an acknowledgment is at once candid and judicious. The matters on which Mr. Bickersteth's pen has been exercised, have been so fully occupied, that much originality of sentiment is unattainable. The master-minds, to whom we are so deeply indebted, left little ground untrodden in their researches. The merit of an author who now treats of these all-important subjects, must chiefly consist in accommodating the stores, accumulated by his predecessors, to the common use; in extracting, combining, arranging, or abbreviating; and in laying before the reader a connected and methodized view of a part of divine learning, which he must otherwise seek from a variety of sources inaccessible to the great mass of inquirers.

The avidity with which the treatise on prayer has been purchased and studied, makes it unnecessary that we should occupy the attention of our readers with any lengthened examination of it. By some, however, it may still be unknown, and if a few pages of our work may induce any of this number to adopt it, in order "to pray more continually and fervently, and to aim at living in abiding communion with the Father of Spirits," the highest purpose of our work will be effectually answered.

This Treatise is comprised in fifteen divisions or chapters. We will, however, notice in the first place a trifling inaccuracy in the title-page, where a possessive pronoun is substituted for the primitive, a practice, very convenient, and therefore allowable on many occasions, but hardly to be admitted in the title of a work, which ought to be announced with simple propriety of expression. We shall hope therefore in future editions to see 'the devout discharge of it,' or 'the devout discharge of that duty,' introduced in the place of 'its devout discharge.' The phrase, 'its discharge,' properly implies, that the antecedent to it, namely prayer, has to discharge some duty; and though no mistake can arise from this verbal incorrectness, we are yet sufficient sticklers for the exactness of English phraseology, to wish its niceties to be observed, where nothing in the sense is sacrificed to the observance of it.

The first chapter "On the Nature and Duty of Prayer," might have been extended: but, our author, whose mind is evidently filled with the happiness of the mysterious commerce, opened by prayer between God and the mind of a sincere Christian, passes perhaps too rapidly over the introductory remarks, in which the obligations of prayer are

professedly examined. True it is, according to his statement, that

“religion is in a low state in the heart of that man, on whom prayer must be urged as a duty. It ought ever to be considered, as the greatest of all mercies, that we are permitted to pray to God, and assured, that every one, that asketh, receiveth.” (P. 9.)

But, as many require to be taught the first elements of religion, we could have wished that more labour had been given to them *in limine*, even though some of the forms of prayer, with which the volume concludes, had been omitted, in order to guard against a disadvantageous increase of bulk. A very striking remark from the opening of the work must not be omitted.

“The nature of prayer is better known by experience, than by any description. One who had just begun to be in earnest about religion, said, ‘I was most affected with the difference which I found in my prayers. I had never thought of doing any thing more than outwardly repeating a form; but I was surprised to find, how God enabled me, in my private devotions, earnestly to ask, in the name of his Son, those mercies which I needed, and really to desire those things which I had before only formally expressed.’” (P. 7.)

In the following chapter, “On the Privileges of Prayer,” the author evidently writes what he knows, and testifies what he feels. The reader is furnished with a lively and instructive portrait of a mind, much occupied with the duty of prayer, and powerfully sustained by its consolations. Perhaps that part which answers the common objection brought against prayer, might have been more appropriately comprised in a chapter by itself, and with some enlargement. Let the objector be taught, that every just view which he can take of his own character, of the character of the Deity, and of the awful relation existing between them, urges upon him the exercise of fervent prayer! Let him apply himself to the performance of it! and then, and not till then, may he hope to understand the delight which it is calculated to bestow. Privilege follows duty in the order of spiritual connexions: and men must be exemplary in the discharge of the latter, who hope to partake of the former. On this account we should have preferred a separate and more copious answer to the objections against prayer. We subjoin the author's reasoning upon the difficulty usually alleged, that God is unchangeable, and that prayer will not alter, or reverse his purposes. The extract is not very original; for indeed what can be, upon this subject? But it is characteristic of the author's manner, and valuable for its intrinsic excellence.

“We do not say that prayer really changes the purposes of God, though it may be sometimes so expressed in condescension to our infirmities:

but we say, his course of dealing is quite different with those who pray, and those who do not. We may think indeed, that we are drawing God nearer to us, when in truth we draw nearer to him, as a person with a boat-hook which he fixes to the shore, is ready to think when he draws the boat, that he is moving the land towards him, when in fact, he himself is coming near the land. But you quite mistake the true design of this perfection of God, if you think it should keep you from praying. The unchangeableness of God, so far from being an argument against prayer, is the reason why you should pray, and secure to yourself the fulfilment of his promises. Jesus Christ himself prayed, and commanded you to pray; and an excuse drawn from the unchangeableness of God, will never avail you in answer to a plain command, sanctioned by such an example, and especially when there are such great and evident advantages in obtaining your desires through prayer." (Pp. 18, 19.)

The two chapters on the assistance of the Holy Spirit, and the intercession of Jesus Christ are particularly valuable. The explanation of Romans viii. 26, is truly scriptural. We recommend it to our readers as containing a very satisfactory elucidation of a part of the Bible, not commonly understood even by those, who have studied it with considerable attention.

The longest chapter in the volume is wisely devoted to that part of the duty of prayer, of which the unwearied and spiritual exercise is confessedly the most difficult, private supplication. Beneath the light and sunshine of worldly observation, in the seasons of public or social devotion, the outward act of prayer may be attended with little difficulty. But to withdraw into the closet, whither no eye, but that of God, can penetrate, to hold secret communion with the Father of spirits; to confess our sins, and cast ourselves upon his mercy; to abstract the time for this unnoticed exercise, from the business or the pleasures of the world, is a work of no easy accomplishment, even in the external performance of it. Secret prayer, therefore, may justly be considered, as the touchstone of true religion in the heart: and they have made no common advances in the divine life, who have learned to say of the place, in which they have poured their wants and their wishes, their trials and their sorrows, their hopes and their joys into the ear and heart of their heavenly Father, "*It is good for us to be here.*" Perhaps the second and third sections of this chapter, on the Being to be worshipped, and the subjects to be mentioned in prayer, might rather have formed part of the introductory matter. In the particular enumeration of the various parts of prayer, as well as the general analysis, Mr. Bickersteth has largely borrowed from the treatise of Bishop Wilkins: and from a mine more copious and more rich he could hardly have searched for materials. As a specimen of the manner, in

which the sentiments of great religious writers are adapted by Mr. Bickersteth, we shall extract a passage, which he has quoted from the powerful and experimental pen of Richard Baxter. It occurs in his admirable work, "The Christian's Converse with God." The author indeed is acknowledged; but the particular part of his writings, in which the passage occurs, is unnoticed. We think this omission, which is general with Mr. Bickersteth, to be lamented. A striking extract might often lead the reader to study the work whence it is taken, if he possessed it: and those divines from whom Mr. Bickersteth has largely drawn, could hardly be perused with seriousness and attention, and leave no blessing behind them.

"I have more and greater business to do with God in one day, than with all the world in all my life. My business with God is so great, that, if I had not a mediator to encourage and assist me to do my work, and procure my acceptance, the thoughts of it would overwhelm my soul. Therefore let man stand by! I have to do with the great and eternal God; and with him I am to transact in this little time the business of my endless life. I am to seek of God through Christ the pardon of all my great and grievous sins; and, if I speed not, woe unto me, that ever I was born! I have some hopes of pardon, but intermixed with many perplexing fears. I have evidences of grace; but they are exceedingly blotted. I want assurances, that God is my reconciled Father, and that he will receive me to himself, when the world forsakes me. I have many languishing graces to be strengthened, and alas! what rooted inveterate, vexatious corruptions to be cured! Can I look into my heart, into such an unbelieving and earthly heart, into such a proud and peevish heart, into such a perplexing and trembling heart, and not discern, how great my business is with God? Can I survey my sins, feel my wants, and sink under my weaknesses, can I look forward, and see how near my time is to an end, can I think of the malice and diligence of Satan, the number, power, and policy of my enemies, the many dangerous snares and temptations, that are around me, and my own ignorance, and weakness, and unwatchfulness, and not know, that my greatest business is with God?" (Pp. 108, 109.) *Practical Works*, Vol. III. Pp. 758, 759.

The chapter on family worship is judicious and earnest. This duty is mournfully overlooked among professing Christians; and we fear that it is hardly sufficiently insisted on by the ministers of religion. If the priest of the family altar neglect his high and sacred duty, if he be not constant and fervent in imploring the supply of family wants, the pardon of family sins, the removal of family judgments, or the continuance of family mercies, he cannot with reason expect that his house should be a sanctuary of religion, a resting

place for the ark of God. Nor can the authorized and commissioned servants of the temple look that a blessing from heaven should rest upon those habitations where the divine presence is never sought, the divine blessing never implored at the morning and evening sacrifice of an assembled household.

We live in an age, when the increasing respect paid to the profession of religion may lead in many instances to the form of godliness among those who deny its power. A kind of spurious sentimentality is thus sometimes encouraged, which tends to substitute devotional feelings, for devotional principles. We could have wished for a more copious chapter on this very important subject, than our author has given us; because we believe that the evil is alarmingly on the increase; and because, though the whole bent of Mr. Bickersteth's mind and purpose be to advance vital holiness, yet we think he has not sufficiently labored this point. The entire devotedness of his own mind, his own deep view of religion, as a practical influence and energy, and the very extensive compass of his sacred reading, would have supplied him, and others through him, with many truly valuable remarks upon a subject less considered than its awful importance demands. With respect to his directions to attain the spirit of prayer, in the thirteenth chapter, we say of them to our readers,

“Nocturnâ versate manu, versate diurnâ.”

They are sound, scriptural, plain, and practical.

If there be any part of this valuable volume which we cannot regard with the same admiration as the rest, it is the 15th chapter, containing forms of prayer. Singular as it may appear, that one, who is himself evidently gifted in no common degree with the spirit of grace and supplication, should not possess a corresponding copiousness, and fervour of expression, it is certainly true, so far at least as written prayer is concerned. There is a formality of style, and apparent want of spiritual energy, which makes any attempt to use them somewhat heavy and unsatisfactory. They furnish an instance, in addition to many which might be mentioned, that it is one thing to understand the laws and regulations of composition, and another to embody such rules in practice. They have the air (as Mr. Simeon has well observed in his preface to Jenks's Devotions,) of having been *written*, rather than *prayed*; and, however necessary it may have appeared in such a work to include one specimen of prayer, as illustrative of the manner into which the best writers have agreed to divide the act of supplication, we are disposed to think, that the prayers of Mr. Bickersteth, considered as forms

actually to be used, whether for private or social devotion, might have been omitted without any material injury to the work. With this exception, we think it deserving of being read and studied, precept upon precept, and line upon line.

The sacred ordinance of the Lord's Supper has been considered one of such deep and vital importance in every age of the church, that the treatises which have been written upon its nature, obligation, and advantages, almost exceed the power of recollection and enumeration. The most able, clear, consistent, and spiritual views of the holy communion, are certainly to be found among the writers of the church of England: and they who wish to see how far a subject can be illustrated by learning the most profound, eloquence the most captivating, and piety the most fervent, will find their wishes amply gratified by a perusal of Bishop Taylor's Worthy Communicant, Bishop Reynolds's Meditations on the Sacrament of our Lord's Last Supper, and many other works which might be mentioned of similar design and execution, by the mighty men of renown, who laid the foundations, or raised the fair superstructure of the English church. A still greater extent and variety of more familiar and practical writings upon the same subject is to be met with among us. Men of every rank, and every attainment, have united to elucidate the character, and enforce the demands of this blessed sacrament. Among writers of this more practical class, without the pale of the establishment, should be reckoned the learned, pious, and catholic Matthew Henry, whose excellent work, "The Communicant's Companion," ranks, in our judgment, notwithstanding its occasional quaintness, among the most satisfactory books which have been written upon that ordinance. Of course, such an opinion is subject to the qualification arising from the different modes of celebration in our church, and among those who dissent from her ritual. A treatise therefore like that which Mr. Bickersteth has published, was perhaps still a desideratum to the members of the established church; and our best thanks are justly due to his care and judgment, in availing himself of the vast collection of materials which was left by former writers at his disposal.

The "Treatise on the Lord's Supper," consists of two parts: the former containing, (if the expression may be allowed,) the *credenda* of the institution, arranged under thirteen distinct theads; the latter, containing the *agenda*, or a manual for preparation, participation, and subsequent improvement of this gracious rite of our holy religion.

We extract the following note from Mr. Bickersteth's

account of the appointment of the Holy Communion, as illustrating his own very rational and judicious view of a subject, on which much learning and talent have been expended.

“ Several learned men have supposed that the Lord's Supper was designed to be similar to the ancient feasts on sacrifices. Their general statement on this subject is as follows. The Jews at the peace-offering sacrifices (Levit. vii. 15—20.) as well as the passover, were accustomed to feast on the victim, that had been offered, as a sacrifice. (1 Sam. ix. 13.) The heathen nations also retained the practice of eating a part of the victim, which they sacrificed, (Exod. xxxiv. 15 ; Numb. xxv. 2 ; Ps. cvi. 8.) in order to participate of the propitiation supposed to be effected by the sacrifice. The custom of a feast upon a sacrifice was very general, and the idea was, that all who partook of the feast manifested an approval of the worship, and partook of the benefit of the sacrifice. Hence the apostles forbade Christians to eat of meats offered to idols (Acts xvi. 29.) : and St. Paul shews the Corinthians how utterly inconsistent it was, that they who went to the Lord's table should yet go to the table of idolaters : *ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord, and the cup of devils ; ye cannot be partakers of the Lord's table, and of the table of devils.* Hence also St. John speaks strongly and repeatedly against those who eat of the sacrifices offered to idols. Rev. ii. 14, 20.) Many think, that in the institution of the Lord's Supper, our Lord therefore availed himself of this ancient and general practice, in order by analogy to impress more forcibly upon the minds of his disciples the nature of his death as a sacrifice, the necessity of an interest in it, and the duty of professing before others our faith in his blood. For a further illustration of this view, the reader is referred to Cudworth, Waterland, Pelling, Warburton, Cleaver, Knox, A. Clarke, and others, who have written at large upon the point.

“ But the writer, after considering what has been written upon this subject, seriously hesitates in adopting this view, on these grounds. We do not eat of the victim itself. What we do is in remembrance of him who was the victim. The sacrifice for sin is the principal point commemorated, and the Jewish sacrifice for sin was not to be eaten. The notion does not necessarily flow either from the apostle's statement in the Epistle to the Corinthians, or from our Lord's words in the appointment. For these reasons the writer cannot but think, that they, who make the Lord's Supper a feast on a sacrifice, go farther than the Scriptures bear them out. They have formed an ingenious analogy to the sentiments and rites of antiquity in many particulars ; but they do not appear to him to have satisfactorily proved that it was our Lord's intention that this ordinance should be of a similar nature to the ancient feasts on a sacrifice. (Pp. 4, 5.)

The great question concerning the change of the sacramental elements and symbols into the body and blood of our Lord, insisted on by the Romanists, or the substantial presence of this body and blood, together with the substance of the bread and wine, as maintained by the Lutherans, is answered

in the simple, plain, and satisfactory manner, which invariably marks all the doctrinal or practical views and statements, which Mr. Bickersteth undertakes to lay before his readers. Like Paley, he has the happy talent of applying the labours of other men to his own purpose, and of bringing them under our observation in the most concise and conspicuous manner.

The atonement, made by the Son of God for human transgression, is the foundation of every hope, which our fallen and sentenced race is permitted to indulge. Faith in that atonement is the only medium by which its mercies are communicated to man. Faith is the effectual grace to be exercised by the penitent transgressor who looks for an interest in the merits of the sacrifice which he commemorates at the table of the Lord. The second and third chapters therefore, which treat of these two great truths of religion, are of deep and vital importance. We cannot attach quite the same value to the fourth chapter, "On the New Covenant;" although it has perhaps cost the author as much labour as any in the volume. But as faith in the Saviour includes within it the humble appeal of a spirit, convinced of sin, from the condemnation of the law, to the grace, mercy, and peace of the gospel, we think, that a short addition to the third chapter, "On Faith in Christ's Atonement," would have answered Mr. Bickersteth's purpose, and given the book an air less artificial, with an arrangement equally perspicuous.

The arguments for frequent communion, and the objections made against communicating at all, are such as usually occur in treatises of the same kind. The concluding passage of chap. 7. is from the pen of Bishop Patrick, a writer now too much neglected; but who, amidst much tediousness of style, and much prolixity of detail, has many thoughts conceived in the spirit of real religion, and expressed in the fervid language of truth and eloquence.

"Let no man therefore plead this, or that, in excuse for his not coming to the Lord's table; but resolve hereafter carefully to perform so necessary a duty. Let the sinner quit his state of sin and death, and so come and eat of the bread of life. Let the ignorant come into the school of Christ; and proceed till they come to the highest form, to the upper room, where this feast is celebrated. Let those that are at enmity with their neighbours also come; let them only first go and be reconciled to their brethren, and so let them offer their gift. Let those that have a multitude of worldly employments come; only let them leave them, as Abraham did his asses, at the bottom of the mount, and so let them ascend to heaven in their thoughts, and

converse with God. Let the weak come, that they may grow in strength; and let the strong come that they may not grow weak. Let them who have fears come, that their hearts may be settled by the acts of a more lively faith; and let them come who have hopes, that they may rise to greater degrees of a humble confidence. Let those who have leisure accept of this invitation, because they have no excuse; and let those that have but little leisure entertain it also, that they may the more sanctify their business, and their employments. Let the sad and sorrowful approach, that their hearts may be filled with the joys of the Lord; and let those that rejoice in the Lord always approach, that their joy may be full." (Pp. 79, 80.)

The tenth and eleventh chapters, including a view of the benefits, connected with a due reception of the Lord's Supper, and the happiness, which would follow the universal, and devout observance of it, are in point of fact so nearly identified, that simplicity would have been probably more consulted had they been united under one head. An increase in virtue, and in all those graces which adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour, is invariably connected with an enlargement of true happiness. The more fully a Christian's mind is led to dwell with grateful recollection upon the astonishing transactions by which his redemption was consummated—the more animated his hope of an individual interest in its blessings—the more enlarged and vigorous his faith in the great atonement for transgression—the more profound his humility—the more endearing his Christian communion with fellow-pilgrims on the way to heaven, the more surely will his heart be filled with that peace of God which passeth all understanding, and which the world can neither give nor take away. Upon this principle therefore the benefits of spiritually receiving the Lord's Supper, and the happiness of the universal and devout observance of it are too closely allied to have needed separation, because the aggregate of individual benefit will be the happiness of the whole church. With this limitation, we gladly award to Mr. Bickersteth the high praise of having put the question regarding the consequences of devout communion in a clear, moderate, and scriptural point of view, equally avoiding the hopelessly conflicting theories of different writers upon this sacred ordinance. Of these, one party exalts the sacrament into an "*opus operatum*;" and looks for the greatest reward from the hand of God for the very act of communicating, without due regard to the state of mind and heart, in which the receiver drew nigh the table of his crucified Lord. The other errs by lowering the high and spiritual purport of this blessed rite down to a merely commemorative ordinance, without regarding its tendency "to refresh our souls by the body and

blood of Christ, as our bodies are refreshed by the bread and wine." With neither of these parties does Mr. Bickersteth symbolize, but takes that middle path, which the declarations of the Bible, and the institutions of the Church of England plainly require. His answer to those, who complain, that they have frequently communicated without sensible advantage, is much to the purpose, and may be read with great improvement.

"What was the nature of the benefit which you expected? Perhaps you looked for a great deal of comfort and joy, when you went; and you returned, depressed, broken-hearted, and humbled. But is not that very spirit in which you returned a real benefit? (Isa. lvii. 15.) If you do not come away with a rejoicing heart, yet if you come away with a weeping eye, bless God for that mercy! And though you found neither sorrow nor joy, but a distressing deadness, dulness, and coldness, during the whole service, yet perhaps subsequently you manifested more of the *peaceable fruits of righteousness*; possibly you enjoyed the next season of public worship more, or you felt new obligations to a life of circumspection and holiness; and undoubtedly these were real benefits. God is not confined to our notions of times and seasons, nor to our way of giving his blessings; but, infinite in his wisdom and boundless in his love, he gives them as will best promote our highest good. But still you say, you are distressed under the mortification of disappointed expectation. Were you not unwarrantably expecting a certain sort of spiritual luxury, the luxury of excited feelings? and need you wonder in this case that you find yourself, after receiving, dull and insensible? God deals thus with you in kindness, for your real good. But do you ask, What is now my duty? A time of darkness is the time for faith. Let such an one *trust in the name of the Lord and stay upon his God*: a time of disappointment is the time for resignation and submission to the will of God. But after all we would advise you not to judge of yourself merely by sensible feelings. The benefits are to be expected in a patient and persevering use of the appointed means; as in the case of prayer, and other means of grace for the good of the soul, or as in food, medicine, or other means of health to the body. But be assured, that if you return with one additional proof of obedience to the will of God, one pious resolution confirmed, one vicious propensity checked; if humility be in any measure advanced, faith at all strengthened, love in any degree enlarged, or hope enlivened, or any Christian grace or temper increased, you have not received without benefit." (Pp. 126, 127.)

Among the many excellencies which the advanced, or the inquiring Christian will find in the first part of this treatise, none will be found more deserving his regard, than the plain and practical remarks upon the due improvement of the Lord's Supper which occupy the last chapter. They are conceived in a spirit of sincere and genuine piety. The

writer evidently appeals to all his readers, and cries,—“*Ex-perto credite!*” This part of the work is also expressed with a captivating and yet powerful simplicity, well becoming its character, and well suited to impress it upon the mind.

The chapter on self-examination goes deeply into the subject and is conducted in the spirit of those elder divines who entered into every winding, threaded every maze, and unravelled every labyrinth of the heart of man. They knew it to be deceitful above all things; and they were resolved to strip it of all its disguise, and to expose it to the eye of the inquirer as nearly as possible such as it appears before him “unto whom all hearts are open, all desires known, and from whom no secrets are hid.” Our author acts in the same manner. We fear however that the process will be found somewhat prolix, and in danger of being altogether neglected, partially performed, or hurried over in a temper of unreflecting formality. Each of the heads, proposed to the self-examining Christian, requires much consideration; for *who can understand his errors?* And it will be difficult to sustain the tone of a faithful inquisition through many of these hints for communion with the heart, if they be used at the same time. They may, and they should be, frequently brought before the mind; not however, as absolute rules for the manner of conducting that duty, which they are intended to promote, but as hints by which to regulate the performance of it, leaving the outline to be filled up by individual experience.

We select the following meditation, as characteristic of our author's manner, and expressive of those feelings with which a Christian's mind should be impressed, before, during, and after the solemn and privileged moments in which he is commemorating the passion of his Redeemer, applying the mercies of the atonement to his heart by acts of faith, and dwelling on them with the fervour of grateful love. The meditation quoted is preparatory to receiving.

“Psalm xxxi. 19. *Oh how great is thy goodness!* The love of God has indeed abounded towards me in innumerable ways, both in temporal comforts and spiritual privileges. But especially am I indebted to his long-suffering and long-sparing mercy, that I have not been cut off in the midst of my sins. The fountain opened for sin and for uncleanness is yet flowing, yet accesssible, and that for me; the head of life is yet tendered to me; the means of grace, and the hope of glory, are yet continued. There is still a way of access to the throne of grace, and the sure mercies of Christ may yet be obtained. Through the same goodness I have yet another opportunity of approaching his mercy-seat, and seeking an interest in his redemption. Others have been called to the eternal world to render in their solemn

account, and I have been spared a little longer to recover my strength. I will go then, and cast myself under the wings of the sun of Righteousness. I will take refuge in his name, and now seek his salvation." (Pp. 215, 216.)

The last chapter contains a selection of metrical Psalms and Hymns, requiring no particular notice. They are indeed well calculated to excite devout thoughts in the mind; but unlikely to be introduced as parts of the public administration of the sacred ordinance to which they refer.

The value of the Treatise on the Lord's Supper will in some degree depend upon the mode in which it is used. As a manual for Christians in the act of communicating, it is certainly too long, and too diffuse. The latter part indeed is almost, if not altogether, exclusively applicable to that occasion. We should be happy to see it disjoined from the rest; and, with the omission of the hymns, put into the hands of Christians, as an useful guide to devotion in those endeared moments, when they fulfil the bidding of their Lord, *This do in remembrance of me*. As an introduction however to an accurate knowledge of the duty and privilege which the Eucharist involves, its value will be readily acknowledged by all who can appreciate the character and demands of true religion. Indeed we know few books which may be more satisfactorily or more usefully put into the hands of a sincere inquirer into the nature of this blessed rite, who has begun to ask, "What must I do to be saved?"

Mr. Bickersteth's style is simple and unadorned, often to a degree of carelessness and want of precision which might easily be avoided. Perspicuity and feebleness are not necessarily allied, although in religious writings they are frequently mistaken for each other; and certainly our author, with the best possible intentions, has not escaped the error. With this, and other qualifying remarks which we have already made, the two volumes, now considered, merit a place upon that shelf, where the Christian, in imitation of the venerable Cecil, places his tried and favorite authors. The treatises on prayer, and on the Lord's Supper, well deserve the honour of such an appropriation; because they tend materially to assist every devout mind in its due preparation for attendance upon that sacred mystery, "in which, (to use the words of a master in Israel) whosoever is employed, is, where God loves to be, and where Christ is to be found; in the employments in which God delights, in the ministries of his own choice, in the work of the Gospel, and the methods of grace, in the œconomy of heaven, and the dispensations of eternal happiness." (Taylor's Worthy Communicant, p. 4.)

- ART. VII.—1. *Songs of Zion ; being Imitations of Psalms ;* By James Montgomery. London, Longman and Co. 1822. 12mo. Pp. viii. and 153.
2. *The Book of Psalms in an English Metrical Version, founded on the basis of the authorized Bible Translation, and compared with the Original Hebrew, with Notes Critical and Illustrative ;* By the Right Rev. Richard Mant, D.D. M.R. I.A. Lord Bishop of Down and Connor. Oxford, Parker. London, Rivington. 1824. 8vo. Pp. xxii. and 506.

It is strange to observe how far short of their own powers some of our best poets have fallen, when they have applied them to the translation or imitation of the psalms. Milton's failure in this department is the most remarkable of all. Who could have supposed, that the author of *Paradise Lost*, or even of *Comus*, would have left us such lines as these ?

“The wicked shall not stand
In judgment, or abide their trial then,
Nor sinners in th' assembly of just men :
For the Lord knows th' upright way of the just ;
And the way of bad men to ruin must.” Ps. i.

“Reckon'd I am with them, that pass
Down to the dismal pit.
I am a man, but weak, alas !
And for that name unfit.
From life discharg'd and parted quite,
Among the dead to sleep,
And like the slain in bloody fight,
That in the grave lie deep.
Thou dost my friends from me estrange,
And mak'st me odious,
Me to them odious ; for they change,
And I here pent up thus.” Ps. lxxxviii.

It is no wonder then, that Bacon, to whom with all his wonderful powers few would venture to give

Nominis hujus honorem,
should have left the following specimens of his less practised muse.

“This earth, as with a veil, once cover'd was.
The waters overflowed all the mass.
But upon his rebuke away they fled ;
And then the hills began to shew their head.
The higher grounds, where waters cannot rise,
By rain and dews are water'd from the skies,

Causing the earth put forth the grass for beasts,
And garden-herbs, serv'd at the greatest feasts,
And bread, that is all viands' firmament,
And gives a firm and solid nourishment,
And wine, man's spirits for to recreate,
And oil, his face for to exhilarate."

Ps. civ.

The author of the World before the Flood appears to us under circumstances of similar, though certainly not equal disadvantage, in the songs of Zion. We meet with little in this volume to remind us of the lyre of Jubal, which has

pow'r to bind

In chains of harmony the mightiest mind ;
While Contemplation on seraphic wings
Mounts with the flame of sacrifice, and sings.

And yet why is this ? There are in the book of psalms passages of deep pathos and overpowering sublimity, which even in a prose-translation produce a powerful impression, whenever they are regarded apart from the palling effect of continual repetition, or unimpressive delivery. What indeed can exceed the magnificence of that image—"Thou, Lord, in the beginning hast laid the foundation of the earth ; and the heavens are the work of thy hands. They shall perish. But thou shalt endure. They all shall wax old, as doth a garment ; and, as a vesture, shalt thou change them ; and they shall be changed. But thou art the same ; and thy years shall not fail"—? Yet we know of no metrical version, which gives this passage with equal force.

The key to this anomaly is probably furnished by bishops Lowth and Jebb, who in their masterly disquisitions on the poetry of Scripture, shew that its harmony is a harmony of structure, not of metre ; and may therefore often be preserved entire in a literal rendering, when the shackles of verse would destroy its beauty, by discomposing its order. Of this probably few of our translators have been aware ; and therefore Brady and Tate, who were as little aware of it as any of them, have in some instances, by merely being literal, and (we may even say) prosaic, stumbled upon a more happy expression of the original sentiment than their more able, though less fortunate rivals.

The contrast in some of the passages we shall adduce can hardly be so explained. Thus Mr. Montgomery renders the first verse of the eighth psalm in the manner following—

"O Lord, our King, how excellent

Thy name on earth is known !

Thy glory in the firmament

How wonderfully shewn !"

(P. 7.)

This (it must be admitted) is bald, and, even when compared with Tate and Brady's version of the same passage, deficient in dignity.

"O thou, to whom all creatures bow,
Within this earthly frame,
Thro' all the world how great art thou!
How glorious is thy name!"

The twenty-third psalm throughout may be cited, as a farther confirmation of the same fact.

"The Lord is my shepherd, no want shall I know;
I feed in green pastures, safe-folded I rest;
He leadeth my soul, where the still waters flow,
Restores me, when wand'ring, redeems, when oppress'd.

Thro' the valley and shadow of death tho' I stray,
Since Thou art my guardian, no evil I fear;
Thy rod shall defend me, thy staff be my stay,
No harm can befall, with my Comforter near.

In the midst of affliction my table is spread;
With blessings unmeasur'd my cup runneth o'er:
With perfume and oil Thou anointest my head.

Oh, what shall I ask of thy Providence more?

Let goodness and mercy, my bountiful God,
Still follow my steps, till I meet Thee above!

I seek, by the path which my forefathers trod
Thro' the land of their sojourn, thy kingdom of love."

(Pp. 15, 16.)

The choice of the metre perhaps is here unfortunate, and may heighten the contrast. We will only quote the two first and the last stanza of Brady and Tate's translation, though we think, that in every part it represents with greater force and life the devout spirit of the writer.

"The Lord himself, the mighty Lord,
Vouchsafes to be my guide,
The shepherd, by whose constant care,
My wants are all supply'd.
In tender grass he makes me feed,
And gently there repose,
Then leads me to cool shades, and where
Refreshing water flows.
Since God does thus his wondrous love
Thro' all my life extend,
That life to him I will devote,
And in his temple spend."

But Tate and Brady can seldom be seen to much more advantage than in comparison with the following introduction to the forty-second psalm.

“As the hart, with eager looks,
Panteth for the water-brooks,
So my soul, athirst for Thee,
Pants the living God to see;
When, oh when, with filial fear,
Lord, shall I to Thee draw near?”

(P. 32.)

How vastly more expressive are the well-known words we subjoin!

‘As pants the hart for cooling streams,
When heated in the chace,
So longs my soul, O God, for thee,
And thy refreshing grace.
For thee, my God, the living God,
My thirsty soul doth pine.
Oh, when shall I behold thy face,
Thou Majesty divine!’

But in some parts of the fifty-first psalm, even Sternhold and Hopkins may appear entitled to a preference, by the side of Mr. Montgomery.

‘O Lord, consider my distress,
And now with speed some pity take!
My sins forgive, my faults redress,
Good Lord, for thy great mercy’s sake!
Make new my heart within my breast,
And frame it to thy holy will,
And let thy spirit in me rest,
Which may my soul with comfort fill!’

Such are the lines of Sternhold and Hopkins, grave at least, and solemn as well as simple, if not poetical. Now let us hear Mr. Montgomery.

“Have mercy on me, O my God!
In loving-kindness hear my prayer!
Withdraw the terror of thy rod!
Lord, in thy tender mercy spare!
Offences rise where’er I look;
But I confess their guilt to Thee.
Blot my transgressions from thy book!
Cleanse me from mine iniquity!
A perfect heart in me create,
Renew my soul in innocence;
Cast not the suppliant from thy gate,
Nor take thine Holy Spirit hence.
Thy consolations, as of old,
Now to my troubled mind restore!
By thy free Spirit’s might uphold
And guide my steps, to fall no more!”

(Pp. 48, 49.)

But the following examples, taken from the hundred-and-thirty-ninth psalm, will perhaps set this unexpected inferiority in a stronger light. The first four lines of the following passage are superior to all that follow.

“How from thy presence should I go,
Or whither from thy Spirit flee,
Since all above, around, below,
Exist in thine immensity?
If up to heav’n I take my way,
I meet Thee in eternal day.
If in the grave I make my bed
With worms and dust, lo, Thou art there;
If, on the wings of morning sped,
Beyond the ocean I repair,
I feel thine all-controlling will,
And Thy right-hand upholds me still.
‘Let darkness b’le me,’ if I say,
Darkness can no concealment be;
Night, on thy rising, shines like day,
Darkness and light are one with Thee.”

(P. 140.)

Compare with this, the grandeur of that really splendid description, which also well preserves the parallelism of the Hebrew!

‘If up to Heav’n I take my flight,
’Tis there thou dwell’st, enthron’d in light;
Or dive to Hell’s infernal plains,
’Tis there almighty vengeance reigns.
If I the morning’s wings could gain,
And fly beyond the western main,
Thy swifter hand would first arrive,
And there arrest thy fugitive;
Or should I try to shun thy sight
Beneath the sable wings of night,
One glance from thee, one piercing ray
Would kindle darkness into day.’

There are no doubt (we are well aware,) numerous, or rather innumerable passages in Tate and Brady, in which a similar comparison would produce an opposite result. But still is it not surprising, that Mr. Montgomery should publish a selection, which in many places sinks below the level of the translations in ordinary use, and in none reminds us of the majesty of the original?

We are persuaded, that Mr. Montgomery is well able to do justice to such a work. But he must first study the peculiar genius of the authors he translates: and for this purpose we recommend him to peruse with close attention the two works, to which we have already adverted, namely,

Lowth's Hebrew Lectures, and Jebb's Sacred Literature : after which, if he sit down to the task with a due conception of its difficulty and its dignity, we have no doubt he will produce a version, very different from that before us. At present, judging from his performance, we should presume him to have regarded the occupation as a child's task, for which little effort was necessary, though the degree of labour which he conceived to be requisite, he professes to have bestowed upon it. Hence he declares very candidly,

" that whatever symptoms of feebleness or bad taste may be betrayed in the execution of these pieces, he offers not to the public the premature fruits of idleness or haste. So far as he recollects, he has endeavored to do his best, and, in doing so, he has never hesitated to sacrifice ambitious ornament to simplicity, clearness, and force of thought and expression." (P. iv.)

If however, as we believe to be the case, he really formed an inadequate conception of the difficulty of his undertaking, we need not wonder, though, while he has succeeded in avoiding ambitious ornament, he is still found to be deficient in force of thought and expression ; for, as Cowper has justly remarked, fine writing requires not only fine parts, but the very best of those parts. Had he borne duly in mind, that he was engaged with the holiest thoughts of some of the holiest of men, when writing under the highest inspiration upon the noblest subjects, we cannot bring ourselves to doubt, that his tongue would not only have been the pen of a ready writer, but have uttered tones, in some degree suited to the celestial original.

Something of this kind is indeed wanted. We have not yet a metrical translation of the sacred psalms, worthy of the name, faithful, yet free, solemn, yet natural, and such as only poets can write. We invite Mr. Montgomery to the undertaking.

That the preceding remarks are in some degree applicable also to the more elaborate work of the right reverend bishop of Down and Connor, which we next proceed to notice, although his lordship (we need not say) is well read in the true principles of Hebrew poetry, we can in no way more strikingly, or, as we conceive, more fairly evince, than by quoting from it all the passages in his version, corresponding to those already produced from others, and then leaving the reader to judge, which of the several specimens are the more faithful, spirited, and successful. The reader will perhaps agree with us, that the first of the extracts we are about to produce is the happiest.

PSALM VIII. 1.

"How great, Jehovah, sov'reign Lord,
Thy name, thro' all thy works ador'd,
Thou, who hast set thy glory high
Above the vastness of the sky!"

(P. 19.)

PSALM XXIII.

"My Shepherd is the Lord most high;
His care shall all my wants supply;
Lay me in pastures green to feed,
And to the tranquil streamlet lead.
He shall my erring soul reclaim,
In honour of his holy name,
And teach me, when my steps would stray,
To keep the straight and even way.

Tho' through the gloomy vale I tread
Of death, no evil shall I dread:

For Thou art ever at my side,
Thy staff to guard, thy rod to guide.

My plenteous board shalt Thou dispose
In sight of my reluctant foes:

With oil shalt Thou anoint my brow,
And make my brimmed cup o'erflow.

Abundant goodness, deathless love,
Shall on my steps attendant move:

Nor length of days my fix'd abode
Shall sever from the house of God."

(Pp. 75—77.)

PSALM XLII. 1, 2.

"As pants the hart, my God, to lave,
O'erhunted, in the cooling wave,

So pants my soul for Thee.

For God she thirsts, the living God.

When shall I reach my God's abode,

Oh, when his presence see!"

(P. 142.)

PSALM LI. 1—4. and 10—12.

"On me, O God, thy mercy shew!

Oh, let thy loving-kindness flow!

Let flow the fulness of thy grace,

And my transgression's guilt efface!

Oh, cleanse the stain, that lurks within!

Oh, wash me from my secret sin!

For low in dust my crimes I own,

My guilt is felt, my sin is known.

My heart with purity endue,

My soul's exhausted strength renew;

Deny me not thy face to see;

Bid not thy Holy Spirit flee;

With thine own health my heart delight;
And guide and guard me with thy might." (Pp. 169, 171.)

PSALM CXXXIX. 7—12.

"How, Lord, shall I escape from Thee,
Or whither from thy Spirit flee?
Say, shall I mount the heights of air?
In vain: for Thou, O Lord, art there.
Say, shall I pierce th' abyss below?
In vain: for there, great God, art Thou.
If on the wings of morn I haste,
And dwell beyond the ocean-waste;
Yet there within thy grasp I stand,
Yet there I feel thy guiding hand.
Darkness, I said, shall be my shroud:
And straight dispers'd the ambient cloud,
And brightness through the shadows shone:
Yea, darkness, Lord, with Thee is none,
But night is clear as day. Thy sight,
All-piercing, knows nor gloom nor light." (Pp. 445, 446.)

It is not indeed surprising, that in comparison with the best passages of an old translation any new attempt should be felt to fail. The surprising fact is, that the passages we have cited from these newer productions should be fair specimens of their general merit, and that the execution should seldom rise above the standard of these examples, and by necessary consequence, if our readers' judgment upon the compared extracts coincide with our own, that they should fall for the most part below the rate of the happiest passages in translations, not held in very general esteem.

It will be no discredit to the bishop's work to say, that it is seen to most advantage, not as a specimen of verse, but as an exposition of scripture. Many valuable hints may be collected by a diligent reader of the psalms, from the critical and illustrative notes of his volume; and, though we by no means think, that the whole beauty of the original has been exhibited either in the poetry or in the prose, and although no great originality is either to be expected or desired in such a compilation, we are more disposed to thank the bishop for what he has done, than to complain of any thing that he may have omitted. We shall always indeed rejoice to see our prelates so occupied, and are persuaded, that they can never appear with more true dignity, than when engaged in even the humblest endeavour to elucidate that holy volume, which is the sole basis of their own sacred character and profession.

ART. VIII.—1. *A Narrative of the Establishment and Progress of the Mission to Ceylon and India*, founded by the late Rev. Thomas Coke, LL.D. under the direction of the Wesleyan-Methodist Conference, including notices of various religious sects at that presidency and on the continent of India, with an introductory sketch of the natural, civil, and religious history of the island of Ceylon, by W. M. Harvard, one of the Missionaries who accompanied Dr. Coke. London: Blanshard, Westley. 1823. 8vo. Pp. xxii. and 404.

2. *An Account of the American Baptist Mission to the Burman Empire*, in a Series of Letters, addressed to a gentleman in London, by Ann H. Judson. London: Butterworth's. 1823. 8vo. Pp. xiii. and 326.

THE experience of eighteen centuries concurs with prophecy in assuring us, that the kingdom of God is not destined to attain perfection through a series of peaceful triumphs, but has to win its arduous way through discouragement, opposition, and conflict. Indeed nothing less than omnipotence could give solidity and wide extension to a religion, which boldly makes head against the propensities of man's corrupt nature; and, while it disallows any other means of gaining ground than argument and persuasion, demands an unfeigned and unlimited submission to its doctrines and constitutions. Hence the armies of Baal have often been deemed too strong for the servants of Jehovah, till the Mighty One bowed the heavens, and came down to disperse the darkness which was under his feet, by an extraordinary effusion of spiritual light and power.

In estimating indeed the little progress which has been made by the efforts of societies and of individuals, towards the evangelization of the world, the want of competent talent and preparation in the missionaries themselves, will go some way towards explaining their miscarriages; especially when we take into the account, that the Societies at home, by which their enterprises were directed and supported, were long straitened by penury; and did not always compensate the deficiency of pecuniary means, by largeness of thought or knowledge, or by sound discretion; and when to this we add the diminutive scale upon which the best missionary efforts have been conducted, and compare the scanty numbers of Christian laborers with the magnitude of the work to be accomplished, it seems more consistent with humility and truth to attribute the par-

tial failure to our own deficiency and neglect, than to look for a solution of it in the hidden decrees and mysterious purposes of God. When the Israelites failed to possess themselves of all the land of Canaan, their exclusion from a portion of their inheritance is ascribed in Scripture, not to any slowness on God's part to march before them, but to their own want of faith in following the invisible guide. Still, it is only by reference to the divine supremacy, and to the mysterious administration of a wisdom which sets human calculations at defiance, that any satisfactory explanation can be given of the success which has in some cases burst upon the missionary laborer, after a series of Christian efforts, and with little or no dawn to introduce the sunshine. Like the apostles of old, he has been casting his net, throughout a long and wearisome night, without any return; and, when on the point of giving over, a last despairing experiment has been rewarded with a supernatural draught, under circumstances indeed so unhopeful, that whoever cannot recognise in the event an Almighty finger, must yield the palm of sagacity or candour to the magicians of Pharaoh. *Non hæc sine Numine.*

On the other hand, when we lament the apparent want of success, attending the self-denying efforts of Christian missionaries, it becomes us to remember, that we are very incompetent judges of what God is doing behind the cloud, with which his throne is encompassed. An immense activity often lurks under the semblance of repose; and movements in the kingdoms of providence and grace, as well as in the provinces of nature, are constantly going forward, the results of which, when they break upon us, are not the less vast and amazing, for having eluded observation, before they were matured. The man who, after surveying the continent of Asia, shall pronounce that little or nothing has been effected towards its subjugation to the gospel, because the individuals who have as yet given in their allegiance to the Saviour are few, may in the end be proved to have been hasty in forming his opinions. On this point indeed, the conclusions of the judgment are too often infected by the pravity of the heart; and the obduracy of the heathen is bewailed as incurable by men, who are not cordially desirous of seeing it removed. As vehement desire keeps alive hope and exertion, so, on the other hand, are they blighted and withered by cowardice and indifference.

For our own parts we can discern, in the vast range of missionary operations, to which the pious zeal of various sects of Christians has lately given birth, many auspicious beginnings, many pledges of future success. Almighty God has declared himself in favour of these endeavours to disseminate

the faith of Jesus Christ, not only by a more than ordinary effusion of his spirit upon the natives of sundry places, in Western Africa, in some of the islands of the Pacific, and in several Wesleyan and Moravian settlements elsewhere, but also by imparting to the conductors and ministers of their truly evangelical enterprises, a spirit of wisdom and cordial co-operation, of which earlier times afford but few examples. When the object is not so much to convert infidels to the simple knowledge of the Saviour, as to obtain adherents to a certain style and description of Christianity, the blessing of heaven can hardly be expected. Moreover the moral and even physical impediments to a successful publication of the gospel, created by this narrowness and bigotry, will multiply at every step. The keen sectarian will find, that, by insulating himself amidst the fences, which divide his particular community from the rest of the Christian church, he cuts the sinews of his own strength, besides paralysing the exertions of others. It is indeed of the last importance to the success of missions, that no suspicion should be engendered in the minds of the heathen, that the Baptist creed is at variance with the Independent or the Episcopalian. All missionaries, however discriminated in Christendom, should be votaries of neither Paul, nor Apollos, in the field of their labours, but of Christ alone: and while retaining, so far as conscience may prescribe, their own peculiarities of discipline, they should carefully avoid displaying them as badges of distinction; and should rather cover them with so thick a veil of reciprocal love and good offices, as may prevent their becoming a stumbling-block and snare to Asiatic and African neophytes.

We ought, perhaps, to apologize for having so long detained our readers from the interesting works, which this article is designed to introduce to their notice. Those, however, who may be induced by our recommendation of the "Narrative of the Mission to Ceylon," to peruse that useful and agreeable publication, will immediately perceive what it was that gave birth to our preliminary discussion. They will perceive that the mission just alluded to was conducted with a chastised zeal, and a "meekness of wisdom," which contributed in no slight degree to the success which it obtained. In the deference paid by the Methodist ministers to the civil and ecclesiastical authorities of the island, we recognise that humility and discretion, which are prime qualifications for usefulness in the sphere of missionary labour: nor can any thing redound more to the honour of the Governor, the Chief Justice, and the Archdeacon, than the prompt and Christian kindness with which they invariably met these self-

devoted preachers of the gospel, directed or seconded their ministerial undertakings, and forwarded the great objects to which a missionary life is consecrated.

The work before us is from the pen of the Rev. Mr. Harvard, one of the gentlemen, whose offer to forsake country and kindred for the noble purpose of evangelizing the Ceylonese was accepted by the Methodist conference. Consequently, his account of the moral condition of that people, and of the measures taken heretofore, and now in progress, for their moral and religious improvement, is drawn from genuine sources; and it will surely commend itself to general credit by the air of good sense and integrity which pervades it. His narrative of the adventures and proceedings of the little band which sought in Ceylon a better glory than that of princes and warriors, is preceded by some cursory historical details, and by some valuable notices of its animal, vegetable, and mineral productions; to furnish which he has avowedly levied contributions on Knox and Cordiner, and Percival and Davy. These are followed by a statement, which we have every reason to believe correct, of the low ebb to which Christianity had fallen in the island, and of the progress, which a frightful superstition was making. It seems probable that Christianity, adulterated however with the Nestorian leaven, was introduced from Persia, or from the Malabar coast, about the fifth or sixth century. Possibly it might claim an earlier origin; but the first mention of its existence is made by Cosmas Indicopleustes, who, in the sixth century, found Christian churches established in Ceylon. However, it appears to have been but a sickly plant, which never took kindly to the soil, but withered away and perished so completely, that, when the Portuguese obtained a footing in the island, in the sixteenth century, no traces remained of Christianity having ever vegetated within its circuit.

The Portuguese were not remiss in introducing the Roman Catholic faith into those maritime provinces of which they obtained possession; and some zealous priests penetrated into the interior of the island, and planted the cross in the Kandian metropolis. To the flexible temper of the natives must be attributed the rapid diffusion of nominal Christianity among them; since the facility with which they adopted the creed of their new masters, as soon as the Dutch had dispossessed the Portuguese, demonstrates that the gospel had never been rationally and cordially embraced. Yet it is an interesting fact, that, two centuries after Portugal had lost all property in Ceylon,

“two small colonies of Roman Catholic Christians, the fruit of the

Portuguese mission, were discovered embosomed in the Kandian jungles." (P. lxiv.)

Nothing was more natural than that the Ceylonese, after a century's experience of European ambition and cupidity, should be exceedingly jealous of the Dutch colonists and watchful against their encroachments. Nevertheless, the residents on the coast, who had previously been received into the Romish communion, appear to have unanimously and without hesitation transferred their allegiance to the Reformed Church, with an alacrity of submission more expressive of political wisdom than of religious sincerity. A sample of the religion, to which their proselytes attained, is furnished in the following anecdotes.

"The author once inquired of a Singhalese man, who had been educated in what they term *the Dutch time*, 'Are you a Christian?' Confounding the term *Christian* with *Roman Catholic*, he replied in the negative, with a strong expression of disdain. 'Of what religion are you?' His answer was, '*Reppremmado*,' or, 'Of the Reformed Church!' Dr. Buchanan in his '*Christian Researches*' relates, that, while at Ceylon, he inquired of a boatman, what religion he professed. He replied that he was of the *Government religion*." (P. lxv.)

We have pleasure in recording, that a copy of the New Testament, translated by a Roman Catholic priest into the vernacular tongue, was found among the small remnant of Christians, which had survived the extinction of the Portuguese interest in the island, after it fell to the British empire. Attempts had also been made by the Dutch Government to christianize the natives by the same powerful engine; and versions of several books of the Holy Scriptures had been gratuitously dispersed. The Dutch appear, however, to have been satisfied with external conformity, and to have required of their new subjects no other qualification for Church-membership, than subscription to the Helvetic confession, and a knowledge of the Lord's prayer, the ten commandments, and a few short prayers. With such scanty demands on the part of the teachers, and so much ductility and obsequiousness as characterized the Singhalese learners, it would be a preposterous candour to suppose that the Protestant Church of Ceylon could boast many real converts.

It would, however, be disingenuous to conceal that the Dutch exerted themselves, with a praiseworthy diligence, to promote the moral improvement of this degraded people, and left behind them a model of mechanical arrangement, on which succeeding laborers have found it difficult to improve. Schoolmasters were appointed in convenient districts; a certain number of these districts was placed under the super-

intendence of higher officers, called *Catechist-masters*; and these officers, in their turn, were subordinate to the *Propo-nents*, who were a sort of unordained preachers, in whom certain ecclesiastical functions were vested. The Dutch, it appears, enforced the attendance of children at the schools, and of the adult population, as well as the infantine, at places of public worship. In the present day, of which the characteristic vice is *impatience of control*, it will hardly be allowed, that the fault of employing forcible measures was redeemed by the worthiness of the end proposed: and we are not disposed to maintain, that the evils, inseparable from such a compulsory system, are compensated by its greater immediate efficacy. Yet, believing, as we do, that

“there is a blessing even in the form of Christianity, which it is only necessary to behold in a heathen country, in order favorably to appreciate,” (P. lxvii.)

we have no hesitation in asserting, that the pious endeavours of the Dutch to make the Ceylonese partakers of the benefits of revealed religion, entitle them to the esteem of all true philanthropists, although, in the effervescence of their charity, they may sometimes have forgotten, that to force a benefit on persons, who do not value it, is in some sense to inflict an injury.

We cannot reflect without shame and sorrow, that the first effect of the transfer of Ceylon from Dutch to English domination was in the last degree prejudicial to the religious interests of the inhabitants.

“The new government was, for a considerable time, too much engaged in political and civil arrangements, to attend to the moral and religious destitution of the natives. The effects were appalling.—‘In the time of the Dutch government, the different places of worship, dedicated to Budhu and other deities of Singhalese superstition, were between *three and four hundred*; and during the *first ten years* of Ceylonese subjection to the British Crown, the number of such places of Pagan worship had increased to ONE THOUSAND TWO HUNDRED.’” (P. lxix.)

The religion of the Ceylonese, as is well known, is mostly Budhuism, a superstition less bloody and degrading indeed than that of the Hindoos, but hardly less ruinous to its votaries, inasmuch as it is a system of atheistical fatalism, and teaches that annihilation is the *euthanasia* of intelligent beings.

Nor yet is this the most galling of those chains, with which the miserable victims of Singhalese paganism are loaded. There is an abject and noxious superstition, termed *Kappooism*, which consists in the adoration of evil spirits, whom it is

thought impossible to propitiate without a multiplicity of expensive oblations and abominable rites. To the Kappooas, or ministers of this infernal worship, the deluded devotees are in wretched thralldom, the intercession of the priests being thought indispensable to protect the laity from those fell demons, whom a trembling fanaticism invests with all the attributes of malignant power.

It appears from Mr. Harvard's history, that a mission to Asia had been a favorite scheme with Mr. Wesley, who imparted much of his zeal on the subject to the Rev. Dr. Coke, to whom, on the decease of the venerable patriarch, there devolved some portion of his authority and influence. Dr. Coke never lost sight of this object, although many years elapsed, before the main impediments to the enterprise were cleared away. Dr. Coke himself, whose evangelical ardour had not waned with his youth and strength, guaranteed the sum requisite for the outfit of the mission, and obtained, or rather extorted, the consent of the Methodist conference, to his proposal for conducting to Ceylon a chosen troop of men like-minded with himself. This island was preferred to any part of continental India, partly on account of the countenance given to Missionary exertions by Sir Alexander Johnstone, the Chief Justice, and partly, because the scheme of government in places under the jurisdiction of the British crown is more liberal and Christian than what prevails in the territories of the East India Company. We trust, indeed, that the policy of those princely merchants is undergoing a salutary change. But the niggard hand with which they doled out instruction to the vassal Peninsula, and the repugnance they testified to any measures being taken for elevating it in the scale of rational and moral dignity, if a morbid timidity could descry the remotest probability that their own secular interest might be anywise compromised, are sad evidences of the slender chance those people have of moral culture, the grandeur of whose rulers consists not in the prosperity they can diffuse through the country, but in the wealth they can extract from its bowels. Civil enactments are then made only, or principally, in aid of commercial speculation; the grand principles of legislation are contracted to the narrow span of a corporation, whose general aggrandizement is not in unison with the general welfare; the appeals and pretensions of Christian philanthropy are trampled under foot by the gigantic self-love of a few rapacious individuals; and the exertions of disinterested benevolence are invalidated by the rigorous terms with which they are straitened. In short, the religion of Christ is compelled to take the lowest place, and

to follow servilely, and therefore ineffectually, in the narrow and difficult pathway, which alone it is deemed consistent with the prosperity of the dominant powers to permit her to tread.

The voyage of our Wesleyan Ministers commenced at the end of the year 1813; and we observe with pleasure that the conspicuous propriety and consistency of their conduct, being duly appreciated by their generous captain, opened to them facilities for sacred occupation on board the vessel. Every thing connected with their passage was peaceful and propitious, till within three weeks sail of Bombay, when the providence of God visited them with a sudden and severe calamity. On the morning of May the third, Dr. Coke, who had manifested symptoms the evening before of slight indisposition, was found dead on the floor of his cabin, having apparently been taken off by apoplexy.

It will be readily supposed that our voyagers were thrown into great affliction and dismay, at finding themselves bereft of their venerable chieftain, under circumstances, rendered more than commonly distressing by a want of forethought in the doctor, who had made no provision against such a contingency. In consequence of no testamentary instrument being discovered among his papers, the missionary effects, which had all been shipped in the doctor's own name and as his personal property, fell by law under the Captain's charge, who could not make any advances out of them, without being responsible to the executors in England for whatever should be so advanced. Our readers may find a simple and touching account of the anxiety endured by the missionaries, thus deprived of their guide and guardian, and left penniless in the midst of the Indian ocean, without a letter of credit on any of the capitalists in Bombay, or any prospect of obtaining the supplies necessary for proceeding to their destination.

The character of Dr. Coke is drawn by Mr. Harvard with the friendly pencil, which is graceful in the hands of a young minister, who had grown up under his shadow. To the piety and zeal, the industry and munificence of that Christian worthy we pay a willing and respectful tribute; and from the filial veneration, with which he was regarded by his younger colleagues, we infer, that the kindness of his demeanour was mingled with grave authority. In point of talent, however, the distance between him and the founder of Methodism is immeasurable; and notwithstanding the energy and perseverance, which he undoubtedly displayed through a long and eventful career, we incline to think that he would never have reached the eminence which was allowed him in his own con-

nexion, had he not been fixed on the pedestal by the hand of the mighty master.

Mr. Harvard proceeds to represent in excellent feeling the extraordinary kindness of Captain Birch, in whose ship the Doctor had sailed, who befriended the Missionaries in their orphan condition, forwarded their suit with the civil authorities of Bombay, and contributed by his favorable report to obtain for them such ample supplies from Mr. Money, as were fully commensurate with their wants, and went beyond their largest expectations.

We can only glance at the gratifying statements made of the condescending and bountiful attentions, paid them by the governor, Sir Evan Nepean; whose behaviour to these forlorn Methodists, while it attests the humanity of his disposition, the manliness of his character, and the reality of his religion, should be held up as a model to all public functionaries, who may occupy such stations of commanding influence on the highest interests of their fellow-creatures.

The Missionaries, except Mr. Harvard, who was detained by his wife's pregnancy, proceeded with all practicable dispatch to Ceylon, and were joined by him, as soon as Mrs. Harvard's recovery from her confinement permitted. It will gratify all right-minded persons to read of the hearty welcome, with which this company of Christian heralds was greeted by the authorities of Ceylon. From the moment they set foot on shore, the best understanding appears to have subsisted between all parties; and the most anxious desire was manifested on the part of the Governor, of the lamented Lord Molesworth, and of the officers in every department of administration, to smooth the path, and to prosper the labours, of the Missionaries. In this holy career the Hon. and venerable Archdeacon Twisleton was eminent for wisdom and vigour, for superiority to minute prejudices, for piety, benevolence, and candour. Had he been one of those strait-laced zealots, who set little store by the gospel of Christ, if administered in a vehicle, not bearing the stamp of their own denomination, and who make nothing of sacrificing unity at the shrine of uniformity, those springs of divine truth and consolation might never have been open, which are already irrigating the torrid islands of the Indian ocean; or the waters, which now flow from them so peaceably and purely, might, and probably would, have been shamefully obstructed and fouled by animosities and contests. But he stood forth, a man of another spirit; and Christendom shall give him honour, while heathens rise up and call him blessed. By at once

frankly co-operating with the new laborers, and taking the precedence *exemplo potius quam imperio*, he entitled himself to their lasting gratitude, and lent the weight of his character and patronage to their ministerial enterprises; and by the persuasive amenity of his behaviour, he obtained that influence in their counsels; which, when not imperiously demanded, is rarely denied to conspicuous merit, and which it is highly creditable to the sense and temper of the preachers to have so respectfully conceded. Mr. Bisset, one of the Colombo chaplains, followed in the good path traced out by his superior; and to this harmonious confederacy of the Established Church with the Wesleyan preachers must be attributed, under God, the rich promise of harvest, which quickly followed the seed time. If, instead of this amicable correspondence between the Church of England and the Methodists, there had been on the one side, any thing of arrogant assumption or repulsive jealousy, or, on the other side, a petulant, opinionative, and factious self-will, it is probable that Mr. Harvard's narrative would not have exhibited scenes, on which a Christian could dwell with so much complacency and hope.

Our limits will not permit us to sketch the proceedings of our author and his associates in the Island, through which they were distributed; but we must add two or three short extracts from the work we are reviewing.

Mr. Clough, who had been stationed in the district of Galle, was anxious to quit the Fort, a residence which abridged his opportunities of intercourse with the natives, and "to live entirely among them." This object was attained in the following pleasing manner:

"He received a visit at the Government house from Don Abraham Dias Abeyesinhe Amarasekara, the Maha, or great Moodeliar of Galle, a fine looking man, of good understanding and of a liberal mind; and who, from his rank, was possessed of unbounded influence throughout the district. After the usual compliments, he addressed Mr. Clough in English, in nearly the following words: 'Reverend Sir, I am come to offer my children to your protection and instructions; I have heard you are desirous of establishing a school for the sons of our native head-men. I have, Sir, a good house ready furnished near my own residence, which is much at your service. If you would please to see if it suits you, I should think it an honour to have such a reverend gentleman living so near to me, and will assist you in all things in my power.'

"Mr. Clough, after acknowledging the liberal offer of the Moodeliar, went to view the premises, which are about a mile from the Fort, and only a stone's throw from the house of the generous proprietor. They are situated in a very retired and romantic spot; and appeared in most respects to be so eligible, that Mr. Clough did not hesitate to accept of the liberal proposal. He immediately had his luggage re-

moved, and was thus, without any expence to the Mission fund, placed at once in a situation of comfort and respectability; and in circumstances of all others the best calculated to promote his improvement in the language, and his usefulness among the natives. His school was soon commenced, and attended by some of the most intelligent boys on the island. The generous proprietor manifested the greatest anxiety for his comfort; furnished him with a small horse, and afforded him assistance whenever his aid could render him any service. The patronage and friendship of the Moodeliar had an astonishing influence on the surrounding natives. Curiosity was powerfully excited; and in his new residence Mr. Clough was visited by learned priests, and persons of various classes, who came to inquire respecting the religion he professed. With them, through the medium of an interpreter, he had frequent opportunities of conversing *concerning the faith in Christ*; and had the pleasure in some instances of seeing them depart, evidently impressed with the result of their inquiries. By the assistance of the Moodeliar a highly competent Singhalese teacher was procured; under whose instructions Mr. Clough applied himself with laborious perseverance to the study of that language; employing every interval from the duties of his school to qualify himself for preaching to the natives *in their own tongue the wonderful works of God.*" (Pp. 170, 171.)

There is a very interesting account of the conversion of a priest of Budhu, an event of vast moment to the cause of true religion throughout Ceylon. The narrative is too long to be transferred to our pages; but we shall copy the entry, made in the register by the Archdeacon, of his baptism in the English Church at Colombo.

"Baptism, 1814: Dec. 25. *Petrus Panditta Sekara*, a converted priest of Budhu; who was induced to embrace the Christian religion through the mild, clear, and persuasive arguments and exhortations of the Rev. Mr. Clough, a missionary of the Wesleyan persuasion, who had been residing at Galle; and had taken frequent opportunities of viewing the idolatrous rites and ceremonies in the temple, of which the convert was a leading priest.

"This newly converted Christian had received from Mr. Clough the valuable present of a New Testament in Singhalese, which circumstance not only caused him to read it throughout, with a mind bent on the search after truth; but induced him at a numerous meeting of priests of Budhu, to take the testament with him, and lecture them during a whole night from the gospel of Matthew, which they heard with no less astonishment than attention." (P. 238.)

The nomination of a native teacher is justly recorded, as an important event in the annals of the Ceylon mission. It is from native teachers, men thoroughly conversant with the language and habits of those whom they address, and experimentally alive to the indigenous prejudices, which lurk under that specific form of idolatry to which their countrymen are wedded, that the propagation of Christianity is to

be expected. Accordingly no plan can be more promising than that adopted by the Wesleians, of founding schools, wherever the superintendence of a missionary can reach. To the wisdom of the methodist plan the following valuable testimony is borne by Sir Alexander Johnstone.

“ The admirable plan upon which you have established your schools in the vicinity of Colombo, Negombo, Pantura, Galle, Matura, Batticalao, and Jaffnapatnam, has excited an universal anxiety amongst all classes, and amongst all descriptions of the natives, to have similar schools opened in every part of these settlements. The rule, which you have so wisely adopted, of selecting such persons only for masters, as may be deemed fit for the situation by the heads of the different families whose children they are to instruct, has warmly interested those who are parents, in the success of your undertaking; and the voluntary manner, in which they have offered you their assistance, is a decided indication of the popularity of your system. An attentive observation of the character of the people of this island, for a period of fifteen years, enables me to form some conjecture as to the probable effect of this system; and I have no hesitation whatever in stating it to you as my decided opinion, that, should you meet with the support which you deserve in England and this country, you will realize ere long the hopes of those, who are the most sanguine in their expectations of the ultimate success of the cause of Christianity in Asia.” (P. 398.)

We cannot close our strictures on the Methodist mission to Ceylon without expressing a confident hope, that the discreet and temperate conduct of the gentlemen who executed it, will do much towards vindicating the missionary corps of that powerful body of Christians from the charges, so acrimoniously urged against it, of incaution and perverseness. Those charges, we are satisfied, are to a great extent calumnious aspersions, which owe their birth and dissemination to a principle, in which credulity makes a slender third with impiety and avarice. Undoubtedly, after every precaution has been taken, and the most rigorous scrutiny exercised, some men will occasionally occupy those sacred embassies, whose manner of discharging the delicate function will disclose a want of capacity and temper, which nothing perhaps could have brought to light but the actual trial. But from a few, a very few instances of misconduct or error, in an undertaking which demands a rare combination of intellectual and moral endowments, to take occasion to stigmatize a large body of evangelists, or to interrupt and suppress a work of the utmost consequence to the human race, argues an immorality of mind, which we are loth to designate by its proper epithets. At the same time we are thankful for the benefit, which has accrued to the great cause of convert-

ing the heathen, from the fierce and spiteful opposition of some unhappy men miscalled Christians. It has rendered the societies, by which missionaries are sent out and maintained, more cautious than they formerly were in the selection of their agents: it has obliged the missionaries themselves to proceed with a gentleness, sobriety, and circumspection, in which the most sharp-sighted malice finds it difficult to detect a flaw: and it has placed in a conspicuous point of view the devotedness of those intrepid confessors, who have borne with exemplary patience, in addition to "perils among the heathen," such wrongs as must have been more acutely felt, from being inflicted by countrymen, fellow-Christians, and brethren.

We have unwittingly given so much room to the Ceylon mission, that we shall be obliged to contract our notice of Mrs. Judson's letters within narrower limits, than correspond with the pleasure we have derived from the perusal. Before entering, however, on the American Baptist mission to Burmah, it may be expedient to furnish a concise account of that remarkable empire, for the benefit of such of our readers as may not be familiar with its history.

Between China and British India lie Arracan, Ava, Pegue, and Siam, of which countries the three first are consolidated under the Burman sceptre. The whole of the peninsula which is washed on the west by the Bay of Bengal, and on the eastern side by the Gulf of Siam, was known to the ancients under the names of *Aurea*, or *Argentea regio*, and *Aurea Chersonesus*. To Colonel Symes, who executed a diplomatic mission from Calcutta to Ava, we are indebted for the fullest information yet obtained of the character of the natives of Burmah, their proficiency in arts and sciences, and their political organization. It appears that this peninsula was the scene of many bloody wars between the kingdoms of Ava and Pegue, whose power was pretty equally balanced. For a time the star of Pegue was in the ascendant, and the ancient Burman dynasty was finally extinguished by Beinga Della, king of Pegue, A. D. 1752. But some brave spirits mourned in secret over the degradation of their country; and it was finally rescued from vassalage by the renowned Alompra, who, by dint of genius and valour alone, raised himself from the obscure condition of a petty soldier to the throne of an extensive empire. The character of Alompra is, to say the least of it, as estimable, and his conduct is stained with as few crimes, as the character and conduct of almost any adventurer who owes his sceptre to his sword. He did not climb to power on the ruins of his country; but

he elevated it, along with himself, to a pitch of formidable strength and respectable opulence. Neither would it require a very argute casuistry to justify him in retaining the sovereignty and bequeathing it to his own family, instead of fixing on the heirs of the effete royal family a diadem, which he had won so dearly, and which it required no feeble arm to maintain.

After achievements which place him on a level with heroes of the highest class, and after enriching his country with several laws and regulations, profoundly conceived for its political confirmation and domestic weal, he died before completing his fiftieth year. The kingdom of Arracan, which stretches along the west coast of eastern India, and is separated from Ava by a range of lofty hills, called by the natives Anou-pec-tou-miou, or, *the great western hilly country*, has fallen a prey to the ambition of one of Alempira's successors, who now wave their despotic sceptre over a territory, that extends about twelve hundred miles in its extreme length, and in its greatest breadth from eight to nine hundred, and contains a population of nineteen millions.

The Burmans, although sprung from the same stock with the Hindoos, differ widely in moral complexion; and the difference is, upon the whole, much in favour of the former. Instead of being feeble, pusillanimous, indolent, which is the Gentoo disposition, they exhibit a strong, resolute, energetic cast of mind, a taste for inquiry, and a proneness to improvement, far beyond what are met with on the other side of the Ganges. They are shackled by the feudal system; but the distinction of castes does not obtain among them, a distinction the most soul-withering and brutalizing, by which the bodies and minds of human beings can be enslaved. It is true that the Burmans display some features of ferocity. Nevertheless they are less savagely and obstinately vindictive than the Malays; and they shew a liberality in some departments of their domestic policy, which indicate considerable advances in civility and the science of government. For they encourage strangers, and even captives, to marry and settle among them, not merely with a view to people more rapidly their wide-spread and fertile domains, but in order likewise to derive from the children of more improved nations those arts and that learning, in which they are conscious of being themselves surpassed.

Of their religion Mrs. Judson gives the following succinct account.

“The Burmans are Boodhists, or a nation of atheists. They believe that existence involves in itself the principles of misery and de-

struction: consequently, there is no eternal God. The whole universe, say they, is only destruction and reproduction. It therefore becomes a wise man to raise his desires above all things that exist, and aspire to *Nigban*, the state in which there is no existence. Rewards and punishments follow meritorious and sinful acts, agreeably to the nature of things. Gaudama, their last Boodh, or deity, in consequence of meritorious acts, arrived at that state of perfection, which made him deserving of annihilation,—the *supreme good*. His instructions are still in force, and will continue till the appearance of the next deity, who is supposed now to exist somewhere in embryo, and who, when he appears, as the most perfect of all beings, will introduce a new dispensation. The Boodhist system of morality is pure, though it is destitute of power to produce purity of life in those, who profess it.”—(P. 3.)

Gaudama appears to have been a philosopher, who flourished, according to Burman chronology, 500 years before Christ; and who materially altered and modified the religious creed of his country. By Sir William Jones he is identified with the Foh of China. Although the system of Budhuism denies the existence of any Supreme Being, yet Gaudama himself is worshipped as a god, and his sectaries are so much attached, as Colonel Symes assures us, to their *lares*, that a Burman family is never without an idol in some corner of the house, made of wood or of some more precious material.

Upon the whole the Burmans are a very superior race to the Hindoos, and have the benefit of a code of morality singularly pure and rigid. When therefore we find them, notwithstanding this advantage, covetous, rapacious, and cruel, transgressing without scruple or remorse whatever laws they can violate with impunity, and disdaining the coercion of moral institutes if unsupported by the secular sword, we must open our eyes to the insufficiency of the best-constructed human systems of religion, which, however fair in form and specious in theory, always prove unequal to restrain the disorderly passions of mankind, and to generate virtuous principles and practice.

It may well be supposed that Mr. and Mrs. Judson were fully awake to the dreary loneliness of their condition, when they landed at Rangoon, after experiencing many sorrows, which were chiefly occasioned by the vexatious severity of Lord Minto, who seems to have carried his jealousy of a solitary missionary and his wife to an extent, not easily reconcileable with high-mindedness and benevolent feeling. From this part of the narrative, however, we gladly turn away, to admire the magnanimity of the persecuted pair, who, finding no asylum in British India, instead of hailing the inhospitality of foreigners, as a signal of return to their

native land, resolved on braving the untried terrors of an attempt to plant the cross in Ava. *Tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito*, was a maxim finely exemplified in this instance; and we render an admiring homage to the self-immolating spirit of a highly-gifted and accomplished lady (for such is Mrs. Judson), forsaking a home of peculiar endearments, encountering, or rather embracing hardships, from which an ordinary courage would have shrunk appalled; and cheerfully undergoing privations and inconveniences the most revolting to female sensibility, for the sake of imparting to barbarous pagans "the unsearchable riches of Christ."

The position, which these devoted baptists, these *egregii exules*, have taken up, is one of vast importance by its physical and political connexions, not less than by the space it fills in the map of Asia. Barely divided from the British empire on the northwest by the Naaf, and touching the Chinese province of Yunan in the northeast, it carries on an increasing trade with the former in timber, teak of the first quality being grown in Pegue; and with the latter it traffics in cotton and other articles. Regarding it, therefore, as a buttress to the stupendous edifice, which the English power has raised in India Proper, we cannot doubt the expediency of binding it to our interests by a collation of the greatest benefits, and of affiliating it, so to speak, by bringing it within the pale of Christianity; or, if we have been anticipated in that sacred work, by becoming the nursing fathers of its infant church. For our part, we are not disposed to dismiss at once, as visionary, the hope, expressed by the present laborers on the virgin-soil of Ava, that the seeds of true religion may be wafted thence into China. Should the Henza* be displaced by the cross, and the Irabatty, in its course from the golden city to the gulf of Martaban, wash no other temples but such as are consecrated to the true God, it will hardly be deemed a sally of extravagant enthusiasm to augur, that the destined day is arrived for the arm of divine almightiness to stretch itself over the immensity of China, and to bend its stubborn offspring to the obedience of the Just One.

The following citation will shew the difficulties, with which Mr. Judson had to contend in acquiring the Burman language.

"I have now been above two years engaged in the Burman. When we take up a western language, the similarity in the characters,

* A species of goose, the tutelary bird and symbol of Burmah.

in very many terms; in many modes of expression, and in the general structure of the sentences, its being in fair print (a circumstance we hardly think of) and the assistance of grammars, dictionaries, and instructors, render the work comparatively easy. But when we take up a language spoken by a people on the other side of the earth, whose very thoughts run in channels diverse from ours, and whose modes of expression are consequently all new and uncouth; when we find the letters and words all totally destitute of the least resemblance to any language we have ever met with, and these words not fairly divided and distinguished, as in western writing, by breaks and points and capitals, but run together in one continuous line, a sentence or paragraph seeming to the eye but one long word; when instead of clear characters on paper, we find only obscure scratches on dried palm-leaves strung together, and called a book; when we have no dictionary, and no interpreter to explain a single word, and must get something of the language, before we can avail ourselves of the assistance of a native teacher,—

Hoc opus, hic labor est.”—(Pp. 54, 55.)

Further on we have a forcible statement of the additional difficulty with which the learner is burdened in consequence of the perpetual recurrence of Pali terms in Burman compositions.

“The greater part of my time for the last six months has been occupied in studying and transcribing, in alphabetical arrangement, the Pali Abigdan, or dictionary of the Pali language, affixing to the Pali terms the interpretation in Burman, and again transferring the Burman words to a dictionary, Burman and English. With the close of the year I have brought this tedious work to a close; and find that the number of Pali words collected amounts to about four thousand. It has grieved me to spend so much time on the Pali; but the constant occurrence of Pali terms in every Burman book made it absolutely necessary. The two languages are entirely distinct. The Burman is a language *sui generis*, peculiar to itself. It is true we cannot know what affinity it has to some of the Indo-Chinese languages, that are yet uninvestigated; but it is essentially different from the Sungskrit, the parent of almost all the languages in India Proper, and indeed from every language that has yet come under the cognisance of Europeans.”—(P. 159.)

The reader will be half amused, half saddened with the Burman mode of exorcizing possessed houses, which is given at too much length for insertion in our pages. We cannot however withhold a singular and interesting document, being the petition of two converts to be baptized privately, because the public celebration of that ordinance was not altogether safe. The following is given as a literal translation of the original paper.

“Moung Byaay, and Moung Thahlah venture to address the two teachers. Though the country of Burmah is very far distant from the

country of America, yet the teachers, coming by ship the long way of six months, have arrived at this far distant country of Burmah, and town of Rangoon, and proclaimed the propitious news, by means of which we, having become acquainted with the religion, know that there is an eternal God in heaven, and that there is a Divine Son, the Lord Jesus Christ, deserving of the highest love; and we know, that the Lord Jesus Christ, the Divine Son, endured on account of all his disciples sufferings and death, even severe sufferings on a cross in their stead. On account of our sins we were like persons laden with a very heavy burden. On account of our many sins we found no deliverance, no place of refuge, and our minds were distressed. In this state remaining, the two teachers produced the sacred system from the Scriptures, and we became informed of the existence of the one God; and of the facts, that the Divine Son, the Lord Jesus Christ, redeemed with his sacred life all who love and trust in him, and in order to save his disciples from hell suffered death in their stead. Now we know that we have sinned against the sacred One, and we know assuredly that if we become the disciples of the Divine Son, the Lord Jesus Christ, we shall be saved from the hell which we deserve. We desire to become disciples and with the two teachers, like children born of the same mother, to worship the true God, and observe the true religion.

“On searching in the Scriptures for ancient rules and customs, it does not appear that John and other baptizers administered baptism on any particular time, or day, or hour. We therefore venture to beg of the two teachers, that they will grant that on the 6th day of the wane of the Tazoungmong moon, (Nov. 7th,) at six o'clock at night, we may this once receive baptism at their hands.” (Pp. 202—204.) With this request Mr. Judson judiciously complied.

We subjoin a specimen of the metaphysical sophistry of the Burmans.

“Encountered another new character, one Moung Long, from the neighbourhood of Shway-doung, a disciple of the great Toung-dwen teacher, the acknowledged head of all the semi-atheists in the country. Like the rest of the sect, Moung Long is in reality a complete sceptic, scarcely believing his own existence. They say he is always quarrelling with his wife on some metaphysical point. For instance, if she says, ‘The rice is ready,’ he will reply, ‘Rice, what is rice? Is it matter or spirit? Is it an idea, or is it a non-entity?’ Perhaps she will say,—‘It is, matter;’—and he will reply,—‘Well, wife, what is matter? Are you sure there is such a thing in existence, or are you merely subject to a delusion of the senses?’

“When he first came in, I thought him an ordinary man. He has only one good eye, but I soon discovered that that one eye has as ‘great a quantity’ of being as half a dozen common eyes. In his manners he is just the reverse of Moung Thah-ee, all suavity and humility and respect. He professed to be an inquirer after the truth; and I accordingly opened to him some parts of the Gospel. He listened with great seriousness, and, when I ceased speaking, remained

so thoughtful, and apparently impressed with the truth, that I began to hope he would come to some good, and therefore invited him to ask some question relative to what he had heard. 'Your servant,' said he, 'has not much to inquire of your lordship. In your lordship's sacred speech, however, there are one or two words, which your servant does not understand. Your lordship says that in the beginning God created one man and one woman. I do not understand (I beg your lordship's pardon) what a man is, and why he is called a man.' My eyes were now opened in an instant to his real character; and I had the happiness to be enabled, for about twenty minutes to lay blow after blow upon his sceptical head, with such effect, that he kept falling and falling; and though he made several desperate efforts to get up, he found himself at last prostrate on the ground, unable to stir. Moun-g Shway-gnong, who had been an attentive listener, was extremely delighted to see his enemy so well punished; for this Moun-g Long had sorely harassed him in time past. The poor man was not, however, in the least angry at his discomfiture; but in the true spirit of his school said, that though he had heard much of me, the reality far exceeded the report. Afterwards he joined us in worship, and listened with great attention, as did also his wife." (P. 303—305.)

It appears that Mr. Judson resided at Rangoon for six years, before he ventured to emerge from retirement as a public preacher of the Gospel. During that long and tedious period, he was diligently engaged in mastering the Burman tongue, that he might be able to deliver himself intelligibly to the natives; in investigating the moral and national peculiarities of Burmah, an investigation, to which a knowledge of the language is an important and indeed indispensable auxiliary; in translating portions of the Scriptures; in composing some easy tracts, which he was enabled to print by the donation of a press and types from the Baptists of Serampore, and by the arrival of a colleague who understood the art; and in quietly endeavoring to conciliate, and, if possible, convert such of the heathen as offered themselves to hear or to inquire about Christianity. To us he appears to have evinced no common share of discretion and self-government, in so long curbing his zeal to proclaim from high places the message of God to sinners. Much harm, we are persuaded, has been done, or at least much ill success has been occasioned, by the intemperate eagerness of missionaries to publish divine truth to the heathens before they had furnished themselves with the means requisite for delivering their message intelligibly and with effect. With so scanty a knowledge of the language as made them liable to flagrant mistakes in their public harangues, and without that comprehensive and distinct acquaintance with the customs and

feelings and opinions of the natives, which alone could have qualified them for handling gently and adroitly the prejudices of the country, some well-intentioned teachers have opened their spiritual campaign, and have met accordingly with nothing but resistance and defeat. This indeed is to "darken counsel by words without knowledge." From such precipitation and clumsiness disgrace must ensue to themselves, and what is far worse, to the cause of Christ incalculable mischief. It is clear to every reflecting mind, that the Christian religion, replete as it is with sublime and abstruse verities, which can be but imperfectly illustrated by images drawn from sensible appearances, and some of which are expressed among Christians themselves in words coined for that purpose exclusively, cannot, for the most part, be instilled into the rude understandings of foreign pagans, except by persons who possess an accurate knowledge of the power of their words, and no contemptible command of their idioms. A fastidious ear is disgusted, and a vulgar mind is bewildered, by the attempt to communicate any new and strong matter, in a phraseology repugnant to the genius and usage of the language, in which it is conveyed; and it is known to be a point of great art and nicety even for a learned native, when the novelty of the subject he is treating requires him to employ phrases of an unusual cast, so to construct them as to make his meaning understood, and not to shock the reader or hearer by uncouthness and barbarity. We cannot therefore but recommend to imitation the conduct of Mr. Judson, in toiling through a laborious apprenticeship of six years, before he ventured publicly to enter the lists with men, whose practice in the language might have given them an advantage, which all the weight of truth would have been insufficient to counterbalance.

Many of the Burmans, as our readers will have concluded, are strongly tinctured with the sceptical philosophy; and by a scheme of argumentation, which, however insane in its radical principles, is not illogical in form, they proceed, after having swept away all material substance from the universe, to the extinction of spiritual being also. Others take up a semi-atheistic theory, and maintain that the Deity has no personal subsistence, but is diffused in one degree or another through all intelligent creatures. These men are versed in the usual school-arguments, tending to impeach the wisdom of creation, and hence to conclude that there cannot exist a supreme being, of infinite goodness, power, and understanding. In order successfully to combat these acute and practised sophists, a considerable share of natural cleverness and meta-

physical knowledge is needful; and besides these, such address in adapting the style of argument to the structure of the opponent's mind, as well as to his intellectual and moral prepossessions, as shall carry conviction to him along with confutation. To reason legitimately, and from true premises, is a comparatively small matter, unless our reasoning be level with the capacity, and skilfully attempered to the moral qualities, of our adversary. What is more certain than that men are not in general impressed by arguments, in proportion to their intrinsic weight and just value? Very few minds are so exempt from the influence of prejudice and affection, however generated, as to admit, even in speculative matters, the authority of truth, wherever truth is exhibited with clearness sufficient for an eye that is really single. Now practical truth, which aspires to make a conquest of the heart and to govern the conduct, will meet with still greater obstacles. It has accordingly gratified us to learn, that the Church Missionary Society has conceived a plan of founding a seminary, in which young men are to be educated, not merely (we trust) with a general view to the missionary work, but with a special reference to that particular mission, to which each individual is destined. We have received from authentic sources instances of a mission being totally discredited, by the incapacity of the teacher to argue with the natives, or his want of talent to propound his religious system fluently and clearly. There has been a proneness to underrate the mental powers of Gentoos, of Africans, of Indians; and to forget, that even a savage intellect, by being intensely exercised on one or two subjects of thought or action, may acquire on those particular subjects a force and dexterity beyond what is attained by cultivated minds, when dispersed and distracted among many. It is indeed of great consequence that missionaries should establish a high character for superiority of mind and endowments, among the nations and tribes which it is their business to civilize. Erudition ought not to be contemned and neglected, which may perhaps have no direct bearing on the prime object of the missionary, but which may nevertheless serve either by its social utility to ingratiate him with the people, among whom he is fixed, or by its imposing grandeur to exalt him in their esteem and admiration. We trust therefore that the Missionary college will be modelled on a comprehensive plan of instruction, and will send out teachers from its bosom, deficient in none of that literary furniture, which is necessary to their occupying with advantage the post, to which they may be appointed. Situations should be assigned

them, for which they are severally best qualified, in bodily constitution, in mind, and temper, and acquirements; and it would be desirable that the destination of each candidate for this sacred employment should be fixed a considerable time before the close of his studies, in order that these might be modified with a special view to the character of the people among whom he was to labor, to the difficulties he would have to surmount, to the temptations to which he would be exposed, and to all the local advantages or disadvantages with which he would be encompassed. He should be, so far as the study of their languages and manners can effect that object, domesticated with the people, to whose society he is about to be introduced, that he may immediately converse with them, not with the timid awkwardness of a cloud-dropped foreigner, but rather like their guardian angel, who having long invisibly administered to their welfare, has at length revealed himself for the benevolent purpose of communicating knowledge of the utmost moment to their temporal and eternal interests. In the methods pursued for converting the heathen, there is nothing more to be deprecated than empirical experiment. The knowledge purchased at the expense of repeated errors, may be useless when acquired, in consequence of the disgust and rancour begotten in the minds of the heathen by ignorant and injudicious treatment. But when men shall go forth in multitudes on this holy ministry, who, besides possessing a competent share of theology, and a practical knowledge of some valuable arts, are moreover imbued with genuine philosophy, and are so well read in the processes of savage intellect, as not to be disconcerted and embarrassed by its eccentricities and untowardness; men, we would say, who have made some proficiency in the science of human nature, and who are prepared for those specific modifications of animal passion and moral feeling, which will present themselves among the various races of barbarians;—when men of this make and education shall devote themselves to the conversion of Jews and Mahometans, and Idolaters, we shall then believe that the “golden eyelids” of that day are opened, which is to shine upon the consummation of the Christian church.

Such men are lamentably scarce. Yet such have doubtless been, and still are, engaged in this excellent service. Among them we feel justified in classing Mr. Judson. In his interview with the king of Burmah, indeed, we doubt whether his judgment was in full exercise; or he would hardly have placed in the hands of the haughty monarch a tract, of which

the first sentence was a virtual indictment of the superstition of the country, and in some measure an outrage on the royal belief. Perhaps, also, it would have been wise to present the simple Bible, as an exotic rarity, denominating it the sacred book of Christendom, instead of piling at his feet six ponderous volumes, which comprised, we take for granted, a copious commentary. These, however, are trifles, which weigh but a feather against the general good sense and indefatigable industry of this devoted minister. We should have been glad to receive from Mrs. Judson's interesting pen, a minute detail of the manner in which she associated with the females, and the plans she pursued for their improvement. This gratification will perhaps be afforded us in some future publication. In the mean time we heartily sympathize with them in their early trials, and rejoice in the auspicious morning, which has recently dawned, not to be overcast, we confidently hope, by malignant fogs and vapours from the infernal abyss. The humble, yet solid, beginnings, which the latter part of their journal exhibits, portend (we unite with them in thinking) a great success; and it may be reserved for a generation, not very far off, to see the puny seed, which has been deposited in Ava, swell into a mighty tree, under cover of which birds of every wing shall chant their grateful songs, exulting in its healing leaves, and in its fruits, which are spirit and life.

ART. IX.—*Memoirs of the late Rev. Alexander Stewart, D. D.* one of the ministers of Canongate, Edinburgh: to which are subjoined a few of his Sermons. Edinburgh, Oliphant, London, Hamilton and Nisbet. 8vo. 1822. Pp. viii. & 487.

WE entirely agree with the Editor of this interesting volume, in his assertion, that

“he, who proposes to introduce such a character, as that of the subject of this memoir, to the better acquaintance of the friends of religion, needs no prefatory apology for the design.” (P. iv.)

Divided from the Scotch Church, not merely by some hundred miles of intervening space, but by the line of distinction which separates our several modes of discipline, and our doctrinal formularies, we are as glad to get a valuable specimen of the ore to be found in it, as the mineralogist is to enrich his Museum from some distant mine. The biographical shelves of a library may indeed fairly borrow an illustration from a

collection of that description; and the labour and expence of multiplying its volumes of religious biography may be justified by the usefulness of comparing the many specimens, which, though generically similar, vary so infinitely in their individual properties. Few considerations perhaps, of a secondary nature, are more strengthening to the Christian's faith, than to see the identity of principle and similarity of feeling, which pervade real and experienced believers, be they ever so distinct in age, nation, talent, or character. "Parthians, Medes, and Elamites," men of every clime, of every age, still, in a sense, hear in one tongue the wonderful works of God. They find that he speaks the same language to all; and that though the Christian character be in its lighter shades of distinction as infinitely varied as the human countenance, its leading features are universally similar. The volume before us displays much that is interesting in this light. It is also calculated, as the Editor justly suggests, "to contrast the unrenewed state of a man eminently amiable and accomplished, with the new character formed by divine grace;" (P. v.) an object of great importance.

Another line, in which it is calculated to be highly useful, is that of affording some admirable examples of ministerial faithfulness, out of the pulpit, and in situations where it is a much greater trial to shew it, than in that place where the very paraphernalia of office soften in great measure the offensiveness of the authority assumed.

This work also supplies us with an interesting and very encouraging example of what may be effected by a discreet and temperate, but affectionately earnest use of the privileges and opportunities, which friendly communication affords, in the way of recommending truths of essential importance to that notice, which they may not hitherto have won from those whom we love. We know not where to look for a happier instance of this, than in the early part of Dr. Stewart's history, who seems to have been eminently blessed in meeting with such a friend as Mr. Black, at a critical period of his life. The practice, which the Editor has wisely followed, of intermingling the letters of Dr. Stewart with the memoir, not only enables him to exhibit this example in its full force, but is also adapted to give a sustained interest to a life, which borrows none of its excitement from varied incident and sudden turns of fortune, but depends almost entirely on the principles, sentiments, and every-day conduct of him, who is the subject of the record.

Dr. Stewart was born of pious parents in the Manse at Blair in Athole; and his own first ministerial charge was at

Moulin, a parish in the same district. Though favored with religious instruction from his infancy, it does not seem for a considerable period to have made any deep or permanent impression upon his mind. On the contrary, he appears to have entered the ministry, and labored in it for many years, with very inadequate views of its responsibility, and an ignorance of the nature of the Gospel, which made him totally unfit to guide others to its invaluable treasures. A letter, in which he describes to a friend his first visit to his parish, strongly indicates this. It is full of taste and feeling, but feeling connected with the beauty and grandeur of his native scenery, (scenery well calculated to awaken it,) and not arising out of the very serious undertaking which had brought him thither. He was at that time far from being in the state, which Cowper describes as appropriate to a zealous pastor—

Much impress'd

Himself, as conscious of his awful charge,
And anxious mainly, that the flock he feeds
May feel it too.

Few objects perhaps are better calculated to afford a practical lesson on the blindness of heart, which prevails in man till he is taught of God, than a sensible, learned, and amiable clergyman entering upon a cure of souls without feeling any lively sense of the immense importance and tremendous responsibility of the charge. In any other profession, his good sense would lead him to the point mainly deserving his attention; his learning would make him master of its arcana, especially if they were to be found in one volume; and his amiable disposition would seize with avidity any opportunity of benefiting his fellow-creatures, which fell in with his line of duty. In this instance he disregards what should be the first object of his life, leaves unexplored perhaps a large portion of that book, which should be his daily guide and counsellor, and lets slip an irrecoverable occasion of conferring the richest blessings on all-around him. We rejoice to think that instances of this kind by no means abound amongst us to the extent that they once did; but still they are much too numerous; nor can we help fearing that something of that deficiency prevails on this side of the Tweed, to which, as existing in the North, the Editor of the work before us seems partly to attribute the want of a serious impression of the nature and importance of their office in many ministers of his own church. Divinity-lecturers, examining chaplains, and (may we venture to add?) ordaining bishops, may find some useful hints in the following note, which is introduced at the period of Dr. Stewart's life, of which we are now speaking.

“To be put in possession of the completest body of evidence on the claims of revelation,—to be trained to defend it, and qualified to carry the warfare into the enemies’ country,—to acquire a correct knowledge of theology, so as to be able to form its separate parts into systematic combination, and to perceive how each part adds to the beauty, and the consistency, and the strength of the whole, is indispensably necessary to him who aspires to become a teacher in the church.

“But if no means are used to promote or ascertain personal piety in the student; if the nature and necessity of experimental religion are handled superficially, or entirely overlooked; a defect exists for which no adequate compensation is made by theoretic knowledge, or by the speculative orthodoxy of a systematic creed. We are aware of the different duties which belong to the *pulpit* and the *chair*; and that, to enter into the details and the casuistry of Christian experience, though befitting the preacher, would not suit the nature of the professor’s dignified place. Nevertheless, to exclude from divinity-lectures all instruction on the subject of *internal religion*, proves injurious on this ground: the theological student naturally concludes, that he needs nothing more to qualify him for the sacred office at which he aspires, than what his instructor brings prominently into view; and, if experimental religion is altogether kept back, he goes forth, ignorant of its necessity, perhaps a railer at those, who pretend to it.

“That a deficiency somewhere exists in the method of instruction, might be inferred from the apparent want of zeal for the grand object of their profession, which predominates among theological students. A lecturer on chemistry or mineralogy sometimes throws such an intense interest over the subjects of his department, that he kindles a glow of enthusiasm in the breasts of most who hear him; and the student goes forth to analyse a fluid, or to mark the fracture of a rock, with greater ardour than the young theologian manifests in his incomparably more sublime pursuits. This want of ardour is doubtless partly owing to the cold, and abstract, and controversial method of prelecting, which obtains in some of our Divinity Halls, and which applies few generous incentives to awaken a magnanimous devotedness to the Christian cause, irrespective of geographical marks, or local establishments.” (Pp. 18, 19.)

After the necessary deduction for the difference between a science which is perpetually gratifying its students with new discoveries, and one, to the prosecution of which that particular stimulus can never be afforded, it must still be allowed, that there is much substantial and important truth in the close of the preceding remarks.

The following is Dr. Stewart’s own account of his style of preaching in the early part of his ministry.

“My public addresses and prayers were, for the most part, cold and formal. They were little regarded by the hearers at the time, and as little recollected afterwards. I preached against particular vices, and inculcated particular virtues, But I had no notion of the necessity of a radical change of principle; for I had not learned to know the im-

port of those assertions of Scripture, that ‘the carnal mind is enmity against God;’ that if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature; and that, ‘except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.’ I spoke of making the fruit good; but I was not aware that the tree was corrupt, and must first be itself made good, before it could bear good fruit.” (P. 31.)

His Editor makes a similar statement, but accompanies it with a cheering view of the dawning of a clearer and better light upon his mind, and that through a medium of the most interesting kind.

“Among the means employed to interest his heart in divine things, his connexion with Mr. Black, then minister of St. Madoes, occupies a prominent place. Mr. Black, as they sat together in an arbour in the garden, took occasion to describe the triumphant dying scene of a deceased sister. Such a fact was not to be accounted for on Mr. Stewart’s principles; and the event made an impression on his mind, never afterwards wholly effaced. Many years after this incident he writes—‘The dear name (of Mr. Black) is always associated with my first perceptions of divine truth and redeeming love. My thoughts took a long flight backwards; and the parlour and the garden at St. Madoes, appeared to me like ‘an upper chamber in Jerusalem, and like the garden of Gethsemane.’ Happy is it when Christians so improve such apparently casual interviews, that the savour of them is grateful to the mind after many days.” (Pp. 41, 42.)

In another place, speaking of Mr. Black’s reply to one of his friend’s early letters, the Editor says—

“On this occasion, his correspondent acted a wiser part than to check the communications of his friend, by premature animadversions; and by a compliance with that rule,—‘him that is weak in the faith, receive ye, but not to doubtful disputation,’—proved the efficacy of its lenient spirit.” (P. 47.)

What can be more interesting than to see friendship turned to so happy an account, and one of those many apparently casual visits, which generally leave no trace behind them, blessed thus as the seed-time of a rich and precious harvest? For if the fainting of “a standard-bearer” be a sign of a day of distress, that is surely a day of triumph, in which the hands of him, that bears the banner of the Lord, are strengthened for the battle. The narrative before us displays, in a particularly striking manner, the good, that may be effected in this way: for the seed, sown in friendly communication with Mr. Black, was brought to maturity by a visit from the Rev. Charles Simeon, of King’s College, Cambridge. We take a pleasure in recording these circumstances, under a conviction that many excellent men are not aware of the importance and responsibility of the species of influence, which they may thus exercise. The visit of one minister of God to another should

be somewhat like that of the messenger employed of old, as the minstrel of the north teaches us, in gathering the high-land clans : he should not only bear the blood-stained cross himself, but put it into the hands of his host, to speed forward, and proclaim from man to man, the tidings, not of war, but of "peace on earth, and good will towards men."

The letters, which passed between Dr. Stewart and Mr. Black, at the period, when the mind of the former was gradually opening to truer and more spiritual views of religion, are interesting, from the honest anxiety, on the one part, to find the truth, and from the judicious and unassuming tone, which, on the other, evidently gave double effect to the instruction so modestly conveyed. Viewed simply as compositions, they have no peculiar claims of merit, and we doubt not that the correspondence of a large portion of our clergy would be quite as fit to meet the public eye. But this by no means lessens our obligation to the Editor for affording us a specimen of what is seldom accessible to the public, however frequently it may refresh and strengthen the individuals, who enjoy such beneficial communion. We will give a part of one letter and the reply to it, as a fair sample of the general tone of the correspondence. Dr. Stewart's letter was written at a time when every thing in his outward circumstances was highly favorable to his happiness, and when he had "gained considerably, in point of correct principle, in his researches after truth;" and it is interesting from the proof it affords, that, in spite of these circumstances, his heart still remained in the unsatisfied state, thus happily described by his biographer.

"His mind for a while had been like an Arctic day at that period when the sun approaches the horizon, without surmounting it. He enjoyed a partial light with little warmth, and without any enlivening discoveries of the Author and Finisher of faith." (P. 92.)

From the letters we transcribe what follows—

"I was more interested than you might suppose in the question I once proposed to you, Whether a firm belief of religious truths was not to be reckoned the work of the Holy Spirit, as well as the faithful performance of religious duties? I was anxious to have this question answered in the affirmative; for it seemed to be the only evidence I could bring of my being at all under the guidance of the Divine Spirit. Yet I was afraid, and am so still, that this evidence is not conclusive. I had read in Scripture of a *dead faith*; you stated the same thing in your discourses, and I had undeniable experience in myself of its reality; for, if ever *faith* could be called *dead*, mine deserved that name. As to any fruits of the Spirit, either in the desires of my heart, or in active exertions in my divine Master's service, I was as barren as the fig-tree in the parable, which only cumbered the ground.

One of the most melancholy circumstances in my case, and the most unequivocal mark of my being in a state of spiritual decay, is, that the spirit of prayer, if ever I possessed it, has quite left me. I cannot rouse myself to offer any petition with earnestness; and indeed I hardly know what I ought to pray for. A listlessness and indolence hang about me, and withstand every attempt at exertion of any kind. I find my books a great snare to me. I would seek no other employment, the whole day long, than poring over some classical, or philosophical, or historical, or statistical composition. I generally find the perusal of a religious book, unless it contain something metaphysical or critical, insipid and tiresome. If it is of a pathetic and impressive kind, I find it extremely irksome; for I am perfectly sensible, how I ought to be affected by what I read, but at the same time conscious that I am not affected in that manner: and this makes me uneasy.

“Though I am convinced that my case is a dangerous one, I cannot say that it gives me much real alarm; but I believe the cause of that is the very languor and insensibility which constitute my disease. I am in hopes that I may yet be delivered from it myself, but I lament its continuance on account of my people, for I think that in my present frame, my ministrations can be of little service to them. Many pathetic addresses do I meet with in Doddridge’s writings, which I dare not use in my own discourses. They are so remote from what my own dull feelings in their present state would suggest, that I cannot adopt nor utter them.

“I have not occasion to go far to seek a remedy for my complaints. I have the holy scriptures at hand, which contain the words of eternal life, and which testify of the Lord Jesus. Nor am I without the assistance of pious and judicious writers. But the difficulty is, to bring myself to quit my ordinary reading, and apply to these with earnestness and diligence. I must prescribe to myself a fixed regimen in reading: for I find that intemperance in that respect is at present the most dangerous to me of any. Let me, however, request of you, my dear friend, to give me your advice and assistance as soon as you conveniently can, and let me especially have your prayers, that the Dresser of the vineyard may be pleased to dress about this fig-tree, that it may yet bear some fruit, to the praise of his skill and his goodness.” (Pp. 78—81.)

Mr. Black’s reply is remarkably judicious.

“Your case, however melancholy, is not singular, nor incompatible with former experience of the grace of God. You are dissatisfied with yourself. You bemoan your present circumstances, not perhaps with all the feeling you think the case requires, for the want of proper feeling is the very distemper under which you groan, and the removal of that insensibility would prove your cure; but at least you must allow it is matter of *sincere* regret, nor could any worldly object inspire you with such joy as the returning light of God’s countenance. Now, my dear Sir, let me ask you, who or what has taught you the difference between the presence and absence of God in the duties of devotion? Was there not a time, when, if you prayed at all, your conscience

was satisfied with the mere outward performance of duty, without looking farther, and when the language of Christians respecting their frames, and fears, and backslidings, and declensions, sounded somewhat strange in your ears? Bless God if it is otherwise now. Guard against desponding; continue to wait on God, praying as the Psalmist does, Psal. cxlii. 7.

“In the close of your letter, you suggest very suitable means for recovery from your present uncomfortable situation. Doubtless, faith and prayer are the natural and proper remedies. One thing allow me to hint, which I have found useful to myself; I mean, to set apart some time extraordinary for devotion, more or less, as your circumstances will allow. You may possibly feel considerable reluctance to this proposal. The indisposition to prayer you complain of, may appear an invincible objection. But do try,—persevere in humble importunity, and with a believing dependence on the intercession of our great High-Priest, and it shall not be in vain. You seem to think that your present languid frame will lessen your usefulness among your people. I am of a different opinion. I believe, in the issue, it will greatly increase it. It is necessary, my dear Sir, that we should know experimentally the bitter as well as the sweets of religion, that we may be able to speak a word in season to the weary soul; and when the Lord is pleased to return your former comforts, you will have cause to bless him for all the way by which he hath led you.” (Pp. 90—92.)

It may be useful to quote the account, which Dr. Stewart gives in another letter, written at this time, of his own style of preaching at an earlier period, as it points out an error, which we believe to be by no means uncommon.

“My preaching now consisted of a mixed kind of doctrine. I taught, that human nature is corrupt, and requires to be purified, that righteousness cannot come by the law, that we cannot be justified in the sight of God by our own works, that we can be justified only by the righteousness of Christ, imputed to us, and received by faith. But in explaining the nature of saving faith, I conceived it as including many of its effects; not only a cordial acceptance of the plan of redemption by a Mediator, but also ardent gratitude to God our Saviour, on account of that redemption, devotedness to his service, good-will to our brethren of mankind; in a word, every pious and benevolent disposition of heart. I thought and taught, that on our possessing *this* faith, we should, in consideration of it, have an interest in the redemption purchased by Christ, and consequently be accepted by God, and rewarded as righteous persons. Thus, by a short circuit, I arrived at the same point from which I had set out, still resting a sinner’s acceptance with God, on the conformity of his will to the divine law, or, in other words, on the merit of his good dispositions, and thus endeavoring to establish a human righteousness under the name of faith in Jesus Christ. It was plain, indeed, that this conformity of the will to the divine law could be but imperfect in this life; yet, imperfect as

it was, it must; in my apprehension, be the ground of our justification and acceptance with God. Here I stumbled on that stumbling-stone of *sincere obedience*, in substance, at least, if not in so many words, imagining, like many, in whose writings I have since met with that opinion, that the great favour procured to men by Christ's sufferings and mediation, was a relaxation of the divine law, and that an imperfect obedience, dignified with the name of sincere, was all that was now required. This was another gospel, which never could be owned by God as the gospel of his Son, nor accompanied by that sanctifying power which belongs exclusively to the truth. If it set any of my people on thinking, it only bewildered and misled them. They remained, as before, unenlightened and unchanged." (Pp. 87—89.)

He describes himself in another place, as being, before Mr. Simeon's visit, in a state of preparation; gradually acquiring a knowledge of divine truth; seeing that such truths were contained in the scriptures, but not feeling them. In consequence of that visit, under the blessing of God, his heart was enlarged, his views were opened, his principles established; and he entered on a career of active, devoted, and enlightened service in the ministry, which terminated only with his life. We will let him speak for himself as to the mode of preaching which he now adopted.

"I was now enabled to shew, from scripture, that all men are by nature enemies to God, disobedient to his law, and on that account exposed to his just indignation and curse. I therefore addressed them, not as persons who were already, from education, birth-right, or local situation, possessed of saving faith and other Christian graces, but as sinners, under sentence of death, and who had not as yet obtained mercy. I did not, as before, merely reprove them for particular faults or vices, and urge them to the practice of particular virtues; but told them, that the whole of their affections and inclinations needed to be pointed in a new direction, and even their virtues to be new-modelled. I shewed, that this, supposing it done, could not atone, however, for past offences, nor wipe away guilt already contracted; and that sin could not be remitted without satisfaction made to the broken law of God; that neither could purity of heart, and constant obedience in future, recover their title to the reward of eternal life, which had been at first conferred, as a free gift by God, and was now wholly forfeited by sin: yet that their case was by no means desperate; for we had the glad tidings to tell, that God had made provision for the complete salvation of sinners; that he had appointed his own eternal Son, in the human nature, to procure for sinners the pardon of sin, and a title to glory, by his own obedience and sufferings; that, in conferring these blessing, God acts as the sovereign dispenser of his own gifts, not in consideration of any merit (for there is none) in the person on whom he bestows them; that a conformity of our will to the law of God, which I formerly considered as the ground of our acceptance, was itself a gift bestowed by God, in consequence

of his having first justified, accepted, and adopted us to be his children; that in this great salvation, wrought out by Christ for sinners, love to God and man, an abhorrence of evil, and a disposition to what is good, were included, as essential parts, inseparably connected with the rest; insomuch, that if a man is not renewed in the spirit of his mind, neither are his sins pardoned, nor his person accepted with God. I urged them to attend to what the word of God declared to be their condition; not to be deceived with vain hopes of recommending themselves to his favour by their own exertions; but, as humble, needy supplicants, to apply to him, through the merits of Christ, for pardon, and the gift of his Spirit to make them serve him with fidelity and delight; to be diligent in studying the word of truth, which alone can make us wise unto salvation; and having obtained grace from God, to practise diligently every active and every self-denying duty, and to abound in good fruit, to their own advancement in holiness and comfort, to the temporal and spiritual benefit of their fellow creatures, and to the praise of him who had called them out of darkness into his marvellous light." (Pp. 135—137.)

A very extraordinary awakening took place in his parish shortly after this change in his style of preaching. Though much is said concerning it of a highly gratifying character, there is a degree of uncertainty with regard to the final issue, that makes us feel it safe not to dwell on this point without more of local information, than at this distance we are likely to possess. It is very evident that Dr. Stewart's ministerial exertions were made extensively useful during his abode at Moulin, and that many had reason to bless the hour when he acquired a new principle of activity, and a zeal and faithfulness in the declaration of gospel-truths, to which he was a stranger on his first arrival there.

But his exertions were by no means limited to the pulpit. He seems to have most fully acted up to a most important principle, which he thus states himself.

"People learn soon to disregard admonitions from the pulpit, if they are not followed up in some way that shews the monitor to be in earnest, and concerned in the counsel he gives." (P. 170.)

He seems to have thought nothing out of his province, which could in any way affect the moral and religious character of his parishioners. His was indeed the wakeful and restless vigilance of a trusty shepherd, who is ever on the look-out, and will suffer no cause of danger or mischief to creep unobserved into the fold, with the care of which he has been entrusted. We admire, especially, the faithful, yet temperate boldness, with which he offered his salutary counsel, as particular occasions enabled him, "not respecting the persons of poor or rich, when the glory of his master, and

the right administration of his ordinances, were concerned." For an instance of this see the following advice to a friend on the prospect of a family.

" 'It is a serious matter to become a parent, to have an immortal soul committed to your care and keeping, to be trained up in the knowledge and service of God. If it be his will to bring your child alive and safe into the world, you will of course choose to have him baptized, according to the universal custom of our country. Permit me, my dear Sir, to remind you, that this is a most solemn religious service; that a person ought never to go about it for the sake of custom, or fashion, but in order to please God, who has appointed it. At the same time we cannot expect to please him in this service, unless we do it with proper views, and in a proper spirit. This implies, that we have a distinct knowledge of the several articles of the Christian religion to which baptism has a direct reference, and that we feel their influence in our hearts. Allow me, then, to suggest to your own consideration, how highly requisite it is that you should apply your mind seriously to this important subject, before you engage in such a solemn transaction between God and your soul. I wish with all my heart I could be any way assisting to you in this inquiry. Shall I write more fully on the subject? Shall I send you any books? Or will you give me leave to call upon you at ——, with the design of conversing about the things that are revealed in scripture? Indeed it is no vain or idle matter, but much the reverse; and it is especially necessary to be in earnest concerned about religion, when one has the prospect of engaging in such a solemn service as devoting his child to Christ in baptism, lest, for want of attention and knowledge, he should be found to deal falsely with the great God, who knows the heart.'

" This letter being well received, and a willingness to receive instruction expressed, Mr. Stewart, on the birth of a child, addressed him once more:

" 'In a solemn transaction like this, a person would need to be sure of what he says, and what he promises. It is not enough for a man to go through a form, and satisfy himself that he has done like others. If others go through the same form, without sufficiently considering what they are about, that may be partly their own fault, partly that of their teachers, but their neglect cannot excuse us. Be assured, my dear Sir, in one word, that unless you be yourself renewed by the Spirit of God, and heartily devoted to Christ, you cannot devote your child to him in baptism with that sincerity, and faith, and cordiality, which will make it an acceptable service to God. And if it be not an acceptable service to him, it were better not done at all. I wish and pray God, that these things may obtain your most serious consideration.'

" This was an instance of ministerial faithfulness, which it is worth while to record; and it may be proposed as a pattern to others in like circumstances, who, from want of similar spirit, cannot bring themselves to deal conscientiously with persons of superior rank, and thus

do violence to their own judgments, and lose opportunities for benefiting those whom they want resolution either to admonish or to instruct." (Pp. 172—175.)

We are sorry to say, that this statement is followed by that of another case in which he had very different success, though the hint of admonition, which he conveyed, was sheathed with all possible courtesy and kindness. A minister of God, however, must not be deterred by the risk of such rebuffs from the faithful execution of his important duties ; and the consciousness of having honestly discharged them will amply repay him for any consequences.

Dr. Stewart displayed equal fidelity to the highest duty of friendship, by endeavoring, with no common pains, to recommend the truths, from which he had himself derived light and peace, to those, with whom he had formed intimacies in early life. Interesting proofs of the judicious and cordial attempts, which he made in this way, are to be found in the letters beginning in pages 121 and 129.

We will content ourselves with referring to one additional instance of a conscientious regard to his primary duties, and one which will be justly appreciated by those who know the temptation of a literary pursuit, which falls in with a person's taste and genius. He was one of the first Gaelic scholars of his day, as will readily be inferred from the fact, that, when the Highland Society of London had resolved to publish the Gaelic originals of Ossian's poems, the revision of them was committed to him, and his emendations were "literally adhered to by the superintending committee." The same society subsequently fixed upon him as the person best qualified to execute a Gaelic dictionary, which they had projected.

"Accordingly, the proposition was made to him by Sir John Mc'Gregor Murray, in the name of the Committee, with an offer of such remuneration, as, in Mr. Stewart's family circumstances, was a very considerable inducement to close with the project. He did employ much prayer and deliberation, but at length declined it, chiefly, it appears, on the following ground.

" 'Here comes the reason,' says he, after discussing the motives for and against it, 'that weighs most with me against the proposed undertaking, that is, the hold which these Gaelic studies take of my mind. If the task were an unpleasant one, unsuitable to my taste or inclination, I might force myself to it as a matter of duty, to bestow upon it an allotted portion of time, and think no more of it till I sat down to it again. But the circumstance of it being congenial to my taste and habits of study, is what makes it a snare. What many would judge a fortunate turn, as qualifying me for the task, and facilitating my progress, I must account the strongest objection to the undertaking. If, indeed, by temporal considerations, I should determine to give a portion (and it can be but a small portion) of my time

to this work, and, as I proceed, find the bad consequences I apprehend realized, what am I to do then? Break off my labour in the middle, like a foolish builder, who had not counted the cost? If I should commence the work with the persuasion that my divine Master approved it, (and surely I ought to have this persuasion, or not meddle with it at all,) then, when trials meet me, how should I know whether these were salutary antidotes against the natural effects of my secular employment, to preserve my soul from catching harm, or intimations of God's displeasure, and warnings to leave off such a carnal occupation, lest a worse thing should befall me?" (Pp. 277—279.)

This is a piece of self-denial well worthy the remark and imitation of those amongst the clergy, whose early habits and literary or scientific bent of mind, incline them to the exorbitant pursuit of studies praiseworthy in themselves, but on this very account the more dangerous to men who have higher duties, which imperiously demand their chief attention.

We will not follow Dr. Stewart through the remainder of his history, which presents nothing out of the line of ordinary life, though it is made to its close the vehicle of useful and interesting observation. He died minister of the First Charge of Canongate parish in Edinburgh.

From the general tenour of our remarks, our readers will probably have anticipated us, when we say, that the biographer of Dr. Stewart has not taken up the pencil to give the world a flattering portrait of a friend, but to make a drawing which would serve as a moral and professional study. And he has succeeded so well in his attempt, that no minister of the gospel can rise from the contemplation of it, without having gained much useful guidance and information, if he be inexperienced in his office, and an additional stimulus and glow of renewed and increased activity if he be a veteran.

We shall not dwell long upon the six sermons, which are subjoined to the memoir. The editor informs us, that they must not be regarded as fair specimens of their author's pulpit eloquence, because

"they are deficient in those apt illustrations, and beautifully striking similitudes, which he often introduced with great ingenuity, and powerful effect. These, however, came with spontaneous readiness in the act of delivery, and had no place in his written preparations, which are consequently unequal to his spoken discourses in point of liveliness and force." (P. 378.)

The sermons, here submitted to us, are certainly wanting in many points, which are requisite to the claim of a place amongst first-rate compositions in that line. At the same time they contain much useful and interesting matter, especially the fourth, on Luke x. 11. which is the most regular and finished in its structure, and perhaps the most striking and profitable of the set.

ART. X.—*God the Doer of all Things.* A Sermon preached in the Parish Church of St. Martin, in Leicester, on Sunday, November 23, 1823: By Edward Thomas Vaughan, M.A. Vicar of St. Martin's, Leicester; and Rector of Foston, Leicestershire. London: Hamilton. Leicester: Combe. 1823. 8vo. Pp. iv. and 39.

ON any subject, the consequences of which are not interminable, it would be curious as well as interesting to trace the progress of error. We remember the author of this sermon, a young divine under the superintending care of the late Mr. Robinson of Leicester. At that time, his views of religious truth were of such a character as induced that excellent man to remark of him,—“Now I can depart in peace. There is a young man springing up to stand in my place when I am laid in the grave.” How little did he think at that time, that this his son in the faith would rebuke the sentiments of his spiritual father, as soon as he was removed “from his head!” But so it is. His *Life of Mr. Robinson* exhibited traces of a departure from the scriptural code of that eminent teacher; his subsequent instruction soon began to wear a more unfavorable aspect towards the “good old way;” his reply to Mr. Beresford marked a mind progressive in error and self-confidence; he there made bold advances towards “charging God foolishly,” as the Ordainer of Sin: but in the present publication, he unblushingly rushes into blasphemy, and charges the infinitely Holy God with being “*the Doer of Sin.*” Throughout this progress of error, we trace with concern an apparent growth in hardness, in positiveness, in contempt of others, in unfeeling complacency at the misery of his fellow-creatures.

Mr. Vaughan, we believe, is the first man in modern times, professing evangelical doctrines, who boldly makes God the Author of Sin. He prefers indeed the term “originator” to “author,” because he fancies the latter word to imply the existence of sin in a positive character, which he does not approve. We must, however, for the reader's satisfaction, shew, that Mr. Vaughan makes *God the Author and Doer of sin.*

In making out this statement, we shall gladly allow Mr. Vaughan to reap the full advantage of his own disclaimer of God's being the inspirer of sin. He assures us that God does not “inspire” sin; he does not “infuse” sin. His work in the production of sin is altogether external, not “internal.” Having made this admission in his favour, we

shall nevertheless endeavor to prove, that his system makes God as truly and really the author of sin, as any being is, ever was, or ever can be the author of sin; and further, that according to it, God is prodigiously more concerned in the production of sin, than even the Devil or wicked men. In investigating this subject, we shall take pains neither to misunderstand nor to pervert the meaning of the author.

He tells us first, that

"There is not one (work) suggested or performed, but what is according to his will, yea, in obedience to, and fulfilment of it." (P. 4.)

We shall only stop here to ask Mr. Vaughan, whether he does not violate common sense as well as involve himself in a contradiction, when he uses language, that implies, that sin is in "obedience" to the will of God? For what is disobedience to the will of God, if sin be in obedience to it? Again, he says:

"Man's heart is as a fountain of rebellion, which waits only for the hand to draw out its waters."—"Who is it, that sets man at work, and thereby draws waters out of his fountain? Is it not the Lord?" (P. 7.)

"The truth killed the angels (John viii. 44.); a lie killed man. Both fell by the will of God and by his operation." (Pp. 4, 5.)

Yet Mr. Vaughan, with sufficient inconsistency, adds—"The creature is at last left to his own choice." (P. 5.)

Again he states:

"It were superfluous to shew, that God doeth all the good that is done upon earth; your difficulty is to know how he can do all the evil that is done—*without doing it.*"

We suppose, that these words in *Italics*, "*without doing it,*" are an error of the press. For, paradoxical as our author chooses to be, he is hardly absurd enough to tell his hearers that their "difficulty is to know *how* God can do all the evil that is done,—*without doing it.*" Further on he argues—

"If our actings are the result of our willings, and our willings of our perceivings, and our perceivings of our sensations and reflections, which sensations and reflections are the result of that essential frame and those external relations into which we have wilfully brought ourselves by the will of God and through his operation, as that essential frame is moved by the continually moving hand of God, *mediately* or *immediately*, what is that act of man's, which is not God's? What, if it be true, that God can do nothing *certainly*, except he do all things *really*? Yet nothing can be surer than this." (P. 8.)

"The Bible represents God as the doer of evil." (P. 9.)

"Here is God, therefore, in all such instances, distinctly proclaimed as the originator of evil." (P. 18.)

"Why are we to be frightened with the bugbear and watchword of making God *the author of sin*? Is it not obvious that He must *in some sense* be the author of it? For how has it got into his creation without him, when the whole frame, relations, and circumstances of the creature

are of and from and to him? But it is equally obvious *that there is also a sense*, in which he is not the author of it. He has willed, he has wrought, but he has not inspired it." (Pp. 25, 26.)

In answer to the question, "How can God do sin?" Mr. Vaughan has not hesitated to give the following answer.

"If you have gone with me in the preceding statements of this sermon, you will have seen how God has brought certain of his moral creatures into a sinful state; . . . and how he continues to stimulate them to the perpetration of sin in that state. (Pp. 28, 29.)

This sentence we know not how to rescue from the charge of blasphemy.

We need not, as we cannot in a Review, go over all the texts of Scripture which Mr. Vaughan has suborned into his service. If the tenour of Scripture, if the character of the Most High, if the feelings of every Christian, if common sense are violated, it is enough.

God "*willed*" sin, "*originated*" sin, "*wrought*" sin.—It was by the "*agency of God*" that "*this evil state was generated.*"—"God has brought certain of his moral creatures into a *sinful state.*"—It was *His will* "that they should fall from their uprightness."—"He has moreover wrought that they *might* fall; and wrought that they *have fallen.*"—And He "*continues to stimulate them to the perpetration of sin.*"—*Is not all this in the face of Scripture?*

We remind the reader that Mr. Vaughan denies that God "*inspires*" or "*infuses*" sin *into* his creatures. This we allow. But what then? His doctrine makes God the author of sin, in every sense in which the term author can be applied to the production of sin; and in a more original and higher sense too than it can be applied to any creature, even Beelzebub himself.

"Whether is greater" asks Mr. Vaughan, "to permit or to originate? Is not to originate? Then God" (if he only permit sin) "sitteth in the second place, not the first. But who then originates? Why there is but one God. Then it is the creature, which originates. So God makes creatures to originate his measures for him. Thus God is ungodded, that he may be God; that is, that he may be good, as his apostate creatures count goodness." (P. 18.)

This is a specimen of that daring form of argument which will summarily prove any thing which we have hardihood enough to believe. Who ever, except Satan and his angels, deemed it an honorable situation to sustain the first office in a bad work? What however does this language impute to God? Why, that He is beforehand, even with the devil, in the origination and production of sin. Then, surely, *God is the author of sin in its worst sense.*

It is vain to expect to escape here by saying—"God does

not inspire sin"—: for, first, sin being, as this writer contends, a "privative" and not a "substance," or real existence, it cannot be "inspired." In the second place, the denial, that God inspires sin, answers no purpose: for wicked men and even devils, in all their efforts to propagate and disseminate sin in the world, do not properly inspire it. When Satan drew our first parent, Eve, into sin, what was the mode of his operation, and how did he succeed in his diabolical undertaking? He did not "inspire" the thought of sin; he did not suggest it "immediately" by "internal" operation. He did not "infuse" evil into her soul. He "beguiled" her understanding and "stimulated" her desires. When, also, wicked men aid and encourage one another to sin, they do not perform this by mutual inspiration and infusion; but they stir up the affections and the pride, the lusts of the flesh and of the spirit. When Jezebel consoled Ahab by telling him, that she would give him the vineyard of Naboth the Jezreelite, and planned the whole scheme of his murder, she did not infuse or inspire that dreadful deed into his murderers by internal operation. But she "wrought" upon their interest and their fears, "that they might kill him; and she wrought that they did kill him." This is the very language Mr. Vaughan uses relative to the Almighty's working the fall of man. Is not the thought too horrible, more especially when we learn from this writer that God not only willed and wrought the beginning of evil, but that, ever since the fall, he has "continued to *do* the creature's sin!" (P. 31.)

If God do the creature's sin, the whole Bible is set against itself, and becomes unintelligible. When this author informs us that God worketh evil and stimulates men to the perpetration of sin, he ascribes to the Holy God the peculiar deeds of the devil. Surely it is Satan, and not God, who now "worketh in the children of disobedience." The antichristian apostate is also described as "the man *of sin*," "whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all power, and signs, and lying wonders." Are these beings after all, and under all these operations, to be considered as only secondaries in their office, the work of sin? Are they only followers of God, who "originates" and works all this diabolical fraud and malice?

Again: This doctrine sets the unchangeable God against himself. Mr. Vaughan says, "Satan cannot cast out Satan." But it seems that the Holy God may oppose his own operations, will, and work; and be like a fountain sending forth "sweet water and bitter." It is the peculiar work of God,

to produce "the fruits of the spirit." How then can he also produce the "works of the flesh?" The "flesh lusteth against the spirit and the spirit against the flesh, and these are *contrary* the one to the other." How then can God work them both, will them both, produce them both? Is the unchangeable God against himself? Can he say and unsay? Can he "deny himself?" God is the fountain of holiness; and Mr. Vaughan every Sunday instructs his hearers that from him "all holy desires, all good counsels, and all just works do proceed." How then can all vicious desires, all evil counsels, and wicked works proceed from the same source? Are not sinners called the "children of the wicked one?" and when tares are found sown among the wheat, is it not said that an "*enemy hath done this?*" How then can that work be ascribed to God, further than by permission, in the ordinary course of his providential dealings? It is the proper and peculiar work of God, to deliver men "from the power of darkness," and to destroy "the works of the devil." But Mr. Vaughan inverts the order of divine truth, and puts "darkness for light, and light for darkness; bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter."

What also, upon Mr. Vaughan's principle, must we say of our blessed Saviour and his gracious office? "God created *all things* by Jesus Christ." If Mr. Vaughan's notion be just, God created evil by Jesus Christ. Then did Christ create the evil, from which he came to deliver? Did Christ first *do* men's sin, and then undo his own work and engraft holiness in its place? Our frames shudder while we state these hypothetical, but blasphemous positions. If God has wrought evil, Christ has wrought it; for our Saviour expressly says, "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work; and whatsoever the Father doeth, the same doeth the Son likewise." Then how would Christ be "grieved" at the Pharisees for "the hardness of their hearts," and call them the "children of their father, the devil," whose works they did, if he himself had wrought those dispositions in them, which his holy soul sickened to behold?

Again: Mr. Vaughan says,

"The bible represents God, as the *doer* of evil." (P. 9.)
 "The lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life," are expressly declared to be "not of the Father." The scriptures say that "*God made* man upright, but that *they* have sought out many inventions." Mr. Vaughan contends that "His will it was, that they should fall from their uprightness; and nothing beside or beyond his will has been effected in and through

their fall. He has moreover wrought, that they might fall, and wrought so that they have fallen." (P. 29.)

St. Paul says, "The serpent beguiled Eve:" Mr. Vaughan makes the whole matter to be of God. St. Paul informs us that "by one man sin entered into the world:" Mr. Vaughan says that God originated it, and wrought its entrance: and, in short, he makes the whole process of sin, first and last, to be agreeable to the will of God: but we forbear to pursue this subject. The whole bible is put to the rack by such sentiments: it is impossible for any simple honest mind to know by such a canon of interpretation, what truth and falsehood are.

Once more; "How can God *will* sin?" Mr. Vaughan has put this question, and answered it to his own satisfaction. He must allow us to put a few plain questions to him on the subject.

1. Has God *two* wills with respect to the being and perpetration of sin? We know, that the Almighty has forbidden the doing of sin, upon pain of eternal death. He informs, warns, intreats, dissuades his creatures, urging them in every form of speech and by every engaging motive, to abstain from sin, as the thing, which his soul hateth, and to flee from all appearance of evil, lest they be defiled. Now as the truth of these representations cannot be honestly denied, we ask again, has God *two* wills upon this subject?

2. How can God *will* sin and yet forbid it, without discordancy and contradiction? On this point our author is perfectly lost. He has confounded the secret will of the Most High, as it concerns his own works, his own providence, and his own arrangements, with his revealed will, as respects the duty and obligation of man. In all his providential dealings, he doeth according to his will, in heaven above and in the earth beneath; and no one can stay his hand, or change his design, or thwart his operation. In this way he "ruleth and ordereth the unruly wills and affections of sinful men;" in this way, the "hearts of kings are in God's rule and governance;" in this way he "turneth them whithersoever he will." But the rule for God's operations, and the rule for man's faith, judgment, and practice, are *two* things; they respect different *objects*, and different *agents*, namely, God and man. It is obvious, that there may be diversity, and even opposition, in our imperfect view of things, between these two rules of action, and yet no contradiction at all with him who knoweth all things.

In fact, if language has meaning, we are most distinctly assured that God does not *will* sin. His nature is holy, and

his will is holy. But to will *sin* must imply a will towards sin; and a will towards sin, is a bias or propensity of the mind towards it, or, in other words, a sinful propensity. It is, however, the grossest blasphemy to use such language relative to the Most High. It was a sophistical arrogance of this kind, which led the heretics of old to maintain that Jesus Christ, because he took upon him man's nature and bore his sin, was truly a sinner; yea, the only sinner, properly so called. So also, if God *wills* sin—if he be the *doer* of sin, yea, the *doer* of his creature's sin—of *all* their sin;—the conclusion of the old heretics, relative to the man Christ Jesus, must, in Mr. Vaughan's scheme, attach to the all-glorious character of the Most High himself.

Again. If God wills sin, if every thing, both good and bad, be “agreeable to his will, and in obedience to it,” must not God approve and commend what he *wills* and *works* in his creatures? Is not the *will* of God the *rule* and *standard* of obligation to man? How can man know what to believe and what to do, but by the record of God's will? If sin be in obedience to the will of God, how is it *sin*? Can that which corresponds with its rule, be a transgression of it? Can God “deny himself?” Can he thwart his own will? Can he contradict his own truth? Can he violate his own edicts?

3. Hence then, thirdly, we inquire, “How can God judge the world?” Mr. Vaughan has asked, but not answered, this question. And upon his principles he cannot answer it. For if God judge the world, he must “judge the world in righteousness.” If he punish offenders, it must be for a violation of their engagements, for a breach of their duty, for a transgression of God's law, in other words, for *disobedience* to his *will*.—There is no other possible rule of judgment. It would be monstrous to give man one rule for his conduct, and judge him by another. For in that case, man might be perfect by the rule of his duty, but imperfect by the rule of judgment. Then might man be condemned by a law, which he had not broken. Mr. Vaughan's notion, that God may punish man for sin, which is “agreeable to his will,” is a contradiction. He might just as well say, that God may punish man for a breach of his will, which is “agreeable to his will.” Whatever, therefore, may be urged about God's will and pleasure, which no man can resist, that is neither the rule of our duty, nor the law of our judgment. It is not what we are to govern our conduct by, or to be judged by. The rule of duty and of judgment is the same. It is open to all, is, more or less plainly, revealed to all; and all may and ought to know

it. "He that knew his *Lord's will* and *did it not*, shall be beaten with many stripes." But upon Mr. Vaughan's system there is no disobedience to the "will" of God.

Then we ask, fourthly, Where is the *rule of duty* or the possibility of *sin*? It is perfectly clear that a will of God which no man can violate, is not the rule of man's duty. Therefore, as Mr. Vaughan's Sermon recognises no will of God but what never was and never can be resisted, it exhibits *no rule of duty* to man. Then, as Mr. Vaughan has taken away the rule of duty, and the measure of transgression, we defy him to point out what sin is. Any man may boldly declare, on this author's principles, that *there is no such thing as sin*; for, if there be no rule of duty, there is no law, and "where there is *no law* there is no transgression." Besides, Mr. Vaughan tells us that God is the "Doer of all things;" yea, even the *doer of the creature's sin*. (31.) But if there be one truth under heaven more palpable than another, it is this, that whatever God *does* must be *right*. If God, then, do the creature's sin, the creature's sin is right; and if the creature's sin be right, it is *no sin*.

Indeed we are a little apprehensive, that Mr. Vaughan, aware of the genuine result of his sentiments, has prepared himself for this consequence, and that in truth sin, in his theory, is only a name. In reference to this subject he has these suspicious words—"what *we* call evil." (18.) What *we* call evil!! Do we then miscall it? Have we abused this said something by calling it *evil*? If sin be not "*evil*," is there any evil? Or have we altogether deceived ourselves by supposing that there *is* an *evil* and a *good*? Then why may we not come at once to the conclusions of Materialism or Atheism, and argue, that good and evil are only different names for the same thing, or rather names, by which certain relations in the œconomy of human nature are described, which yet have no intrinsic character in them of *moral* right or wrong?

We shall now notice one or two of Mr. Vaughan's *interpretations of Scripture*.

In answer to an objection, that the will of God is not always done, because our Lord, teaches us to pray—"Thy will be done!"—Mr. Vaughan says, these words do not prove that his will may possibly not be done, but that the meaning is to be sought in the following words, "as in heaven, so in earth," and then the interpretation is, that

"That will, which is even now done, and has been done from the beginning, shall, when the kingdom of God is come, be done by men in the earth, as it is now done by angels in heaven." (P. 2.)

According to this interpretation our Saviour's words are

not a prayer, that God's will may be done, but a prediction that it shall be done in another manner, when his kingdom shall come. A more gross perversion cannot easily be found. Mr. Vaughan professes to bow to the word of God. But if this interpretation be a just specimen of his submission, it appears, that it is his own deduction, formed by a perversion of the plain language of Scripture, to which he bows, and not the word itself. That is, he maketh an idol of his own, and falleth down thereto!

But our Saviour's words are a prayer. His disciples said, "Lord teach us to *pray*." And he said unto them, "When ye pray, say—Thy kingdom come! Thy will be done!" The comparison "as in heaven, so in earth," is descriptive of the nature and extent of doing God's will, which is prayed for, namely, that it may be perfectly, universally, and unceasingly fulfilled by men on earth, as it is done by the angels. But in this author's gloss upon the text the will of God is now, and always was as perfectly and unceasingly fulfilled by men on earth and devils in hell, as even by angels in heaven.

Another remarkable text, with the addition of a bold interpretation, serves Mr. Vaughan with all he wants. St. Paul tells us that God "worketh all things after the counsel of his own will." Mr. Vaughan asks with an air of triumph,—"*Is evil excluded from these all things?*" But if he has only the word, *all*, for the ground of his argument, there is no one who has been more ready or more vehement than himself, to contend, that the universal term, *all*, is very frequently in the Scriptures taken in a restricted sense. "Universals, supplying their own restriction to generals, and sometimes to particulars, are common in Scripture. Is 'the love of money,' Sir, 'the root of *all* evil?' 'Are *all* things lawful to you?' 'Is *every* sin without the body?' 'Would you advise a man literally to prove *all* things?' 'Hath God given assurance of the resurrection to *all* men?' 'Are *all* partakers of filial chastisement?' " (Vaughan's Answer to Beresford, p. 103.)

We can only notice further a few passages generally. Mr. Vaughan makes great use of such texts of Scripture as the following:—"God shall send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie." "For to do whatsoever thy hand and thy counsel determined before to be done." But surely this language is far enough from that of Mr. Vaughan. To send wicked men delusion, that they should believe a lie, does not import that the God of truth was the worker or "doer" (according to Mr. Vaughan's phraseology) of their lie. And surely for God to determine a thing *to be done*, is not the same thing as His

doing it. And when St. Paul saith—"Whom he will, he hardeneth"—since Mr. Vaughan himself maintains, that God does not inspire or infuse evil into his creatures, we need not suppose, that this language means more, than that God in his righteous judgment leaves them to the natural hardness of their own hearts.

We observe further, that Mr. Vaughan pushes the few verses of scripture, upon which he professes to build his doctrine, to such an extreme, as absolutely and expressly to contradict the certain dictates of the word of God. Thus, when he says, that "God is the doer of sin," and that he "stimulates" his creatures "to the perpetration of sin," this is flatly in the face of the Bible. "Surely God will *not* do wickedly, neither will the Almighty pervert judgment." "Justice and judgment are the habitation of his throne." "The Lord our God, is *righteous in all his works*, which *he doeth*." "The just Lord is in the midst thereof; he will *not* do iniquity." "*Let no man say when he is tempted, I am tempted of God; for God cannot be tempted with evil, neither tempteth he any man.*"

When Mr. Vaughan quotes, in confirmation of his notions, the text, that "God did tempt Abraham," he does not perceive, that in this dispensation, God did not tempt Abraham to sin. If the Almighty does tempt men to sin, he cannot (according to Mr. Vaughan's views,) fail of producing that effect. But it is remarkable, that in the only instance, in which the scriptures speak of God's tempting Abraham, (to offer up his son,) sin was not the result of this trial of Abraham; but the result was the finest exhibition of obedient and triumphant faith, which is any where recorded of man in the word of God.

It is, however, no small pleasure to us in this painful task, to be able to extract, even from Mr. Vaughan's own writings, an answer to the fundamental parts of this discourse.

1. On the entrance of sin into the world, Mr. Vaughan says, in his answer to Mr. Beresford, "Scripture is explicit in declaring the fall to have been occasioned by the serpent. I freely own, I cannot tell the origin of this old serpent. I only know what the scripture teaches me, that, prior to the existence of man, there were angels that kept not their first estate. How evil found its entrance into the creation of the all-perfect Jehovah, is a mystery which I cannot solve, nor dare I advance the remotest hint of a conjecture, which might descend into this depth. You and I, Sir, have no eye for such a sight; and God has not seen fit to propose this object to our pur-

blind view. He seems to have studiously concealed it for the more perfect trial of our humility, faith, and patience." Now it is obvious to ask,—If the "origin of the old serpent," is an "*inexplicable* difficulty;" "a mystery" which we have not an "*eye*" to "*view*;" and which "God" has "*studiously concealed*," "for the perfect trial of our humility, faith, and patience"—, whence then, has it been at length *revealed* to Mr. Vaughan?

2. We have seen in the review of this sermon, how positive and determined Mr. Vaughan is about God's being the "*doer of evil*." This is the burden of the whole discourse. "Man," as well as Satan, "fell by the will of God, and by his *operation*." And ever since the fall, God has "*continued to do the creatures sin*." Now what says Mr. Vaughan, in his answer to Mr. Beresford? "When I make this affirmation," (viz that sin came by God's "appointment,") I desire most solemnly and unequivocally to disclaim the suggestion, that God is the doer of man's sin. The first man did his own sin; every man does his own sin; but, in committing the sin, he did, and he did no more than God's hand and God's counsel determined before to be done. God did not advise or persuade Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the gentiles, and the people of Israel, to put Christ to death; but in putting Christ to death, they did his pleasure. In other words, I distinguish between ordination and operation: a legitimate distinction, which can only be destroyed by making proposition and inference the same, and by taking a step further than I choose to go, and which I disclaim."

3. One of the most unchristian sentences we ever read, is that in which Mr. Vaughan teaches his hearers, that God "continues to stimulate his creatures to the perpetration of sin." (P. 29.)—But in his letter, Mr. Vaughan positively contradicts this blasphemy. "Conceived in sin and shapen in iniquity, and bringing an evil nature into the world with them, they act that evil nature; they have but to follow it, and every imagination of the thought of their heart will be only evil continually; they need no stimulants; the fountain of corruption overflows in them. In all cases, it is the compound agency of sinful nature, the world, and the devil, which effects the ruin. In all cases, man acts freely. In all cases, the agency on God's part is negative rather than positive. God tempteth by his ordinances, but not by his own personal operation. Let no man say when he is tempted, I am tempted of God; for God cannot be tempted with evil, neither tempteth he any man."

Many other discrepancies we might easily point out, but must now leave Mr. Vaughan with one more admonition from his own pages. We "earnestly intreat you to review your opinions, and compare them diligently and calmly with the great volume of scripture. Avoid controversy; make religion more a matter of common life; do not expect to unravel all mysteries; be more of a little child." (Letter to Beresford, p. 253.)

To our readers, however, we hold it a sacred duty to point out, first, Mr. Vaughan's inconsistency. The very points, which he now esteems, as the essence of all religion, he, a few years ago, most solemnly disclaimed.

Secondly, We remark his subversion of scripture. He has selected a few passages and put an interpretation upon them, which is utterly repugnant both to the meaning and utility of almost every other part of scripture. If God be the "*doer of sin*," the creature, as an instrument, can never be to blame. Then the atonement is unnecessary. Grace, which is to deliver man from deserved misery, is a fable. Repentance, faith, and regeneration, with holiness of life, will become names, rather than things; or terms which will henceforth distinguish the operations of God only, but not the characters of men. As for wicked men and sinners, his scheme, in its consequences, admits of none; inasmuch as it has taken away all rule of conduct, and placed men under a bondage of restraint and "impulse," which destroys, or nearly destroys all responsibility!

Thirdly, We observe the peculiar absurdity of Mr. Vaughan's fundamental *principle*. To speak of God as the "*doer of the creature's sin*," is an imputation on the Most High which cannot be applied even to *Satan himself*. The very phrase, *one being the doer of another's sin*, is preposterous and unintelligible; for *sin*, as Mr. Vaughan says, applies to the doer of sin, to the individual, to the very *identical* person who *does the evil*, and to no other: if one being "stimulate" another to the "perpetration of sin," still each has his *own peculiar* and proper sphere both of action and guilt: they may be accomplices; but each is guilty, and guilty too for the *part he takes*, and for no other; the one, as the principal, the *perpetrator*, and the other, as the *accessary*.

Fourthly, We notice the *spirit* of the writer. It seems almost impossible, that it should not immediately and powerfully strike every reader, that the mind of the author of this sermon is directly opposed to the mind of Christ and his apostles. We ever find our Saviour full of compassion and tenderness: he was "touched with the feeling of our infirmities," and

even wept over those whose condemnation he was obliged to denounce. It is true, he gave those most hypocritical of characters, the pharisees, their merited appellations; but he ever took pleasure in relieving distresses, encouraging returning penitents, and inviting lost sinners to come to him for life and peace. He wept over "the bloody city," and prayed even for his murderers—"Father, forgive them! For they know not what they do." The apostles delight to imitate the spirit of their Lord and Master. An almost inimitable turn of delicate, but overpowering feeling in St. Paul for his Jewish brethren is exhibited at the very moment, that he is declaring God's rejection of that nation for the sake of the gentile world. In the very last extremity he makes an effort beyond humanity; tells them his continual sorrow and heaviness of heart for their salvation; pours forth his heart's desire and prayer to God for them; and expresses his willingness to endure every execration to do them service. But what are we to say of this sermon? There is not, to use Mr. Vaughan's own language, "the shadow of a shade" of this spirit visible, but precisely the reverse.

If, indeed, any further proof were wanted of the arrogant and contumelious dogmatism, with which Mr. Vaughan asserts his own opinions, and replies to those of his opponents, it has been furnished since in a publication, entitled "The Questionist," being a reply to the Rev. John Owen, Curate of Keyham, who had ventured to call in question the sentiments of the author. This reply Mr. Vaughan commences thus;—"Reverend Sir, be not angry with me, if I address you as a Questionist; and, in general, by way of saving time, and breath, and paper, and money, salute you with the less ceremonious abbreviation of Mr. Q. But stay! as you have not been at Cambridge, or, if I recollect rightly, at either University, it will be necessary that I explain the term to you. A Questionist, then, is a young gentleman, who, having completed a three years' residence at the University, in a state of pupilage, now comes forward, as a candidate for his first degree; and, as a necessary preliminary, offers himself to answer any *questions* which may be put to him."

The tone of sarcastic levity, which is thus assumed in the first page, is carried throughout the work; from which we only quote one or two short passages, which, however, are *instar omnium*; and we quote them here, not as a specimen of Mr. Vaughan's sentiments, or of his reasoning, but of his temper, or (we might say) of his charity.

"According to you, Sir, neither devils, nor men, have a

master; but are self-willed, that is, free-willed; and God, without acting *upon or through* their wills at all, with very few exceptions comparatively, comes in by snatches, after he has taken his dinner with the Ethiopians, *just to restrain their excesses*. Will you have the goodness to define Providence for me, Mr. Q? Will you give me a brief sketch of the Devil's history and acting? Will you describe to me a trifle of the nature and manner of God's government? Will you tell me some little about your own will and way? I should think you must at least be a sort of *Mars* yourself!"

Again: "I can never suppose you so barefaced as to insinuate, that *none* of my texts respect what you distinguish as moral evil.—But perhaps I may be wrong at last, and you really have more brass in your brow than I have given you credit for, and mean to say, that not a single text of the whole multitude which I have quoted doth really ascribe an act of moral evil, in the sense in which I have interpreted such act, to God—but all and each of them, which respect evil at all, respect punitive evil only, and that I am getting the *appearance* of proof, without the *reality*, by confounding and intermingling things which differ. There is more meaning in your simile, if this be it, and more courage; but is there more truth? When you shall have proved this, one by one, of my texts, I will believe you. My auditors, I trust, will do the same: but insinuation, without proof, is the act of a coward; contradiction, without proof, that of a bully."

After proceeding in this strain through many pages, he cites statements from Mr. Owen's letter, which he thinks destructive to his doctrine, and then, regarding him as a suicide, concludes as follows.

"These are such manifest acts of suicide, that I must finish my examination of you a little out of the usual course, not by saying, as Moderators usually do, "*Satis*," or "*perquam bene*," or "*summo ingenio*," or "*summâ elegantia*," or "*summâ facundiâ disputasti*, Domine respondens!"—Nor can I even content myself with giving you a "*Descendas*." Our disputation having been in English, my sentence shall be in English; and is as follows: viz. That your carcase be laid in Keyham burying-ground, which, by a happy coincidence, is something between a church-yard and a field, and therefore a fit receptacle for so confirmed a suicide; since the law now enacts that their bodies shall not be deposited in highways. I direct further, that a decent painted cross of five feet nine inches high, and one foot broad, be erected over your body, with this inscription:

HERE LIES
JOHN OWEN,
WHO, HAVING HAD MORE LIVES THAN A CAT,
AND MADE AWAY WITH THEM ALL
BY HIS OWN HAND,
IS AT LAST,
THROUGH THE NEW CLEMENCY OF THE LAW,
PERMITTED
TO REST IN CONSECRATED GROUND.

THIS CROSS IS ERECTED AT THE JOINT EXPENCE
OF THE VICAR AND CHAPEL-WARDENS,
AS A WARNING TO AUDACIOUS
YOUTH, NOT TO PUBLISH
STRICTURES.

Lastly, As we value the present peace and everlasting salvation of our readers, we warn them to avoid these novel, bold, and dangerous speculations. If persons once give themselves up to fearless and unhallowed disquisition about points unrevealed, concerning the nature, character, and eternal purposes of God, they ought not to presume that God will keep them from dangerous downfalls. How does a holy God preserve his servants in the way to heaven, but by exciting in them watchfulness, prayer, holy jealousy over their own hearts, and carefulness, and even fear, lest they fall from their own stedfastness into the snare of the devil? To all these qualities the doctrines and disquisitions of this sermon are of most dangerous tendency: and we conjure all our readers, and especially we conjure the hearers and readers of Mr. Vaughan himself, to turn from these presumptuous dogmas, concerning the mind and doings of Almighty God, to the plain revelations of scripture concerning the present condition; and to the plain direction of scripture concerning the necessary improvement and rectification, of their own.

ART. XI.—*Travels through Part of the United States and Canada in 1818 and 1819.* By John M. Duncan, A. B. London: Hurst. Glasgow: Wardlaw. 1823. 2 Vols. 8vo Pp. xvi. 333 and 384.

WHILE the discrepancy of the accounts, given by different travellers, of the same people is a subject of continual complaint, and while the taste, character, or prejudices of each are assigned, as the cause of these disagreements, a principle of perhaps greater influence than any other, inasmuch as it is a principle which not unfrequently comprehends them all, has either been altogether overlooked, or less insisted upon than its importance required. Besides the avowed and sometimes professional object, with which an individual visits a foreign people, every one has a cast of moral feeling of his own, a standard of judgment, to which he accommodates, perhaps unconsciously, both thoughts and actions. These several standards, however, (it is obvious,) cannot all be right. It is only when the one deservedly paramount pursuit of human existence occupies the first place in the traveller's consideration, that all subordinate objects fall into their fitting stations, and, appearing with that degree of prominence which is respectively suited to each, blend together with it into one consistent whole. In a word, unless a proper sense of the importance of religion be the ruling principle of his mind, his opinions must be read with caution, nay, many of his facts themselves, those especially, which relate to the character and sentiments of a people, trusted with hesitation.

We have therefore much pleasure in introducing to our readers a writer who has kept the best interests of man steadily in view throughout his travels. He has rendered a service to the public, in directing their attention to "the moral condition of the Americans, their literary and religious characteristics," (P. vii.)

because on these most important features of the American character considerable misapprehension prevails amongst us. Our republican brethren will find Mr. Duncan a most intelligent and liberal observer of their manners and opinions: sometimes indeed, from a fear perhaps of partiality to his native country, he may by many be thought even to lean to the opposite side: this however is at least a most amiable error, when, as is undeniably the case in the present instance, it does not arise from any deficiency of patriotic

feeling. To the English reader the information he conveys is highly valuable; the general tenour of his observations indicates a pious, sensible, cultivated, and for the most part an unprejudiced mind; and his testimony is rendered still more important by its striking agreement with other accounts, which, since the time of his visiting that country, have been given to the public. It should be added, that our traveller is a genuine son of the kirk, and views with abhorrence any of the "rags of popery," as he terms them, (vol. i. p. 242) which have been retained in the episcopalian form of worship. This fidelity however to his particular persuasion is far from rendering him insensible to the true piety of other bodies of Christians. He accounts

The flow'r divine, where'er it grows.

Mr. Duncan's travels extended but to a part, though indeed a very interesting part, of the union. From New-York, as his head-quarters, he made excursions to Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and other principal cities of the Eastern States; and twice, namely in the spring and autumn of 1818, paid a visit to the Canadas. In detailing what he observes, his general style is more animated and vivid, than it is remarkable for correctness. Expressions now and then occur, which sound strange to English ears; for instance, *pled* for *pleaded*, 261, 1, and 239, 2, and others which we need not stay to notice. The details of his two visits to Canada he has judiciously compressed into one narration. On both occasions he ascended the Hudson to Albany; and thence, turning westward, cut across the country, which in his spring tour he found nearly impassable, to Buffalo on the lower extremity of Lake Erie.

The following extract will serve for a specimen of the inconveniencies he experienced in the former expedition.

"About ten o'clock we reached the Seneca lake, and were in hopes that Geneva, the village on its bank, was to terminate our day's toils. In this however we were disappointed. The innkeeper averred that it was absolutely necessary that the mail should go forward to Canandaigua, sixteen miles further; he assured us, that the road was much better than those we had travelled, promised us a comfortable carriage, good horses, and an excellent driver, and said that we should certainly accomplish it in less than four hours.

"Persuaded against our own judgment to rely on these promises, we consented to go forward; and a young man with a bugle-horn was put into the carriage beside us, to cheer us forward with its courage-stirring notes. I did not at first suspect the object of this accompaniment, but it soon became obvious that it was intended to prevent our falling asleep. I already mentioned that the stage waggon was open all round, and you would of course attribute the

necessity of this to the heat of the climate. It was subservient, however, to another important purpose as well as that of keeping us cool. When the wheels on one side descended into a rut, the passengers immediately threw themselves by a simultaneous motion towards the opposite, and those who were close by the side thrust their heads and shoulders through the opening; this sudden shifting of the centre of gravity counterpoised the waggon's tendency to upset, and we had become by practice so expert in the manœuvre, that often, when the vehicle seemed to tremble on the very turn, the weight of our heads turned the scale in our favour. The prudent landlord at Geneva however knew well, that, if we fell asleep, as our long-continued fatigues would strongly dispose us to do, our heavy heads in place of being thrust out of the carriage would necessarily make a great addition to the leeward weight within, and to a certainty capsize the machine. He therefore very thoughtfully provided us with a trumpeter, who by singing songs, relating his marvellous adventures, and ever and anon wakening the warlike energies of his instrument, managed to keep us sufficiently awake to continue our exertions on behalf of the balance of power. (Vol. II. pp. 17—19.)

From Buffalo he proceeded by the side of the Niagara to its celebrated falls, of which he gives us a minute account, and thence, crossing lake Ontario and descending the St. Lawrence, he visited York, Kingston, Montreal, Quebec, and other places both of the Upper and Lower Provinces.

From Lewiston on the Niagara, he visited a village of Tuscarora Indians, where a Missionary from a society at New York is stationed. For his highly affecting account of these first fruits of the North American heathen we must refer our readers to the work itself; which we the less regret, as the author published several years back an even more extended account of this visit in a popular form, as a premium-book for Sunday-schools. We cannot, however, refrain from extracting his relation of the benefits that have accrued to this much injured race from the introduction of Christianity.

“Mr. Crane assured me, that a material improvement has taken place in the condition of the Tuscaroras, since the introduction of Christianity among them. They were, a few years ago, in a state of as great debasement as any of the nations around them; but now out of their whole number, which amounts, including women and children, to about three hundred, not more than ten ever indulge to excess in spirituous liquors. Even these do it but seldom; and for some time after each transgression they keep as much as possible out of sight, till they think it has been forgotten.

“Agriculture is considerably attended to among them; and in addition to Indian corn, they have begun to cultivate wheat, which requires much more attention, but is a more valuable crop and less affected by the vicissitudes of the weather. They are honest in their transactions with each other, and with the whites around them, and

industrious in providing for the support of their families. The benefits of Christianity, therefore, have not been confined to those who have publicly professed it; a standard of honesty and morality has been introduced among them; propriety of conduct has been countenanced, and vice discouraged; and as a community they are happy and comfortable beyond what they ever were before." (Vol. II. pp. 76, 77.)

Of the languages of these Indian tribes, which are by no means to be considered the aborigines of the country, Mr. Duncan has collected many interesting particulars. Those spoken by the Indians who formerly peopled the continent East of the Mississippi, have been reduced by antiquaries to three distinct roots: the Iroquois, which was the language of the tribes anciently situated north of the St. Lawrence; the Lenapé, spoken by the nations inhabiting the interior of the United States; and the Floridian, spoken by the Creeks and others of the South. The Indian tongues are all remarkable for great powers of condensation, a single word being often sufficient to express what in the complicated sentences of modern languages would require the distinction of person, action, time, place, and circumstance. Of these the Lenapé, which has been more critically analysed than the others, is much the most copious and regular—highly artificial in its grammatical system—more varied even than the Greek in the inflexions of the noun and verb—in short, disappointing every *a priori* idea we should form of the unwritten language of roving hunters. The religion of this remarkable race demands our admiration even more than their language. They recognise the Unity of God, and believe him to be a Spirit. He is not to be represented by any visible symbol. These and other tenets of a similarly exalted nature induce Mr. Duncan to believe

"that their theological system had its origin in the obscured traditions received from patriarchal times." (Vol. II. p. 99.)

The dangerous rapids of the St. Lawrence are well known. They are occasioned by

"a great contraction and sudden descent in the bed of the river, accompanied in general with numerous islands and rocks in the middle of the stream. The flood, thus chafed and pent up within narrow and obstructed passages, rages through them with prodigious violence; dashing furiously over the rocks, sweeping round insulated fragments with the velocity of a whirlpool, and heaving even in the less agitated spots with a broken and fearful commotion, such as the sea presents after a tempest of contrary winds, which have successfully contended for the mastery of the deep." (Vol. II. pp. 135—138.)

"The sun was in the act of setting," (says Mr. Duncan, p. 125,) "when we entered the Long Sault, but the sky was cloudless and serene. The wind, which had previously favoured us, died gradually away, and

the sail hung loosely from the gaff. Our steersman turned his head wistfully towards the fading beams.—‘Pull away, my lads, pull away; we are late enough.’ The rowers with the composure and silence of machinery, lengthened the stroke, and bent themselves to their oars with all the energy of which their well-strung muscles were capable. The Durham boat was so deeply laden, that there was room only for two oars, and these at the very bow; we had four hands however, so that each was doubly manned. In a short time we reached an island which divides the current of the river, and we steered for the right hand channel. The tall pines which covered the island to the water’s edge threw a gloom across the confined pass, if I may so call it, and the burden of Moore’s song was forcibly suggested—

‘Row, brothers, row. The stream runs fast,
The rapids are near, and the daylight’s past.’

.....“The two currents, after embracing the island, revert below it into a single stream. The extreme commotion, with which this reunion is accomplished, is the occasion of the Big Pitch. The furious torrents rush against each other like two charging squadrons, heaving up their roaring billows, and tossing high their crests of broken foam; retiring at last with apparent reluctance from the conflict, and whirling into numerous eddies by the margin of the stream.

“Ere the tops of the white breakers became visible, preparations were made for encountering the commotion. The sail was lowered down and the gaff secured, the steersman called one of the hands to his assistance, the rest hung upon their oars, waiting the word of command to strike in. The boat began now to rock from side to side, and the terrible cauldron was boiling before us. All that could be done, was to direct our course to that part of the channel, where experience told them, that the passage was least hazardous, and then with all their strength to pull the vessel through. I felt an involuntary shrinking, as the captain aimed for what seemed to me the most frightful spot of all! we were swept into the midst of the furious commotion; and the order was just given,—‘Pull away!’—when a heavy wave burst in over our feeble bulwarks. Our quivering bark however struggled manfully through; our danger was but momentary, and we soon reached the subsiding billows which skirt the extremities of the heavy swell.

“Another peril however succeeded. The thrilling emotion excited by the passage of the Big Pitch had not subsided, when our vessel was caught in the vortex of a powerful eddy, and whirled round almost broadside to the stream. ‘Pull away with the starboard oar!’—roared the steersman with a voice, like thunder and a tremendous oath; the order was promptly obeyed, the command of the vessel recovered, and we once more found ourselves in smooth water. We had shipped more than a hogshead of water in this dangerous rapid.” (Vol. II. pp. 125—129.)

Of the state of religion and literature in lower Canada, Mr. Duncan makes a very unfavorable report. In Montreal and Quebec, popery and its necessary attendant, ignorance, prevail to a melancholy extent. Nor is it in the Roman Catholic

Church alone, that we must look for this absence of spiritual religion; the sermons of Protestants, whether Episcopalians, Presbyterians, or Methodists, he describes as alike deficient in clearness and simplicity as to the fundamental doctrines of Christianity.

Popery is happily so much in the back ground among us, that many of our readers may not be aware of the existence of the ceremony of baptizing the church bells, which is regularly performed in Popish countries—it may then be amusing to them to read our traveller's description of it.—We should be glad if no remnant of the practice were in existence among us, but that, with the church bells, the ships of our navy were set clear from the profanation.

“The bells were suspended near the centre of the church, from a temporary wooden erection, and near them were a table and some chairs. Soon after we had assembled, a door near the upper end of the church was thrown open, and forth issued a procession of priests, preceded by two boys in white robes carrying a pair of enormous candles, in candlesticks of corresponding dimensions, and two behind carrying a little silver vessel of oil, and water in a silver vase. The priests were variously attired, some in black, others in white; and a few in gorgeous robes of silk and gold. The boys placed the candlesticks on the table near the bells, and the priests bestowed themselves in the chairs around the table, or on the seats which surrounded the principal altar. Prayers were then chanted; after which an old ecclesiastic in white ascended the pulpit and addressed the congregation in a pretty long French oration..... Descending from the rostrum, he was invested with a robe of gaudier colours, and having pronounced a solemn benediction upon the water in the vase, he dipped a brush in it and made the sign of the cross upon each bell, inside and out; accompanying it with the solemn words, ‘In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti!’ Other two then set to work, and compleated what he had begun, brushing the bells all over; and then with snow white towels wiping them both dry. Some oil was then consecrated, with which the sign of the cross was made on a variety of places on each bell, and then carefully wiped dry with a little cotton wool. A silver censer with live coals was next produced, into which some incense was thrown; and after being waved three times in the air, it was held under each bell till they were quite filled with the odorous fumes. Two old gentlemen and their venerable spouses now came forward, and one pair was stationed at each bell. These were the Godfathers and Godmothers of the new members of the holy church; and after having answered some questions to the satisfaction of the priests, they had the honour of bestowing names on their Godchildren. This, it seems, is an honour which is much coveted, and is only conceded to those who are both able and willing to pay handsomely for the distinction. The oldest priest now took hold of the clapper, and tolled each bell three times, which was immediately repeated by each of the sponsors. The

old couples now produced presents for their bantlings: first a large roll of linen for each bell, which was swathed round it by the officiating priests; then rolls of crimson silk, one of which was richly figured, succeeded by lace or fringes, and the whole was bound on by a plentiful allowance of white silk riband. The ceremony was now wound up by a short prayer or two chanted by the priests, when the large candlesticks were again elevated, and the whole fraternity retired as they had entered." (Vol. II. pp. 167—170.)

What gross deficiency in mental cultivation exists in Montreal, may be imagined from the following extract;—

"As to the Society of Montreal and the style of living which prevails, strangers are very likely to differ somewhat in their opinions. If you enjoy good eating, card-playing, dancing, music, and gaiety, you will find abundance of all. If literary society is your choice, you will discover I am afraid but little; and if religious, still less. I was particularly struck with the extent, to which card-playing and the dice-box abound; they seem indeed to be almost the only resource in an evening party, if it is not professedly a dancing one. That the citizens of Montreal are hospitable and kind in their attention to a stranger, I bear my willing and most grateful testimony; but unless the traveller is prepared to enjoy such expedients for recreation, he must lay his account with being occasionally somewhat singular in company. The literature of the city may be estimated by the fact, that there is at present but one book-shop in it, whose collection of English authors has even moderate claims to respectability; a few others are to be found with Romish prayer-books and monkish legends, but their shelves can boast of little else, except a few articles of stationery. We cannot expect that the demand for books here can be at all equal to that at home, or even in the United States. Among the great majority of the Canadians, none, but a few of the females, are able to read: and of the British residents, the greater part are eagerly intent upon the acquisition of wealth, and in general anticipate a return to their native country to spend it; and if in their hours of intermission from other pursuits, they can glance at a novel, or a fashionable poem, it is all that in most cases is attempted." (Vol. II. pp. 171, 172.)

The literary character of Quebec is represented by Mr. Duncan, as worse, if any thing, than that of Montreal. In the latter place there are three convents, and two at Quebec. These institutions are principally employed in the care of foundlings, the insane, and the sick poor, the maintenance of old invalids, and the education of young females.

There is something so sublime in the idea of persons laying aside from their youth every worldly care, and dedicating themselves to the service of God, and of their suffering fellow creatures, that it is not surprising, that such establishments should have been at last regarded with superstitious veneration. Many indeed, it is to be hoped, of these self-devoted individuals, being led by divine assistance to act up to the light afforded them,

may even amidst the darkness of popery, be experiencing a joy in "doing the will of God," which numbers with vastly superior privileges and knowledge in divine things, have never tasted.

There are now no monasteries in Canada. The British, when they became masters there, prohibiting any addition to the number of monks, the various establishments of this kind became gradually extinct. Mr. Duncan mentions two academical seminaries at Montreal, and one at Quebec, connected with the church of Rome.

"These academies, although in many respects useful, tend grievously to perpetuate the French language and Romish religion in the province, and consequently to prevent the thorough amalgamation of its French inhabitants with those of British descent. There could scarcely be a wiser legislative measure than the establishment of an English college, on a liberal scale and unrestricted system. A gentleman of the name of McGill, who died in 1814, bequeathed £10,000, and some heritable property, to be devoted to the foundation of such an establishment. Hitherto however little, if any thing, has been done to carry his will into effect; and, as the property, if not so appropriated, within ten years after his death, reverts to his heirs, I fear, that there is some danger of the devise being ultimately abortive." (P. 165.)

The following suggestions with respect to the education of the French Canadians are important.

"It is to be regretted that so little has hitherto been attempted for the instruction of the French Canadians. Excepting the seminaries of Montreal and Quebec, I am not aware of the existence of any school, where their boys can acquire even the most ordinary elements of education. Their spiritual instruction is equally neglected. There is not any where in the province, so far as I have been able to learn, a single individual capable of preaching the truths of the gospel in the French language. Surely the London Missionary Society should not overlook so important a station. From most of the protestant ministers of Canada, I am afraid, nothing can be expected but total apathy to such an attempt; and whoever undertakes it, must not only be thoroughly imbued with a knowledge and love of the truth, but have that conscious ardour in the cause, which will bear him up under much difficulty and much opposition. It would be of importance that his talents and acquirements should be both respectable; for the Romish clergymen are in general men of education, and should they enter into controversy with him, he would in all probability have no auxiliary in the struggle. He must however be a man of much prudence; for the duties of such a situation would be both difficult and important, and humanly speaking, every thing would depend upon the manner in which they were performed. That the native Canadians would not be totally disinclined to listen to him, there is every reason to believe. While present in the Methodist chapel in Montreal, one of them came in and sat down beside me. I pointed

out the text to him; he thanked me in a whisper, but said that he did not understand English. After sitting a few minutes he rose and went out, but it was in all probability his inability to understand the preacher, that prevented him from being as attentive an auditor as any one present." (Vol. II. pp. 221—223.)

Mr. Duncan however does not seem aware, that a society, belonging to the English Church, is directing its efforts to this quarter, and that an important, though gradual, change in the intellectual and religious character of the population, may reasonably be expected. From the late reports of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel,* which, however, (in justice to Mr. Duncan, it must be recollected) are since the date of his travels, we find, that schools on the National system have been introduced into the provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Canada, wherever the nature of the population enables the children to be assembled; and that their advantages are already visible in the moral and religious improvement of the *parents*. There seems indeed among the natives a strong desire for religious instruction, though as yet unhappily there are few means of satisfying it. The abstract for 1823 states, that above 20 cases are referred to by the Bishop of Quebec, in which the people are sincerely willing to obliterate all religious differences, and the whole population would unite in erecting a common church, if the society were enabled to send missionaries. This feeling is said to be rapidly increasing, although the Society, from the inadequacy of its resources, can give it little encouragement. In some parts churches have been built almost by the efforts of individuals; in the erection of others, the contributions of the natives have been aided by the sale of pews, by subscriptions in many places, as well as by a Society in Quebec, and by the votes of the Houses of Assembly. In some cases the contribution has been paid *by the manual labour of those who had nothing else to give*.

We fear there exists in the breasts of many excellent persons a prejudice against the Society, which Mr. Duncan's observations have led us to mention; but surely it should be a powerful consideration, that would operate as an argument in a Christian's judgment for the neglect of the institution itself. No people have a stronger claim on our charitable endeavours than the European settlers of the Canadas; and in our references to the Society's reports, we have purposely avoided those particulars of minor importance about which churchmen may entertain a difference of opinion, and stated

* See Abstr. 1823, pp. 59, 113, 115, 127, 131. General Notice, 1823, pp. 39, 40. Abstr. 1822, p. 114, &c.

proceedings which every member of the Church of England must approve and be desirous of supporting, viz. the building of churches and the establishment of schools.

Our author contrasts the religious condition of Canada with that of the United States, pronouncing in a tone of triumph that religion has made as extensive progress in the latter country as could be expected from any establishment—

“If (says he) any would imagine that an establishment would have improved matters, let him look at Canada!” (Vol. II. p. 331.)

Now this is not a fair statement of the case. No one ever supposed that merely to determine a particular form of church government, without the erection of churches or schools, and providing a body of clergy sufficient for the wants of the country, would be advantageous to Canada. Does Mr. Duncan mean to imply, that, if our government had left the natives to themselves, they would of their own accord have felt that desire for spiritual instruction which is represented to be now spreading among them? or that those other denominations of Christians would have taught them the pure truths of the Gospel, whom he describes as no less confused in their religious notions than the Episcopalian ministers? We would put it to the good sense of our author, whether a pious mind, before it is sophisticated by the refinements of argument, does not feel a repugnance to the idea of a Christian government either evincing no interest at all in the spiritual welfare of a conquered country, or, as the remaining alternative, encouraging every variety of sectarianism to settle among an ignorant people, the great mass of whom will, amid the multitude of conflicting tenets, probably choose those which are most congenial to their naturally corrupt tastes? In truth, it is not the *presence* of an establishment, but its virtual *absence* from our American colonies, to which the ignorance, of which Mr. Duncan complains, must be attributed. The system has not been completed: the original plan has not been followed up. To this we must refer the languor and drowsiness, if there be any, that prevails among the resident clergy. But build churches and schools, send over additional laborers into the vineyard, (and much we have seen is at present doing with this view,) and you will infuse an active and a stirring spirit into the system, which, thus put into motion, will by God's blessing ferment and purify itself. There will be no more indolence. Opinions will be weighed before they are adopted: discussion will provoke discussion: and truth will eventually prevail. The affections too will be engaged in the work; the ground, being loosened, will admit the heavenly seed; the face of the country will at length be changed; the

desert will be as Eden; and the wilderness as the garden of the Lord.

Independent bodies of Christians may perhaps be more rapid in the diffusion of religious knowledge—there will be more of the spirit of emulation among them, their movements will be more alert, their measures more immediately effective. But their motives will, in the main, be less pure than those of a zealous clergy, their religious tenets more liable to error, their success less enduring.

An establishment will be slower in its operations: but it will be surer. A part cannot move without the whole: but when the whole does move, it will necessarily be more effective. Revivals in religious feeling will be less sudden; but so also will be its decline. We desire not, but we fear not, to enter into comparisons with the United States on this point. That vital religion is spreading there, we rejoice: but it must be recollected our traveller visited those parts, in which its influence is confessedly greatest. The question is not whether religion can possibly prevail without an establishment, but whether an establishment is or is not the most effectual means of furthering its extension. If he instances the Eastern portion of the Union, we may bid him look to the Southern. Even among the Eastern States, if it were worth while proceeding with the argument, Mr. Duncan produces a striking instance of the disadvantages resulting from the want of an establishment. It shall be given in his own words:

“The state of religion in the capital of New England is far from cheering. Whether the contagious influence spread from Harvard University to Boston, or from Boston to it, I know not; but though both were once distinguished for evangelical sentiments, both are now alike characterized by the lamentable predominance of Socinianism.

“There are in the town about twenty-five churches, in more than a half of which these sentiments are avowedly or disguisedly promulgated; of these one is episcopalian in its ecclesiastical system, and uses a prayer-book, which has been altered in accommodation to these sentiments. It is distressing to think that the descendants of the Puritans, whose conscientious adherence to the most important religious truths drove them from their native land, should have departed so widely from adherence to those doctrines which are the only foundation of a sinner's hope.” (Vol. I. p. 87.)

With the exception of Massachusetts, the state of religion in the Eastern provinces is highly encouraging, not only as vital piety seems extending its influence through the mass of the population, but also because its cause is supported by the authority, and vindicated by the resources of learning and talent. In New York, New Haven, Philadelphia, and Balti-

more, the prevalent tone of the sermons is represented by Mr. Duncan to be of a decidedly spiritual character.

Of the different denominations of Christians in the United States the Baptists are the most numerous: it is said that their churches amount altogether to nearly 3000. They obtained a footing first in Rhode Island. But their great strength is in the Southern and Western States, where they continue to increase rapidly. The Presbyterian body is split into a great variety of subdivisions, the most peculiar of which is the Congregational, which prevails very extensively in New Haven and the adjacent parts. The Quakers are not so numerous in Philadelphia as might have been anticipated.—Of their religious tenets Mr. Duncan gives us the following very singular account:

“The burying-ground behind the meeting-house is the only one of the kind that I ever saw. The surface was as level as a bowling green, excepting a small portion at one side, where a few grassy hillocks indicated the mansions of the dead. My conductor remarked, that the Friends had buried in that ground since the days of Penn. The resurrection of the body, he said, formed no part of their religious belief, and they considered it improper to erect any memorial over the departed, as if any part of *the man* were buried, or to preserve a distinction between the graves of one family and those of another. In accordance with these sentiments, they begin to enter at one corner of the enclosure, and go regularly on, digging one grave by the side of the preceding one, till the whole ground has been gone over; the surface is then completely levelled, and a new series of sepulchres begun.” (Vol. I. pp. 205, 206.)

Our traveller could obtain very little information respecting the sentiments of the majority of this sect. He says, “I have met with individuals, who maintained very decidedly the essential doctrines of evangelical religion. But I also found others, whose sentiments seemed to approach very nearly to infidelity.” (Vol. I. P. 207.)

This is of course the necessary effect of their having no public confession of faith. In proportion as the creed of a heterodox *body* is vague, the greater hope may be entertained of the existence of the right faith in the hearts of *individuals*. A genuine member of the Socinian persuasion cannot be right; for his society professes what is fundamentally wrong. A Quaker may, in spite of his errors, be a humble and single-hearted Christian, because his sect professes hardly any thing fundamental. Hence it appears, that the Socinian body cannot become better without departing from its principles, *i. e.* ceasing to be Socinian. The society of Friends, on the contrary, may gradually improve: and this is in England actually the case. We need but refer to their late

address to the members of their connexion, or to a recent publication by Mr. Gurney, to be persuaded of the enlightened and truly Christian spirit, by which they are now actuated.

Of the Methodists, whose strength, like that of the Baptists, lies chiefly in the southern and western states, Mr. Duncan, while he allows the existence of proper views of religion among many, gives on the whole a very melancholy account. He heard but two specimens of their preaching, with both of which he professes himself much dissatisfied.

“Disappointed in getting admission to another church, I agreed to the suggestion of a friend, that we should follow a crowd who were flocking into a Methodist church; or rather a kind of subterraneous place of meeting under the chapel. The first preacher addressed the audience from the words, ‘Cleanse your hands, ye sinners! Purify your hearts, ye double-minded!’ So far as bodily exertion went, this was the most powerful discourse I ever heard. The preacher wrought himself up to the most extravagant degree of vehemence, and vociferated for about an hour, till he absolutely gasped for breath. Sitting down, apparently from total inability to go on, a second took it up; and, setting out with the observation, that ‘many a good sermon was lost for the want of self-application by the hearers,’ he proceeded to enforce what his associate had advanced, and toiled himself into almost an equal degree of noisiness and exhaustion. The whole amount of both addresses was, ‘The way of escape from hell and damnation is, draw nigh to God, draw nigh to God—abstain from drinking, swearing, theatres, balls, extravagance of living and furniture, cry aloud for mercy, walk in the paths of true piety, and live a life of godliness and devotion.’ Neither the one nor the other ever stated, directly or indirectly, that Jesus died for sinners, and rose again for their justification.” (Vol. II. p. 372.)

He gives the following account of the religious societies of New York:

“The American Bible Society was formed in 1816, and was intended to be a national institution, to which the local societies should be subsidiary; there are besides in the city, the New York, the Auxiliary New York, the New York Female, the New York Union, the Marine, and the New York African Bible Societies, most of which, if not all, are in connexion with the national institution. The oldest of these was established in 1809, and the second in 1813. There are also some Juvenile, and subordinate Associations, as well as two Bible and Common Prayer Book Societies. The printing of Bibles here is free, and not, as with us, a matter of privilege and monopoly. The American Bible Society is thus enabled to print for itself, and it has at present eight or nine presses employed. The formation of this national institution met with very strenuous opposition; partly, I believe, from those local jealousies which even in such matters are allowed too frequently to operate, but more particularly from that

sect to which I have already alluded, as trembling at the idea of the word of God being allowed to go abroad among their fellow-creatures, without the qualifying influence of the word of man. Those in this communion are careful to prefix the appellation 'Protestant' to the designation of their party; but I have sometimes been tempted to suspect that it has arisen from a secret conviction that some of the most distinguishing characteristics of Protestantism are not to be discovered in their system; just as another sect in the, so called, religious world, add 'Christians' to their distinctive title, lest, as they disavow the fundamental doctrine of Christianity, people should suspect that they are not entitled to the name. Of missionary societies there are in this city at least ten. Of these there are three or four which devote their funds to foreign missions; others to the support of preachers and teachers in the destitute regions of the United States, and among the poor wandering aborigines; one gives its exertions exclusively to the Jews; and one is subservient to the interests of the Episcopal church. There are three Tract societies in New York, but I believe that they restrict their operations in a great measure to the republication of British tracts. One of them is conducted by Episcopalians, and another by Methodists. The Sunday-school societies are comparatively of modern date; the first was formed in 1815, or 1816. They are now, however, numerous: for almost every congregation, of whatever name, has a school connected with it, which is managed by its members. There are several others devoted to the instruction of adults, particularly people of colour." (Vol. II. Pp. 378—380.)

The censure on the Episcopalians, conveyed in this extract, is probably in a measure just. From a Presbyterian, however, so staunch as Mr. Duncan, we must not expect the most favorable statement of their conduct. That he has in fact viewed them with somewhat of prejudice, may be argued from a strange mistake into which he suffers himself, a few pages before, to fall. After giving an account of the tenets, at present entertained by the Episcopal church at New York, and evidently implying his disapprobation of them, he subjoins the following extraordinary note—

"The following form of prayer, drawn up and published by the present Bishop of New York, for the use of the Episcopal Sunday schools, contains a comprehensive abstract of his doctrinal sentiments, and appears to be quite in unison with the quotations which are offered from the other divine:—'Almighty and everlasting God, who hatest nothing that thou hast made, and dost forgive the sins of all those who are penitent, create and make in us new and contrite hearts; that we, worthily lamenting our sins, and acknowledging our wretchedness, may obtain of Thee, the God of all mercy, perfect remission and forgiveness, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.'" (Vol. II. p. 365.)

The English reader will be at no loss to recognise in this

“form of prayer drawn up and published by the present Bishop of New York” the beautiful collect appointed by our Church to be read on Ash-Wednesday. We wish for Mr. Duncan’s sake he were but better acquainted with the prayers of our incomparable liturgy, were it only that he might avoid the awkwardness of condemning the works of a church, which, whatever he may think of her forms and discipline, in purity of doctrine and sublimity of devotion he must acknowledge to stand pre-eminent.

The most promising circumstance in the religious aspect of America is the number of seminaries, which have been founded for the study of theology. Of these our author enumerates two belonging to the Baptists, two Presbyterian, one Congregational, and one Episcopalian; of which the Presbyterian at Princeton is the most magnificent both in its plan and proceedings. At this theological academy the course of study is completed in three years; during which period the young men are instructed in Hebrew, the principles of biblical criticism, Jewish antiquities, ecclesiastical history, the various systems of church government, metaphysics, the arguments for natural and revealed religion, and didactic and polemical theology. Nor are still more important subjects neglected. To the great credit of the institution lectures are periodically delivered on the importance of the pastoral office, thus enforcing on the minds of the students, that qualifications, far higher than those, which learning bestows, are necessary for the minister of the Gospel.

Besides these seminaries established exclusively for religion, there are in the Union upwards of thirty colleges for the cultivation of literary and scientific pursuits; among which, as might be expected in an infant state, there is in general an ample foundation for the study of medicine. Harvard University at Cambridge in the neighbourhood of Boston, which is the most ancient and most amply endowed in the United States, and Yale College in New Haven, stand foremost in the number and ability of their professors. From the press of the former body issues the North American Review, beyond all comparison the first literary journal in the United States, and conducted with no less liberality of sentiment than ability. It is with pain however we add, that its theological creed is undisguised Socinianism, and nearly all the Professors of the university it belongs to, are reported to hold these sentiments.

“At Yale College,” says Mr. Duncan, “the undergraduates during the course of four years are termed, as at Harvard and the other

American colleges, successively Freshmen, Sophomores, Junior, and Senior, Sophisters. It is customary for those graduates who wish to prosecute their studies more fully, to avail themselves of the lectures for several additional years; while they do, they are subject, in common with the others, to the more essential rules of college discipline. For admission to the Freshman class, it is requisite that the candidate should have completed his fourteenth year, and he must undergo examination upon Adam's Latin Grammar, Clarke's Introduction to the making of Latin, Goodrich's Greek Grammar, and Prosody, Cicero's Select Orations, Virgil, Sallust, Dalzel's *Analecta Græca Minora*, and the Greek Testament. Applicants for the more advanced classes must have a corresponding increase of age, and undergo examination upon all the previous customary course of study. Each individual, on entering, is required to produce certificates of good moral character, and to subscribe a solemn engagement to be obedient in every respect to the laws of the College. The total number of Academical students and resident graduates is at present 283. The three younger classes are each divided into two parts, to each of which a tutor is appointed, who assists the Professors in instructing and examining the students; the students of the fourth year, are under the more immediate superintendence of the President and Professors. The three younger classes attend three public recitations or lectures a day, excepting on Wednesday and Saturday, when they have only two. The senior class recites once a day to the President. At every lecture the students are minutely examined on the subject of the preceding one. The annual 'Commencement' is on the second Wednesday of September, and there are in the year three terms, at the close of each of which is a short vacation." (Vol. I. pp. 129—133.)

Mr. Duncan then exhibits a detailed abstract of the course of study, required from these freshmen, sophomores, and sophisters; which appears to vary rather according to their term of residence than to their personal proficiency and qualifications. The discipline observed in the college appears to be of the most salutary character. We wish its example were in some of its particulars imitated in establishments nearer home. We learn with pleasure that

"Among the students there are also a Moral, a Missionary, and a Bible Society.

"Yale College, is possessed of a valuable library, philosophical apparatus, and cabinet of minerals. The library contains nearly 8000 volumes, and is open under certain regulations to the professors, tutors, resident graduates, medical students, and the two senior academical classes. . . . 'The American Journal of Science,' has been recently begun here, under Mr. Silliman's editorial care. America furnishes an ample and almost unbroken field for information on such subjects. Connected with the philosophical department is a most commodious and well furnished chemical laboratory; to which the students are admitted, that they may have an opportunity of gaining

a practical acquaintance, with the many delicate and interesting experiments of modern chemistry; an advantage which can never be enjoyed in an ordinary lecture room. The cabinet of minerals is by far the finest in America; and in Europe I understand there are but few that surpass it." (Vol. I. p. 148—150.)

The considerable place, which the learned languages occupy in this plan of study, is highly creditable to its authors. Yet under a republican form of government there will be little eagerness, and in a newly established country scarcely the opportunity, for cultivating the ancient tongues. Scholarship is more *hereditary* perhaps than any other kind of learning, and therefore for the most part confined to place. In the speculative and inductive sciences we find greater simplicity of aim, and an open field for invention. They are prospective; and the student has thus less need of an instructor. But the acquisition of the languages looks to what is past; the student does not discover, but he learns; he does not kindle a light, but transmits a lamp; in classical learning we fear a diminution from the progress of time; in the sciences we hope an accession. It is not of course intended to be here advanced, that the inductive method cannot in any degree be applied to language, or that discoveries are not made by means of it in the principles and genius of the Greek and Latin tongues; though the very recent date of its application, considering the length of time it has been adopted in other branches of knowledge, is itself a confirmation of the hereditary nature of scholastic attainments. How else shall we account for the singular fact, that, long after the dicta of theorists on the constitution of nature had been exploded, yet in the field of classical literature the equally unsound canons of scholiasts and commentators retained their full authority? Even granting then, that the students of a rising country have the humility to be taught, and the patience to apply, it will in addition to these qualifications be further requisite, that a colony, as it were, of scholars should be invited to a residence among them.

It is therefore antecedently improbable that America will excel in this department of learning; and this improbability is increased when we consider the course of study actually pursued. Not to insist on minor objections, we find, that in the space of four years the student, whose age need not exceed fourteen, in addition to a long and varied list of books, attends lectures in chemistry, mineralogy, geology, natural philosophy, metaphysics, ethics, and theology, engages in forensic disputations, and is moreover expected to be connected with one or other of "three literary societies," established among

them. A range of literature and science of this nature is not only unfavorable for the acquisition of classical learning, but detrimental to application of any kind. Mr. Duncan indeed is of opinion, that although Yale may not

“produce many wranglers in mathematics to surpass those of Cambridge, or giants in Greek literature to wrest the palm from those of Oxford,” it is very probable that it will “send forth a greater proportion of men, whose minds are steadily trained to order and activity, and stored with those elements of knowledge which are available in almost every situation, and which may be said to ensure to their possessor a reasonable degree of success in any train of thinking or research to which, by his inclination or the exigencies of his future life, he may be led.” (Vol. I. p. 136.)

To us, however, such a course seems likely rather to confuse the youthful mind by its variety, than to enrich it with its abundance. Those, who aim at too much, often end in doing nothing. And there is a still more grievous evil behind. A superficial course of reading has an obvious tendency to engender vanity. It is indeed a momentous and a difficult problem to determine what line of education should be pursued at an institution of this sort; yet surely it may be safely asserted, that the grand aim of a college course of study should be the moral effect of teaching humility at an age so prone to self-conceit, and the intellectual one of imbuing the mind with a capacity for acquiring knowledge. It has indeed been with reason questioned whether the attainment of actual knowledge should be more than the indirect aim of an university education. To impart quickness in investigation and patience in research,—to give the power of grappling with difficulties, accuracy of thought, and clearness of reasoning—to form the judgment—to refine the taste—to instil delicacy of feeling and a quick perception of poetical beauty—objects such as these have surely range enough to fill the most capacious mind, and magnificence enough to satisfy the most exalted spirit, even if the student left the scene of study with little besides the accidental knowledge, which discipline of this nature could not fail of imparting. Such a system perhaps no university has as yet fully had in view. But to such a system we think, that Mr. Duncan’s encomium of Yale College would be more justly applicable: for by it the mind would indeed be trained to that “order and activity,” which he truly represents as necessary to success in future life.

The defect in the American System of education above detailed, seems much the same as that observable in the national character. Their deficiency in taste, in classical language their *πλημμέλεια*, has been often remarked upon; and may

be attributed partly to the incessant engagements of a commercial and rising people, partly to the vanity naturally engendered by the rapid increase of their national greatness, but principally, we are persuaded, to the systematically lax and republican state of discipline, which prevails in their schools. (Vol. I. P. 211.) At no distant period, however, we would hope things will be different. The *North American Review*, not to mention other publications, is effecting extensive good in cultivating and refining the public mind. This is particularly apparent as regards the American style of composition, on which subject the Review has the following observations in criticizing the work of a recent traveller: "As to language, his work is highly defective, and every page he writes is marked by a sin against the King's English. We are independent Americans, it is true, and have a right to vote out the English language altogether, but we have no right to corrupt it. We trust moreover, that it is still the boast of every man of English descent throughout the land, that the language of Shakspeare and of Milton is his mother tongue. Subjection to it is not among the grievances complained of in the bill of rights, nor is freedom from its laws any where to be found in the declaration of independence; and, while this Magna Charta does not forbid allegiance to it, we hope no scholar can be found who will not keep 'his loyalty, his zeal, his love.'" No. 36.

The paucity of American authors has been often alleged as an indication of the low state of literature and science in the country: on this point Mr. Duncan has the following sensible remarks.

"Much has been written on the subject of American literature, and various theories have been proposed to account for the comparative scantiness of original compositions, and the frequent inferiority of much that has been written. I have no new hypothesis to propose upon the subject. The fact is sufficiently accounted for by the state of the country, as a young and a rising one; offering more encouragement to commercial and agricultural adventure, than to literary and philosophical pursuits; and probably this kind of mental tutelage has existed longer than its natural time, from the influence of a hereditary disposition in the natives to look elsewhere for their literature. Those who were disposed to write, felt a misgiving in their hearts as to their own strength, and allowed their powers to be deadened by a chilling awe of foreign criticism. Those again who were to purchase their writings, felt no confidence in literary productions of domestic origin; they did not expect much, and they were slow to admit the existence of even moderate excellence. Every vessel from Liverpool brings an importation of new authors, which the accommodating booksellers immediately transmute from a costly into a cheap form, and a torrent of British authors, of legally accredited talent, deluges the land, and

carries with it the minds and the partialities of the multitude. Our Reviews have contributed to increase and perpetuate this feeling of intellectual subordination. They have almost always in criticizing American authors doled out their praise in very niggardly portions, and frequently accompanied the little, which they gave, with a tone of affected condescension more disheartening than censure; patting, as it were, the author like the schoolboy on the head, and comforting him with—"Very well for an American,—very well indeed!" (Vol. II. pp. 297—299.)

The impolitic regulations concerning settlers tends to produce the same effect—an alien is not allowed to hold copy-right until he has resided in the country at least two years at one time; nor can he even convey a title to another person.

It is pleasing to observe, that in the universal diffusion of knowledge the lower classes are not neglected. Among the States, which Mr. Duncan visited, Connecticut is particularly distinguished, as presenting

"the singular spectacle of a larger sum of money being paid out of the public treasury for the education of the people, than all the amount that is received by it in taxes and contributions of every kind;—a state of things certainly no where else ever known in the world." (Vol. I. p. 110)

Into the manners of the Americans, their peculiar customs, and their inventions in the useful arts, on all which subjects Mr. Duncan has condensed much information in a lively and entertaining manner, our limits forbid us to enter.

Of the democratic spirit of the people Mr. Duncan affords us several amusing specimens, particularly in the competition between two candidates for the office of sheriff, both of whom had some experience in its duties, but whose pretensions were soon set aside by a third, who thus introduces himself to public notice.

"INDEPENDENT CANDIDATE.—The subscriber begs leave respectfully to offer himself to the consideration of the voters of the city and county of Baltimore, at the ensuing election, as a candidate for the office of Sheriff. For the information of his fellow citizens, (friends he has none, nor ever had any,) he would state, that he is in political principles independent of either party; in religion a Christian; in moral character an honest man; and by profession, an artist whose business it is to shorten the fire-wood of his neighbours, without the use of axe—vulgarly called a wood sawer.

"Although he is aware, that there are men who will refuse their support on account of his occupation, yet he believes that a majority of his enlightened fellow citizens will rather look at the man, than the sawer—at the abilities, than the coat that covers them. And although he cannot boast of having been in the employment of the Sheriff, yet he flatters himself that his qualifications for the office would not suffer by a comparison with either of his competitors. Should he succeed in obtaining a majority of the suffrages of his

fellow citizens, he pledges himself to fulfil the duties incumbent on the Sheriff of Baltimore County, with impartiality and fidelity.

JAMES MOONEY.

"A wood sawer in America, is scarcely a step higher in the scale of society than a coal porter is with us; the occupation is a cleaner one, but otherwise they appear to be pretty much upon a level. His occupation is to cut fire wood into the proper length for burning, and to carry it from the street into the yards or dwelling houses of his employers. The joke however does not end here. An advertisement appeared a few days after those which I have quoted, intimating that the rival candidates would, on a particular evening, publicly address their fellow citizens in support of their respective claims to their suffrages. This, it is said, must have been inserted by some wag, who wished to amuse himself and his fellow citizens at the expense of the aspirants for popular favour; yet the requisition operated imperatively on the appearance of the candidates, for had any one of them declined the wordy contest, it would probably have so displeased the independent electors, as to nullify completely his chance of success. I attended under the piazza of the market place, to hear the speeches; day light was gone, but a few candle ends were stuck against the wall, and by the faint light which they afforded I saw an orator elevated somewhat above the crowd of auditors, and haranguing away very much to their satisfaction, as their frequent shouts and cheers testified. I could not get near enough to understand the topics of discourse, or his mode of illustrating them; nor could I learn whether or not the wood sawer was the declaimer, but the word *wotes* once or twice reached my ear, from which it was evident, that he kept well in view the main object of his thus essazing the art of Demosthenes." (Vol. I. pp. 238—240.)

As to the speculations in which some have indulged, concerning the future fortunes of the American republic Mr. D. wisely considers it a subject on which no probable conjecture can be formed. Two obstacles, however, seem to stand in the way of its greatness,—negro slavery, and universal suffrage. The demoralizing influence of the former is every day extending itself; and from the increase of the black population, the slave-holding states cannot, in our author's opinion, long escape the horrors of an insurrection. In every part of the country to which his observations extended, he had occasion to remark

"the jealous separation [in the churches] which takes place on all occasions, between the whites and the blacks. None, in whom a tinge is detected of African blood, are permitted to mingle with white men: they are all restricted to pews in the farther end of the gallery, conspicuously apart from the rest of the congregation." (Vol. I. p. 332.)

"It must be an appalling thing, that between a body of men so numerous as they are, and the rest of the community, there should be no connecting tie of reciprocal good will." (Vol. II. p. 335.)

The evil tendency of universal suffrage, the latter of these evils, he remarks, will not be exhibited to its full extent for a long time to come.

"It does however seem ominous of evil, that so little ceremony is at present used with the constitutions of the various States. The people of Connecticut, not contented with having prospered abundantly under their old system, have lately assembled a convention, composed of delegates from all parts of the country, in which the former order of things has been condemned entirely, and a completely new constitution manufactured; which, among other things, provides for the same process being again gone through, as soon as the *profanum vulgus* takes it into its head to desire it."—"This is universal suffrage in its most pestilential character." (Vol. II. pp. 335, 336.)

"Already popular clamour has in more than one instance compelled the abandonment of salutary measures, because the many-headed sovereign could not appreciate their importance, or could not be reconciled to their temporary inconvenience. When the population becomes more dense, the means of support more precarious, and the consciousness of political power more universal, what is to be the safeguard of the country against a general partition of property, or some other measure equally destructive?"

"I do not in these remarks institute any comparison, between Americans and natives of other countries. I feel persuaded that a pure democracy is not fitted for fallen creatures, and was never intended for them. *Vox Populi*, so far from being at all times *Vox Dei*, is not unfrequently the very reverse. The natural aristocracy of intellect, and still more perhaps the artificial aristocracy of property, must have a preponderating influence in the scale; or the bond of cohesion is broken, and the principle of order overthrown. The happy medium, is, where the equilibrium between property and numbers is most steadily preserved; where security of person and property is enjoyed, and full opportunity afforded for talent and industry to benefit themselves without injuring their neighbours." (Vol. II. pp. 325, 326.)

The most interesting communication in Mr. Duncan's work, consists in the numerous instances it affords of the liberal and kind sentiments, with which the generality of educated Americans regard Great Britain. This is in no particular more conspicuous, than in the impartial view they take of our late revered monarch. In the display of these generous feelings, the North American review again stands foremost. In a review of Tomline's life of Pitt, George the third and his favorite minister are mentioned

"in terms of kindness and approbation, which we should hardly have expected from a republican critic. In alluding to the King's letters the reviewer says 'we think the character of a monarch who could manifest such undeviating firmness, such remarkable good sense, and such devotedness to the constitution of the country, deserves to be recorded and published.'" (Vol. I. p. 273.)

Professor Silliman also in his travels in England, after giving an account of Colonel Turnbull's arrest in London during the American revolution, and West the painter's interview with the King on his behalf, adds—

“ I think, that you will allow that the King's answer, which amounted to this—‘ should the courts of law condemn him to death, I will save his life by a pardon,’ constitutes one of the finest passages of kingly history, and could never have proceeded from a little mind.” (Vol. I. p. 280.)

Our possession of Canada, we know, is a circumstance very galling to American ambition. Yet on this point the Professor has the following remarks :

“ ‘ It is questionable, whether any conquered country was ever better treated by its conquerors. They were left in complete possession of their religion, and of the revenues to support it, of their property, laws, customs and manners ; and even the very governing and defending their country is almost without expence to them. It is doubtful, whether our own favored communities are politically more happy.’ ” (Vol. II. p. 188.)

The same liberal spirit is observable in Mr. Gray's speech delivered at Boston, on the 4th of July, an occasion, which of all others, was likely to draw forth from an American author, an illiberal strain of triumph against the mother country. But enough has been adduced to shew the advances made towards our friendship by our transatlantic brethren ; and it would ill become us to decline the challenge. The prejudices, commonly existing in the minds of Englishmen against the United States, arise either from dislike to their republican constitution, or from their want of an established form of worship. But it may fairly be asked, whether the institutions of the Americans in these particulars do not rather follow from the nature of things, than result from their own deliberate choice. In proportion as the world becomes peopled by colonization, it will of necessity become, in its forms of government, more and more republican. A colony is composed of individuals of all fortunes and characters, actuated too by every variety of motive, and sent out at intervals as occasion may require. Men thus circumstanced have no motive either for submitting to an elected sovereign, or for coalescing into one form of religion. Particularly is this the case in the instance of the United States, which, instead of being amicably released from their allegiance, themselves cut the ties, which bound them to the parent country ? This resentment however towards Great Britain, will, it may be hoped, gradually die away. It could not but be felt in the years immediately succeeding the disruption. Festerings must be expected in the neighbourhood of a wound. But it concerns Englishmen to remember, that on both

sides, there are hotheaded zealots and bigots to party ; and the clamour these create, is too often on both sides mistaken for the voice of the nation.

“ ‘ By that large and respectable class of American citizens,’ says Mr. Duncan, ‘ whose good will and esteem it is of most importance to enjoy, Britain is honored, as the fountain-head of civil liberty, and, in a certain sense, the wellspring of religious knowledge. They look upon Britain, as that sacred spot of earth, where the fetters of mental tyranny were first effectually broken ; and from which light of the purest kind has emanated to a benighted world. I have mingled with Americans of all classes, and of almost all professions ; I have heard them speak their minds spontaneously and without restraint, and I can without hesitation say, that there are few, whose good opinion is worth having, who do not unite in good will towards the people of my native country.’ ” (Vol. II. p. 271.)

Yet after all, it must not be dissembled, that prejudice and the sense of mutual injury are not the root of the hostility, which the two nations have felt towards each other. It is not so much the recollections of the past, as the prospect of the future, not so much resentment as jealous rivalry, that estranges them from each other. England is great in what she is, and has been, America in the anticipation of what is yet to be. For the abatement of this narrow-minded feeling, we must not look to the influence of time, but of Christianity. Let the two countries co-operate in plans for the diffusion of the gospel of peace, one with the regularity of long established institutions, the other with the activity of modern ! United thus in holier bonds than those even of a common polity, and marshalled together not under the banners of a carnal warfare but “ the standard of the Spirit of the Lord,” they will obtain a triumph attended not by trains of captive enemies, but with “ liberty to the captive, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound.”

POSTSCRIPT.

We have much satisfaction in announcing to our readers, that a question proposed by us in Vol. xxi. p. 183. has had the effect of inducing a respectable clergyman to undertake the task of preparing a new translation of Josephus; and that this desirable work has been for some time in progress.

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THE
BRITISH REVIEW,
AND LONDON CRITICAL JOURNAL.

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ART. XII.—SCRIPTURAL PARALLELISM.

1. *Sacred Literature* ; comprising a Review of the Principles of Composition, laid down by the late Robert Lowth, D. D. Lord Bishop of London, in his prelections and Isaiah ; and an application of the principles, so reviewed, to the illustration of the New Testament, in a series of Critical Observations on the style and structure of that Sacred Volume ; by the Rev. John Jebb, A.M. Rector of Abington, in the Diocese of Cashel. London, Cadell and Davies, 1820. 8vo. pp. xiv. and 471.
2. *Tactica Sacra* ; an attempt to develop and to exhibit to the eye, by tabular arrangements, a general rule of composition, prevailing in the Holy Scriptures, in two parts, by the Rev. Thomas Boys, A. M. of Trinity College, Cambridge, Curate of Widford, Herts. London, Hamilton. 1824. 4to. pp. 94 and viii.

It is very remarkable, that, after the Bible has been the textbook of Christendom for so many centuries, any discoveries should remain to be made in it at the present day. The development of prophecy indeed, by the lapse of events, must render many passages plain, which before were mysterious ; and the gleanings of oriental travellers may throw light on a few allusions and notices, not otherwise understood. But, that any thing in the language and mere composition of the scriptures should now be observed, any thing, calculated to elucidate its meaning and draw out unsuspected beauties,

which had eluded the attention of our forefathers, is indeed surprising. Yet such is the fact. The doctrine of parallelism, which was propounded and beautifully elucidated by Bishop Lowth, could not indeed have been altogether overlooked by any diligent reader of the Book of Proverbs. Yet we believe, that before his time it was never formally laid down, as the cardinal and diagnostic principle of Hebrew poetry : and indeed even he hesitated to give that character to it, exclusively of metre. The subject slumbered then for a period of seventy years ; at the end of which Mr. Jebb, the present Lord Bishop of Limerick, came forward to extend a doctrine, already established in regard to the prophetic books of the Old Testament, to the more plain and didactic phraseology of the New. Accordingly he has produced irrefragable proofs of its adoption not only in the oral instructions of our Lord himself, but even in the epistolary writings of his apostles. This second discovery, however, suggested a new question : for it was natural to ask, with what propriety a principle, found to pervade not only the language of prophets, whose style is figurative, and whose tone of writing is full of indignant remonstrance and glorious anticipation, but the more grave and simple discourses of our Lord himself, and even some of the letters of the apostles, could be justly represented, as a distinguishing principle of the poetry of the Bible ; when, lo ! in this stage of the discussion, Mr. Boys has stepped forward into the arena, and declares plainly—

“ I entertain doubts whether parallelism can be properly called the essential feature of the Hebrew poetry, seeing that it is to be found in those parts of the Bible that all agree to regard as prose.” (P. 8.)

In the development of theories like these, affecting in some degree the whole composition of the Bible, it is happy that the task of introducing them to public notice has fallen upon three persons, distinguished for taste, for caution, for learning, and for judgment. Rashly handled, such a speculation could not fail to excite prejudice, and indeed to be abused. But, brought forward as it has now been, by three individuals, who, though necessarily strangers to each other, and separated either by time or country, are yet of remarkably kindred spirits, and all of them peculiarly gifted for the task they have undertaken, the public have some security for the subject being judiciously treated, and guarded, so far as such a subject can be guarded, from fanciful or enthusiastic perversion.

We know not, how we can better hold up our dim torch in aid of these luminous disquisitions, than by simply stating, in a connected view, what have been the successive discoveries

(for so we must persist in calling them) made by these three leaders, under some of their principal heads of observation.

We begin with the subject of parallelism itself, which Mr. Boys, from his extended application of that word, would prefer to call by the name of correspondence, as for the same reason he would name the related terms in each parallelism not parallel, but corresponding terms.

Of the distinctions of parallelism, introduced by Bishop Lowth, the first is that of the synonymous parallelism. Of this kind however, such as are purely synonymous are, as might be presumed, of very rare occurrence. We scarcely know of any, except Ps. cxiv. 1, 8. and Isa. liii. 4., there being in most cases something added in the second clause to that, which is expressed in the first; for which reason Bishop Jebb discards the name of synonymous altogether, and substitutes that of cognate. The second description of parallelisms is the antithetical, in which the subject is illustrated by the apposition of a contrary, as Prov. xxvii. 6, 7; and the third, the synthetical, in which only the form of the several members is parallel without either synonym or antithesis, as Ps. lvi. 6.

In each of these parallelisms Bishop Lowth has traced with accuracy many varieties of form, some of them being couplets, others triplets, others again consisting of four or even a greater number of lines; and he has particularly noticed that alternation of the sense in different members of a parallelism, which is one of the peculiar features of Hebrew construction. But it was reserved for Bishop Jebb to bring out these alternations in bolder relief, and also to demonstrate one of the most remarkable of all the descriptions of parallelism, which he distinguishes by the name of the introverted parallelism, an elegant idiom, if we may so call it, which he has observed in parts of the sacred volume, where we should least expect such an embellishment, and which he has elucidated with great skill in several very striking examples. We must allow the author to exhibit his own doctrine, with something of his own rich and varied illustration, though we cannot do justice to his manner of unfolding it without some considerable extracts.

First on the subject of the alternate form of parallelism, he gives the following illustration of what he terms the alternate quatrain, or parallelism of four lines.

“ Sometimes, in the alternate quatrain, by a peculiar artifice of construction, the third line forms a continuous sense with the first, and the fourth with the second.

“ From without, the sword shall destroy;
And in the inmost apartments terror;

Both the young man and the virgin ;

The suckling, with the man of gray hairs." Deut. xxxii. 25.

"The youths and virgins, led out of doors by the vigour and buoyancy natural at their time of life, fall victims to the sword in the streets of the city : while infancy and old age, confined by helplessness and decrepitude to the inner chambers of the house, perish there by fear, before the sword can reach them." (Jebb, pp. 29, 30.)

Secondly, of the introverted parallelism the subjoined examples afford satisfactory specimens.

'My son, if thine heart be wise ;

My heart also shall rejoice ;

Yea, my reins shall rejoice ;

When thy lips speak right things.' Prov. xxiii. 15, 16.

'Unto thee do I lift up mine eyes, O thou that dwellest in the heavens ;

Behold, as the eyes of servants to the hands of their masters ;

As the eyes of a maiden to the hand of her mistress ;

Even so look our eyes to Jehovah our God, until he have mercy upon us.

Psalm cxiii. 1, 2. (Jebb, p. 53.)

"A difficult passage in the Psalms may, perhaps, derive some partial elucidation from a simple reduction to this form of stanza :—

Blessed is the man whose strength is in Thee :

The passengers in whose heart are the ways ;

In the valley of Baca make it a spring,

The rain also filleth the pools ;

They go from strength to strength ;

He shall appear before God in Zion.

Psalm lxxxiv. 5—7.

"The first and sixth lines are here considered, at once, as constructively parallel, and as affording a *continuous* sense the intermediate four lines may be accounted parenthetical ; the second, constructively parallel with the fifth ; and the third with the fourth. The first line seems to contain the character of a confirmed proficient in religion,—*his strength is in God* ; the sixth line, to describe his final beatification,—*he shall appear before God in Zion*. The intermediate quatrain may be regarded as descriptive of the intermediate course pursued by those who desire to be good and happy : they are passengers ; but they know their destination, and they long for it ; at a distance from the temple, (the mystical '*sapientum templa serena*,') they are anxious to arrive there ; the very highways to Jerusalem are in their heart. And what is the consequence ? Affection smooths all difficulties : the parched and sandy desert becomes a rich well-watered valley ; and they cheerfully advance from strength to strength ; from one degree of virtuous proficiency to another. The commentary of Euthymius is so beautiful, that I cannot help inserting it : 'From strength to strength ; from virtue to virtue : for example, from lowliness of mind to mourning ; from mourning to contrition ; and thus, advancing from one attainment to another, they shall ascend the summit of the mountain. The psalmist calls virtue strength, because it makes him strong who attains it.' Perhaps each gradation of goodness may be accounted,

as it were, a fortress or strong-hold upon the way : a secure stage in the pilgrimage of virtue.

“ One more example of the same kind :

“ The idols of the heathen are silver and gold ;

The work of men's hand ;

They have mouths, but they speak not ;

They have eyes, but they see not ;

They have ears, but they hear not ;

Neither is there any breath in their mouths ;

They who make them, are like unto them :

So are all they who put their trust in them.

Psalm cxxxv. 15—18.

“ The parallelisms here marked out, will (it is presumed) be found accurate. In the first line, we have the idolatrous heathen ; in the eighth, those who put their trust in idols ; in the second line, the fabrication ; in the seventh, the fabricators : in the third line, mouths without articulation ; in the sixth, mouths without breath : in the fourth line, eyes without vision ; and, in the fifth line, ears without the sense of hearing. The parallelism of the extreme members, may be rendered yet more evident, by reducing the passage into two quatrains : thus :

The idols of the heathen are silver and gold :

The work of men's hand ;

They who make them, are like unto them ;

So are all they who put their trust in them :

They have mouths, but they speak not ;

They have eyes, but they see not ;

They have ears, but they hear not ;

Neither is there any breath in their mouths.” (Pp. 56—58.

We now produce some of the author's examples from the New Testament ; which, with the advantage of his observations, will scarcely be distinguished in character and manner from those already cited.

“ By their fruits ye shall thoroughly know them :

Do men gather from thorns the grape ?

Or from thistles the fig ?

Thus, every sound tree beareth good fruit ;

But every corrupt tree beareth evil fruit :

A sound tree cannot bear evil fruit ;

Nor a corrupt tree bear good fruit :

Every tree not bearing good fruit,

Is hewn down and cast into the fire :

By their fruits, therefore, ye shall thoroughly know them.”

Matt. vii. 16—20.

“ These two connected stanzas are distributed with masterly skill. In the first stanza, the odd line commences the paragraph ; laying down a proposition to be proved, or illustrated ; ‘ by their fruits ye shall thoroughly know them.’ In the second stanza, on the contrary,

the odd line makes a full close, re-asserting with authority the same proposition, as undeniably established by the intermediate quatrains—"by their fruits, *therefore*, ye shall thoroughly know them." The entire illative force of the particle *αγαγε*, it is impossible to convey in any single English word. This passage unites the most exact logic, with the most beautiful imagery: the *repetition*, too, is no less poetical than it is argumentative. Our own best poets well know the value of a full reduplicative close; thus DRYDEN:

"What passion cannot music raise and quell!
When Jubal struck the chordèd shell,
His list'ning brethren stood around,
And, wond'ring, on their faces fell,
To worship the celestial sound.
Less than a God, they thought, there could not dwell
Within the hollow of that shell,
That spoke so sweetly and so well.

WHAT PASSION CANNOT MUSIC RAISE AND QUELL!"

And SOUTHEY:

"How beautiful is night!
A dewy freshness fills the silent air:
No mist obscures, no little cloud
Breaks the whole serene of heaven:
In full-orb'd glory the majestic moon
Rolls thro' the dark-blue depths:
Beneath her steady ray
The desert circle spreads,
Like the round ocean girded with the sky;—

HOW BEAUTIFUL IS NIGHT!" (Pp. 195—197.)

The next passage we introduce for the sake of the author's elegant commentary.

"No man can serve two masters:

For, either he will hate the one, and love the other;
Or he will adhere to the one, and neglect the other:

Ye cannot serve God and mammon." St. Matt. vi. 24.

"In this quatrain at large, there is a clear epanodos: in the first line, the impossibility is, in general terms, asserted, of serving two masters; that is, two masters of opposite tempers, issuing opposite commands: in the fourth line, this impossibility is re-asserted, and brought personally home to the secular part of our Lord's hearers, by the specification of the two incompatible masters, GOD and MAMMON. These two assertions, as the leading members of the passage, are placed first and last; while, in the centre, are subordinately given the moral proofs by which the main propositions are established. But the two central members are so disposed, as to exhibit an epanodos yet more beautiful and striking. In a divided service, the dispositions and conduct of the servant, towards the opposite powers who claim his obedience, are distributable into two classes; each class containing two degrees: on the one side *love*, or at least, *adherence*; on the other side, *hatred*, or at least, *neglect*. Now, since it was our

Lord's purpose, to establish the great moral truth, that every attempt to reconcile the service of opposing masters must terminate in disappointment, the question is, by what arrangement of the four existing terms, may the utmost prominence be given to that truth? The answer is obvious: let *hatred* be placed first, and *neglect* last, and let *love* and *adherence* be relegated to the centre: the consequence will be, that the first impression made, and the last left, must be inevitably of a disagreeable nature; strongly enforcing the conclusion, that such a service cannot be any other than most irksome and most fruitless bondage. And such, precisely, is the distribution of the passage, as given by S. Matthew. Let, on the contrary, either the clauses of the lines in question, or the lines themselves, be transposed, and the reader will at once perceive how entirely the point and energy of the statement are destroyed:

For either he will love the one, and hate the other;
Or he will neglect the one, and adhere to the other:

“ Or thus:

For either he will adhere to the one, and neglect the other;
Or he will hate the one and love the other:

“ In both cases, the notions of *love* and *adherence*, the one at the commencement, and the other at the close, would make, and would leave, an impression of an *agreeable* nature; out of character and keeping with the scope of our Lord's argument.” (Pp. 336—338.)

We scarcely know, where to stop in these quotations, but will only bring forward one more instance of the learned author's applications of his doctrine to the New Testament.

“ Give not that which is holy to the dogs;
Neither cast your pearls before the swine;
Lest they trample them under their feet.

And turn about and rend you.”

St. Matt. vii. 6.

“ The relation of the first line to the fourth, and that of the second to the third, have been noticed by almost all the commentators. A minor circumstance is not altogether undeserving of attention: the equal lengths, in the original, of each related pair of lines; the first and fourth lines being short, the second and third lines long. The sense of the passage becomes perfectly clear, on adjusting the parallelism:

Give not that which is holy to the dogs,
Lest they turn about and rend you:
Neither cast your pearls before the swine,
Lest they trample them under their feet.

Castalio, without any transposition, by availing himself of the Latin idiom, has accurately preserved the sense:

Ne date rem sacram canibus!
Neve margaritas vestras porcis apparite:
Ne HI eos pedibus conculcent;
ILLI versi lacerent vos:

“ A rendering followed in the English version of 1729 . ‘ Lest *these* trample them under foot, and *those* turn upon you, and rend you.’ ”
(Pp. 338, 339.)

To these we add a few short specimens from Mr. Boys.

Blessed be God,
Even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ ;
The Father of mercies,
And the God of all comfort. 2 Corinthians i. 3.

We are weak,
But ye are strong.
Ye are honorable,
But we are despised. 1 Corinthians iv. 10.

Christ the power of God,
And the wisdom of God.
Because the foolishness of God is wiser than men ;
And the weakness of God is stronger than men. 1 Cor. i. 24, 25.

If God spared not the natural branches,
Take heed lest he also spare not thee.
Behold therefore the goodness,
And severity of God.
On them which fell, severity ;
But toward thee, goodness, if thou continue in his goodness :
Otherwise, thou also shalt be cut off.
And they also, if they abide not in unbelief, shall be grafted in.”
Rom. xi. 21—23. (Boys, P. 4.)

We come next to explain the peculiar object of Mr. Boys's treatise, which consists in this, that what his predecessors have pointed out in sentences and paragraphs, he has applied to entire compositions. He has particularly selected the two epistles to the Thessalonians, the second of Peter, and that to Philemon, as specimens of this arrangement, and has actually brought them all out, and exhibited them to the eye of his readers, as so many single parallelisms. We cannot of course transcribe a whole epistle, even that to Philemon, as an example of his arrangement, since the scheme, upon which Mr. Boys has modelled it, would require a larger sacrifice of space than we can afford : and indeed we must refer to the author's own pages for a complete illustration of his argument. But it may be sufficient for our purpose, if we give the reader a general idea of the plan, upon which Mr. Boys lays out an epistle ; and this may be best done in his own words.

“ In the Epistle to Philemon we have a very remarkable specimen of the introverted parallelism. Its general character may be thus exhibited :

A. verse 1—3. Epistolary.

B. 4 7. Prayers of St. Paul for Philemon.—Philemon's hospitality.

C. 8. Authority.

D. 9, 10—. Supplication.

E. —10. Onesimus a convert of St. Paul's.

F. { 11, 12—. Wrong done by Onesimus, amends
made by St. Paul.

G. { —12. To receive Onesimus the same as receiving
Paul.

H. 13, 14. Paul, Philemon.

I. 15. Onesimus.

I. 16—. Onesimus.

H. —16. Paul, Philemon.

G. { 17. To receive Onesimus the same as receiving
Paul.

F. { 18, 19 . Wrong done by Onesimus, amends
made by St. Paul.

E. —19. Philemon a convert of St. Paul's.

D. 20. Supplication.

C. 21. Authority.

B. 22. Philemon's hospitality. Prayers of Philemon for St. Paul.

A. 23—25. Epistolary.

Here A. and A. are the Epistolary portions: B. and B. relate to the prayers of St. Paul for Philemon and the prayers of Philemon for St. Paul; in C. and C. we have the authority of St. Paul; in D. and D. his supplications: from E. we learn that Onesimus, and from E. that Philemon, was one of St. Paul's converts: in F. and F. we have both the wrong done to Philemon by Onesimus, and the amends made by St. Paul: in G. and G. St. Paul intimates that to receive Philemon would be the same as receiving himself: in H. and H. we have Paul and Philemon: and in I. and I. Onesimus." (Pp. 67, 68.)

The reader, though he may not be satisfied with this distribution, though, when he comes to examine it in detail, he may in some parts doubt its correctness, cannot fail to be struck by it: and he will hardly be able to resist the inference, that no work can be capable of such an arrangement, which was not in the original design of it laid out accordingly.

Of course it will be expected, that under this general parallelism, which concerns the structure of the whole epistle, other smaller parallelisms, relating to the formation of sentences, will be included; of which we will cite one specimen according to the arrangement of the author.

f. 4. I thank my God,

g. Making mention of thee always in my prayers,

h. 5 Hearing of thy love,

i. And faith which thou hast

i. Toward the Lord Jesus,

h. And toward all saints,

g. { 6 That the communication of thy faith may become effectual, by the acknowledging of every good thing which is in you in Christ Jesus,

f. { 7 For we have great joy and consolation in thy love, because the bowels of the saints are refreshed by thee, brother. (P. viii.)

“In exhibiting this parallelism, we allege that when the Apostle speaks of the love and faith of Philemon on the one hand, and of the Lord Jesus and all the saints on the other, the love has a particular reference to the saints, and the faith to the Lord Jesus: that consequently *h.* corresponds to *h.*, and *i.* to *i.*: and that therefore *h. i. i. h.* is an introverted parallelism.”

“Let us carry on our eyes to the last two members *g.* and *f.* In the former of these we again encounter the faith of Philemon, *Τῇς πίστεώς σε*, “Thy faith,” (*g.*;) and in the latter the love of Philemon, *Τῇ ἀγάπῃ σε*, “Thy love,” (*f.*)—Here then, in this latter member, *f.* we find the love of Philemon precisely in the connexion, in which we place it to make a parallelism of *h.*, *i.*, *i.*, and *h.*; that is, in connexion with “The saints.”—The connexion of *Τῇ ἀγάπῃ σε*, “Thy love,” with “the saints” in *f.* is evident. *Χαρὰν γὰρ ἔχομεν πολλὴν καὶ παράκλησιν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀγάπῃ σε, ὅτι τὰ σπλάγχνα τῶν ἁγίων ἀναπαύεται διὰ σε, ἀδελφε.*” (P. 64.)

Our readers have now (we believe) before them a summary view of the whole present state of this investigation. We pass over many points, not essentially connected with the general argument, and purposely abstain from any critical examination of particular interpretations, being mainly intent on bringing together such evidence as may be easily collected, of the extent, to which the principle of parallelism pervades the bible.

If we must venture to offer our own opinion upon the state to which the question is now advanced, we acknowledge that we are not yet prepared to go the whole length with Mr. Boys, or to persuade ourselves, that the apostles, having wound up their thread, as it were, to the middle of an epistle, had it constantly in view to unwind it again with exact retrogradation to the end of it. We have so much difficulty in imagining, that the holy writers, whose active labours and whose sufferings in the gospel were incessant, should have formed their compositions upon a model so purely artificial, a model apparently more suited to a student in his cloister than to a ruler in Israel, withdrawing himself from the active cares of government to pen a dispatch of importance, that they should have thought it right to charge their memories with the precise order of the several topics, discussed in the early part of an epistle, only that they might be able to reverse that order in the close of it, that we cannot bring ourselves to receive Mr. Boys's statement with implicit

confidence, except upon the most solid evidence. At the same time we admit, that evidence of this kind has to a certain extent been brought forward; and the author is probably prepared with more. The epistles, which he has analysed, certainly do bear traces of the introverted parallelism, which cannot be denied, though perhaps the coincidence may not always have been designed to the full extent, to which he pursues it. For instance, the correspondence between the salutation at the beginning and the salutation at the end of an epistle can be reckoned for little in the argument. Our own opinion is, so far as in the present stage of the inquiry we can be said to have formed any, that parallelism was an original element in Hebrew composition, that in the progress of improvement and taste it was carried continually to further degrees and into new varieties, till it was so familiarized to the national mind, that the thoughts of a writer naturally flowed into that mould, and the ear of a reader was so attuned to it, that it would not be satisfied with any other arrangement. This habitual practice, aided by the constant study of the holy oracles, which abound in instances of that figure, would naturally strengthen the conception and facilitate the apprehension of it, and thus render it natural without design to look back in recollection even to a distant part of the composition, which a modern could not bear in mind without painful constraint and a degree of artifice, destructive to all freedom of thought.

Of the early and indeed primeval authority for the parallelism of sentences, and even for the more artificial form of the introverted parallelism, Mr. Boys has produced some very convincing instances. We transcribe a few.

“In the following instance, we have first the man, the woman, and the serpent; then the serpent, the woman, and the man.

a { And the Lord God called upon Adam, and said unto him, Where art thou? And he said, I heard thy voice in the garden, and I was afraid, because I was naked; and I hid myself. And he said, Who told thee that thou wast naked? Hast thou eaten of the tree, whereof I commanded thee that thou shouldest not eat? And the man said,

b { The woman whom thou gavest to be with me, she gave me of the tree, and I did eat. And the Lord God said unto the woman, What is this that thou hast done? And the woman said,

c The serpent beguiled me, and I did eat.

c { And the Lord God said unto the serpent, Because thou hast done this, &c.

b { Unto the woman he said, I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy conception, &c.

- a* { And unto Adam he said, Because thou hast hearkened unto the voice of thy wife, &c. Gen. iii. 9—12.

Let us proceed to the beginning of the next chapter.

- a* { And she conceived, and bare Cain, and said, I have gotten a man from the Lord.

b And she again bare his brother Abel.

b And Abel was a keeper of sheep,

- a* And Cain was a tiller of the ground.

- c* { And in process of time it came to pass, that Cain brought of the fruit of the ground an offering unto the Lord.

d { And Abel, he also brought of the firstlings of his flock, and of the fat thereof.

d And the Lord had respect unto Abel, and to his offering :

- c* And unto Cain, and to his offering, he had not respect.

Genesis iv. 1—5.

In each of the above instances, we have Cain in the extreme, and Abel in the central members.

The two last lines form an introverted parallelism by themselves. This is by no means an unusual case.

- d* { *e* And the Lord had respect
f Unto Abel, and to his offering.
c { *f* And unto Cain, and to his offering.
e He had not respect."

(P. 8.)

Whatever other results then may be eventually deduced from the lucubrations of Mr. Boys, we conceive that they have put an end to the doctrine, that parallelism is the distinction of Hebrew poetry. It is rather the distinction of Hebrew literature ; which must be distinguished into poetry and prose by other tests, rather to be sought in the elevation of the sentiment than the structure of the language, if it would not on the whole be more correct to say, that in sacred literature whatever is didactic is poetical, and all, that is historical, prosaic. These two characters are often intermixed ; and the transition from one to the other is too marked to require notice.

We close this article with a specimen or two of those collateral advantages, which the new study, now opened to the public, may be expected to produce : for although we do not apprehend that the learned authors, whose investigations we have been reviewing, like the alchemists of old, will miss the golden prize, of which they are in search, yet, like them, they have by the very pursuit given rise incidentally to other discoveries, often of no less importance than the principal object in view.

First, in respect to matters of taste, the following example will excite no unfavorable expectations of the addition, which

may be made to our enjoyment in the study of scripture, by a knowledge of parallelism.

“There is, in Hebrew poetry, an artifice of construction much akin to the introverted parallelism. Two pair of terms or propositions, conveying two important, but not equally important notions, are to be so distributed, as to bring out the sense in the strongest and most impressive manner: now, this result will be best attained, by commencing and concluding with the notions to which prominence is to be given, and by placing in the centre the less important notion, or that, which from the scope of the argument, is to be kept subordinate; an arrangement not only accordant with the genius of Hebrew poetry, and with the practice of alternate recitation, but sanctioned also by the best rules of criticisms:—for an able rhetorician recommends, that we should reserve for the last, the most emphatic member of a sentence, and for this reason, that, if placed in the middle, it must lose its energy.

“But my meaning will be made clearer by an example. In the hundred and seventh Psalm, the wish is earnestly and repeatedly expressed, that the subjects of Jehovah’s goodness would praise him for that goodness, and for his wonderful interpositions on behalf of mankind. Special motives to call forth suitable expressions of gratitude are urged; particularly in the ninth and sixteenth verses; which verses are both constructed in the manner just described:

For he hath satisfied the craving soul;

And the famished soul he hath filled with goodness. Verse 9.

“Let us now change the arrangement of the couplet: let us suppose it to have been written:

For the craving soul he hath satisfied;

And hath filled with goodness the famished soul:

and is it not manifest, not merely that the beauty of the passage would have been destroyed, but that the very object of the Psalmist would have been defeated? The sense of relief would have been marred and incomplete. The notion of famine, meeting us at the commencement, and haunting us at the close, must have checked the genial flow of grateful feeling.

“Again:

For he hath destroyed the gates of brass;

And the bars of iron he hath smitten asunder. Verse 16.

To this couplet the reader may, for himself, apply a similar plan of criticism: and, having done so, he will feel abundantly convinced, that not only a great poetical, but a great moral loss, would be sustained, were we to invert the order, and read:

For the gates of brass he hath destroyed;

And hath smitten asunder the bars of iron.” (Jebb, pp. 59—63.)

The following examples of the common reference of one clause to three parallels may be quoted under this head, the received pointing being contrasted with that recommended.

“Received. Διαιρέσεις δὲ χαρισμάτων εἰσὶ, τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ Πνεῦμα· Καὶ διαιρέσεις διακονιῶν εἰσὶ, καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς Κύριος· Καὶ διαιρέσεις ἐνεργημάτων

εἰσιν, ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς ἐστὶ Θεὸς, ὁ ἐνεργῶν τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν. ‘Now there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit; and there are diversities of administrations, but the same Lord; and there are diversities of operations, but it is the same God which worketh all in all.’

Recommended.

Διαιρέσεις δὲ χαρισμάτων εἰσὶ, τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ Πνεῦμα,	} Ὁ ἐνεργῶν τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν.
Καὶ διαιρέσεις διακονιῶν εἰσὶ, καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς Κύριος,	
Καὶ διαιρέσεις ἐνεργημάτων εἰσιν, ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς Θεός,	
Now there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit;	} Which worketh all in all.
And there are diversities of administrations, but the same Lord;	
And there are diversities of operations, but the same	
God;	

“ If we carry our eyes to the eleventh verse, we find the following words : Πάντα δὲ ταῦτα ἘΝΕΡΓΕΙ τὸ ἓν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ΠΝΕΥΜΑ, ‘ But all these *worketh* that one and the self-same *Spirit*.’ As Πνεῦμα, “ Spirit,” occurs in the first of the three lines in the above arrangement, we see in the passage just quoted which connects *Ενεργεῖ* with Πνεῦμα, a strong reason for not limiting the reference of the clause, Ὁ ἐνεργῶν τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν “ Which worketh all in all,” to the third line.

Received. Ἀγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομα σε· ἔλθῃ ἡ βασιλεία σε· γενήσῃ τὸ θέλημά σε, ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. ‘Hallowed be thy name’. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven.’ Matthew vi. 9, 10.

Recommended.

Ἀγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομα σε,	} Ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.
Ἐλθῃ ἡ βασιλεία σε,	
Γενήσῃ τὸ θέλημά σε,	
“ Hallowed be thy name,	} In earth, as in heaven.”
Thy kingdom come,	
Thy will be done,	

Secondly, in settling the text of Scripture in any disputed passage, this doctrine promises to be of essential service. Of this use of it, an instance has occurred in the last quotation, but one, where the word, *ἐστὶ*, having been omitted by Griesbach on the authority of numerous manuscripts, is dropped also in conformity to the exigencies of parallelism. For a very beautiful example in point, we refer our readers to Sacred Literature, pp. 101—103. Another we transfer to our own pages.

“ My son, despise not thou the chastening of the Lord;

Nor faint, when thou art rebuked by him :

For whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth,

But scourgeth every son whom he receiveth. Heb. xii. 5, 6.

This passage is taken from Proverbs, iii. 11, 12.: thus rendered in our authorized translation :

My son, despise not the chastening of the Lord;

Neither be weary of his correction :

For whom the Lord loveth, he correcteth ;

Even as a father the son *in whom* he delighteth.

In the last line, our translators have followed the Vulgate, which reads :

Et quasi pater in filio complacet sibi.

The Syriac and Chaldee read :

Et sicuti pater qui castigat filium.

Dathe's rendering is :

Atque tamen eo, ut pater filio, delectatur :

and he gives his opinion, that the received reading of Prov. iii. 12, should not be meddled with ; on the ground, that it affords a good sense, and that the other reading, that, (be it observed !) of St. Paul, nearly borders on tautology ; a charge surely, which a modern professor might, with more seemliness, have hesitated to bring against an inspired writer of the New Testament.

St. Paul's reading, however, is afforded; without altering a letter in the Hebrew text, by a slight departure from the Masoretic punctuation : אף כאלה means "even as a father;" but אף כאלה "he hath afflicted," or "scourged." The passage, therefore, may be thus rendered, in strict conformity with the apostle :

The chastening of Jehovah, my son, do not despise ;

Neither be weary, at his rebuking :

For whom Jehovah loveth, he chasteneth ;

But scourgeth the son in whom he delighteth."

(Jebb, pp. 109—111.)

Again : Mr. Boys, after examining the second epistle of Saint Peter at some length on the principles of parallelism, asks this question.

"Is it not surprising, that learned men should have suspected the genuineness of c., (chapter ii. :), and that, because they have thought its style materially different from the style of the two other chapters ? On such grounds it is that the integrity of the Sacred Volume is called in question : and that by learned men ! Oh how much wanted often is a little examination of the text and letter of God's word, amidst the discussions and the dilutions of criticism ! The fact is, that c. is so closely and intimately connected with the rest of the Epistle, that it is impossible to detach it without an act of violence. The general plan makes it a necessary part of the whole, and the corresponding terms mark its more particular connexion with c. As well might it be asserted that the main deck is not a part of the ship, as that this second chapter is not a part of the Epistle." (Pp. 28, 29.)

Thirdly, in the interpretation of scripture, it will be found of use. This has appeared already. But other examples follow.

"And why do ye transgress the commandment of God, by your tradition ?

For God commanded, saying :

Honor thy father and thy mother ;

And he who revileth father or mother, let him die the death :

But ye say :

Whosoever shall say to his father or mother, [be that] a gift,
by which thou mightest have been relieved from me ;

Must also not honor his father or his mother :

Thus have ye nullified the commandment of God by your tradition.

S. Matt. xv. 3—6.

The mere exhibition of the parallelisms in this confessedly obscure passage, tends in no slight degree to its elucidation: the two small connective clauses *ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς ἐνετείλατο λέγων*, and *ὁμοίως δὲ λέγετε*, form an antithetical parallelism. The remainder of the passage constitutes a six-lined stanza, of the introverted, or epanodostic kind, thus :

And why do ye transgress the commandment....

Honor thy father....

And he who revileth father....

Whosoever shall say to his father....

Must also not honor his father....

Thus have you nullified the commandment, &c.

The whole difficulty lies in the central quatrain; in the first two lines of it, a two-fold commandment of God is authoritatively cited; in the last two lines, a two-fold breach of that commandment is criminally charged upon the Pharisees: the commandment divides itself into, 1. the honor due to parents, meaning especially pecuniary maintenance, and support; this occupies the first line of the quatrain, *Honor thy father, &c.*: 2. the prohibition of injurious language towards parents; this occupies the second line, *And he who revileth father, &c.* The criminative charges are brought forward, and established, in the inverted order: the crime of using injurious, and even imprecatory language to parents, is brought home in the third line, *Whosoever shall say to his father, &c.*: and, lastly, the crime of failing to honor, that is, to maintain or relieve indigent parents, is brought home in the fourth line, *Must also not honor his father, &c.*: The reason of this inverted order, or epanodos, is clear: the original and great offence was, the evasion of that law, which bound children to support their parents; the offence of using injurious language was subordinate and subversive; it was but a means of carrying the other offence into full effect; that, therefore, which constituted the end, is put first and last; the means are enclosed in the central couplets." (Jebb, pp. 245, 246.)

The illustration, which has been afforded from this new canon of criticism to a remarkable prophecy in the second epistle to the Thessalonians, is particularly interesting at this day, when unfulfilled prophecy has been a subject of so much cautious and incautious speculation.

Καὶ τότε ἀποκαλυφθήσεται ὁ ἄνομος·

Ὁν ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς ἀναλῶσει, τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ ἰσχυροῦς αὐτοῦ,

Καὶ καταργήσει, τῇ ἐπιφανείᾳ τῆς ἰσχυροῦς αὐτοῦ.

And then shall be revealed the lawless one ;

Whom the Lord Jesus will waste away, with the breath of his mouth ;

And will utterly destroy, with the bright appearance of his coming.

2 Thess. ii. 8.

"There is an advance in the sense of the *last two lines*." (Jebb, p. 151.)

"The words, ὃν ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς, are common to both lines; ἀναλώσει implies no more, in this place, than *gradual decay*; καταργήσει denotes *total extermination*: while, in terror and magnificence, no less than in the effects assigned, *the breath of his mouth*, must yield to *the bright appearance of his coming*. The first line seems to announce the ordinary diffusion, gradually to be effected, of Christian truth: the second, to foretel the extraordinary manifestation of the victorious Messiah, suddenly, and overwhelmingly, to take place in the last days." (Jebb, p. 312.)

Mr. Boys further observes, that, when an epistle is divided into integral portions, that correspond to one another, our conception of the drift of the argument is often essentially aided by the parallelism: for if, as occasionally happens, there is more than one topic handled in one of the corresponding portions, and only one in the other, we may be sure that the topic, which occurs in both, is the principal object in view: and thus an insight may be gained into a difficult passage from a corresponding one, with which it has hitherto been supposed to have no connexion. There is so much of reasonable probability in this remark, that we should be glad to see it verified by a sufficient induction of particular examples.

On the whole we think a case is made out, which deserves the attention of all, to whom the knowledge of scriptural truth is dear. It is clearly the object of both the writers, whose works stand at the head of this article, rather to invite the consideration of impartial, judicious, and competent persons to a new and important subject, than to gain proselytes to a system. They have brought a new light to the page of revelation, the existence of which was unsuspected before; and they have also by means of it detected many latent beauties, and rescued some difficult passages from the obscurity, which involved them. The extent of benefit, which may arise from their researches, cannot now be estimated. A steady and sober use of the hints, which they have afforded, may possibly lead to results, on which even they have not calculated. It is gratifying to observe, how much additional evidence has been incidentally thrown from this quarter already on more than one point of orthodox belief: and we cannot conclude without urging every biblical student to examine this whole question in the length and breadth of it, under a conviction, that his acquaintance with the word of God will be, in many ways, essentially promoted by the inquiry.

ART. XIII.—ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONS.

1. *Letters on the State of Christianity in India*, in which the conversion of the Hindoos is considered, as impracticable ; to which is added a Vindication of the Hindoos, male and female, in answer to a severe attack made upon both by the Reverend *****. By the Abbé J. A. Dubois, missionary in Mysore, author of the Description of the people of India. London : Longman and Co. 1823. 8vo. Pp. viii. and 222.
2. *A Reply to the Letters of the Abbé Dubois on the State of Christianity in India*. By the Rev. James Hough, Chaplain to the Hon. East India Company on the Madras Establishment. London : Seeleys. 1824. 8vo. Pp. 322.

WE lately invited our readers to make a tour of the world ;* but not to examine with the geologist the materials of which it is composed, nor to admire with the painter the varieties of its surface, not to survey its monuments of art, nor yet to investigate the character of its inhabitants. Our object was of a more commanding interest, and more powerful attraction than these, or any, which are bounded by space or time ; for we invited them to trace the progress of Christianity : and we would hope, that they have been not only pleased, but benefited by the survey, and that, having accompanied with their sympathy the missionary, who, breaking the ties, that bind him to his home, exposes himself to northern snows or a tropical sun, they did not close our report as a tale of other times, but recollected that these servants of God, whose patience and self-denial they admired, are many of them still in existence, and that their maintenance must be supplied by the societies which sent them forth, and that these societies are wholly dependent upon the annual or occasional contributions of individuals.

But it may be asked—Are these recent societies, the most ancient of which has only existed since the 'days of our Charles the first, the only missionary institutions ? and did the whole Christian world till that late era, overlook the last command of its divine Master ? For the honour of the professors of Christianity we can answer in the negative ; for though we are only now beginning to feel in any adequate degree the claims of the heathen, there never in the darkest

age was a period, in which efforts were not made to extend the boundaries of the Church.

As Protestants, we are thankful for our emancipation from Rome ; but we readily allow her merit in the department of missionary exertion, and acknowledge that in this respect she has set us an example of zeal, self-denial, and perseverance. Wherever the Spaniards or Portuguese penetrated, in the old or the new world, they erected the Cross : We honor their piety, but we lament that they had recourse to compulsory methods of conversion.

The inquisition was transplanted from Lisbon to Goa, the Asiatic capital ; and there unhappily the clergy appear in an odious and unnatural light, as persecutors of the common faith, even in the midst of idolaters. Scarcely any acts of the Roman church are more disgraceful than its persecution of that branch of the church of Antioch, which they found in Malabar. It had deviated less from primitive orthodoxy than herself ; and, properly supported, might have proved an invaluable ally. But it was treated with cruelty, because it refused to adopt the Latin ritual, or to acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope, of whom till then it had never heard. We know not how we could better contrast true and false zeal, that zeal which seeks only its Master's glory, and that which spends its strength in advocating names and forms, than by adverting to the contrary conduct of our own church towards these same Syrian Christians. Were it not a digression, we could expatiate with satisfaction upon the tenderness and discretion with which the agents of the Church Missionary Society, without assuming any authority over them, are feeding these babes in Christ, and gradually building them up in faith and practice, by the removal of impediments, and the communication of scriptural knowledge. But we forbear, and return to our subject by reminding our readers, that toleration was then unknown ; and that in estimating conduct, we must not measure the actions of one age by the standard of another.

The endeavours however of Roman Catholics to propagate the faith, were by no means confined to their own settlements : and beyond them, their missionaries have been exposed to dangers which no Protestant missionary has yet had to encounter. In China and Japan many of them suffered martyrdom. Those countries which are, as it were, hermetically sealed to us, could once boast of numerous native congregations, collected by the Jesuits. An extraordinary empire of contented and well-disposed, though not enlightened Christians, more resembling the imaginary republics

of philosophers, than any existing polity, grew up in South America under the auspices of those Fathers; and mainly by them has Christianity been spread "from Canada to Chili in a world, unknown to the ancients."

A view of missions then, in which those of the Roman church are omitted, would be very defective. We therefore propose, as a supplement to our former article, to sketch their origin and decline,—we say their decline, because it is a remarkable fact, that they are all not so much the subjects of description as of history. That of Japan has long ceased to exist: and in China, and in the peninsula between that empire and India, the missionaries have dwindled to a few individuals, who exercise their functions at the risk of punishment, and sometimes of life. Even in India itself, where no opposition exists, the author, whose work we have set at the head of our article, gives up the cause as lost; and seeks (strange as it may appear) in the Divine Decrees, a solution of the mystery of their decline. We have learned on high authority, that "curious and carnal persons, who have continually before their eyes the sentence of God's predestination, will find it a most dangerous downfall:" but this is (we apprehend) the first time, that this doctrine was ever brought forward to discourage the missionary.

"The time of conversion has passed away, and under existing circumstances there remains no human possibility of bringing it back. The Christian religion has been announced to the natives of India without intermission, during the last three or four centuries, at the beginning with some faint hopes of success, but at present with no effect. In the mean time the oracle of the Gospel has been fulfilled with respect to the Hindoos. The divine founder of our religion has, it is true, announced that his gospel should be preached all over the world, but to the best of my knowledge, he has never affirmed that it should be believed and embraced by all nations. This is not the place to enter into a discussion of the awful and unfathomable mystery of predestination, to scrutinize the apparently obscure ways of the supreme wisdom on this subject, to ask the common Father of mankind, why in his all-ruling Providence he has vouchsafed to impart the heavenly light of his divine word only to a part of his children, whilst he has withheld this the greatest of all divine favours from the other part, and left them immersed in the deepest darkness of the most extravagant idolatry." (Dubois, pp. 42, 43.)

We leave it to the Abbé to reconcile these assumed decrees with the promises of an universal reception of the Gospel, with which the Prophets abound. We rejoice that our own missionaries take the field with armour proof against these suggestions, and that instead of the carnal weapons, the inefficacy of which is so loudly proclaimed by a veteran soldier

who has used them, they proceed to fight the battles of the Lord with the only sword upon which they can ask his blessing—his Word. With that weapon and with that blessing it would be folly, it would be impiety to despond; for though missionary after missionary may fall, and after a life devoted to his work, may see little fruit of his labours, yet he knows from the sure word of prophecy, that the seed sown will after many days ripen into an abundant harvest, and that the time is coming, when they who sowed and they who reaped shall rejoice together, in the presence and approbation of the Lord.

In executing the task we have undertaken, our materials, though more numerous, are not so satisfactory as those for Protestant missions. There was never among Roman Catholics, as now in England, a religious public, to be gratified by comprehensive views and minute details, nor any body of subscribers, before whom was to be laid a yearly statement of the appropriation of their money: and those, who fastidiously object to our anniversaries, as if kept to flatter vanity and gratify the love of display, would do well to consider their tendency to keep alive an interest in the spiritual condition of distant nations, so apt, even when once excited, to die away amid the pressure of business and private cares; and to bear in mind, that the intelligence, communicated at them, circulates by means of the press through the whole community. The accounts, forwarded by these ancient missionaries to their employers, only transpired occasionally, and after a lapse of years. The earliest publication in a popular form was the correspondence of the French Jesuits under the title of '*Lettres edifiantes et curieuses*;' in which their proceedings are intermixed with observations on the geography and natural history of the several countries in which they were stationed. But it is difficult to collect from them a clear view either of their number or of their success in any one of them: and, as they had been banished from Japan, and been established in China, long before this series commences, these letters by no means supersede the necessity of referring to other works. They were evidently more designed for the general reader than for one desirous of ascertaining the progress that had been made in the conversion of the heathen; and he, who opens them for that purpose, will often be disappointed, especially by the total want of arrangement. In a second edition in 1780, this great objection has been removed: the letters are placed in order under the missions, which they concern, and are brought down to the date of publication. The French Revolution in its desolating course swept away,

with all religious establishments, the Seminary of Foreign Missions, founded by Louis XIV., which had sent forth this long succession of missionaries into India, China, and America. It is a refreshing spectacle in the midst of that scene of horrors, to see that the directors of this seminary were not absorbed in their personal calamities: and we augur well of their piety, when we find them consoling themselves in exile with the prospects of Christianity abroad, and out of their deep poverty endeavoring to raise funds for the support of their missionaries, whom the storm, that had overwhelmed them, now deprived of their accustomed resources. At Liege, their first place of refuge, they published in 1794 one duodecimo volume; and two very small ones in English came out in London in 1809 and 1811.

These accounts are the latest we have seen: and we were in search of some work, that would bring down the history of catholic missions to the present time, when our wish, as far as one country was concerned, was satisfied by the appearance of the Abbé Dubois's letters. His volume, viewed as the result of

"thirty-two years of confidential and quite unrestrained intercourse, among the natives of India,"—(P. vi.)

is small and meagre: and it is melancholy also, as being a record of the total inutility of his pursuits: for

"every where the seeds, sown by him, have fallen upon a naked rock, and have instantly dried away." (P. vii.)

So complete a failure, especially at a period, when every other Christian denomination can exhibit to us some converts, should (we think) have led the Abbé to reconsider his own method; and, though it might not have shaken our faith, it would have perplexed us, if his book did not supply us with a solution of the difficulty. That failure (his volume abundantly proves,) is not imputable to the divine decrees, but to the timidity of the missionary; for the word, which (God assures us) shall prosper in that, to which he sends it, he has never made known to the Hindoos, conceiving,

"that the naked text of the bible, exhibited without a long previous preparation to the Hindoos, must prove detrimental to the Christian religion, and increase their aversion to it, inasmuch as this sacred book contains in almost every page accounts, which cannot fail deeply to wound their feelings, by openly hurting prejudices which are held most sacred." (P. 28.)

The vindication of the moral character of the Hindoos occupies a large part of his volume; and he advocates it with so much warmth, that we wonder why he should have taken the office of a missionary, since he declares that the

natives are really our equals in all that is good, and our inferiors only in what is bad. Though commissioned to preach salvation to the heathens perishing in their sins, instead of shewing the anxiety we might expect, that they should turn from their idols to the living God, he has the audacity to observe, that, if it were in our power by fair means to rid their religion of its enormities, we ought perhaps to stop there, and overlook what is only extravagant in their worship; and in a spirit, more becoming a Brahmin or an infidel than the high and sacred office which he bore, he boldly defies us, after having perused in the monthly Magazine and quarterly Review the account of the ranters, shakers, methodists, and quakers, to find out any thing among the Hindoo fanatics, who flock to the temples of Teroopatty and Juggernaut, which may be compared with the scenes of extravagance and madness, exhibited by that sect of Christians (the quakers we presume,) in their religious assemblies. And yet with marvellous inconsistency, this same missionary asks, if the worship of Juggernaut and Teroopatty are less nefarious than that of Moloch, and regards the Hindoos, as given over for ever to a reprobate mind, on account of the peculiar wickedness of their worship. Our readers will not be surprised to find, that the exertions of the Bible society to supply the Hindoos with copies of the holy scriptures receive no praise from the Abbé Dubois, and that, instead of bearing testimony to the fidelity and industry of the Serampore translators, he labors to excite suspicion of their ability to execute their magnificent project. Neither indeed the project, nor the execution of it, finds favour with him. But that is a discussion, into which we propose not to enter, since his case on his own statement of it is a weak one, and has been answered in the Eclectic Review in a manner, which proves him to be as deficient in candour as in knowledge. Before we close our article we shall borrow from his letters some facts, on which he is more competent to speak, dismissing him for the present with expressing our regret that this professed missionary should have so little of that Christian feeling, which is thought to be identified with his office, and which had animated his predecessors, and enabled them under greater trials, to persevere in their cause until death. Possibly the delight, with which we perused the truly Christian Diary of a British officer, reviewed in our forty-first number, has heightened the unfavorable impression, which the writer of these letters has left upon our minds. Both describe the same provinces: but the one only sees a desert, which in the eyes of the other

already blossoms, in some favored spots, as the rose. The reason seems to be, that the soldier, viewing the scene with the eye of faith, anticipates, from the foundation laid, the goodly structure, that is hereafter to arise; while the missionary, a man of the world, only looks to the proselytes, made to his own church, indifferent to, and seemingly unconscious of the silent progress of genuine religion.

It is difficult to draw the line between the history of missions and ecclesiastical annals. In fact Christianity is eminently a missionary religion. Its first teachers were missionaries; its author commanded, that it should be preached to all men; and so faithful were they to his commands, that the believers, who at his death were but a few hundreds, had spread before the end of the first century beyond the empire, and places inaccessible to the Roman arms were subjugated to Christ. Rome, once the mistress of the world, in the decline of her power laid the foundation of a second empire, more absolute, and scarcely less extensive than the first. She now reigned over the mind; and her authority was sustained not by force but by influence. In time her sway degenerated into tyranny; but in its commencement it was unquestionably a blessing; for she preserved the light of knowledge from extinction, and sent forth missionaries to tame and humanize the barbarians, that had wrested from her her provinces. To St. Gregory, the most eminent of her pontiffs in piety and virtue, our Saxon ancestors were indebted for Christianity; and after the lapse of more than a thousand years England has still cause to acknowledge obligation to him, since our reformed church has incorporated into her liturgy a large proportion of his, the litany, and most of the collects. It is interesting to observe, that then in England, as now in the islands of the Pacific, the desire to communicate the gospel followed close upon the reception of it, and that the country, which now sets the example of missionary ardour, was then the centre, from which religion spread to the neighbouring nations, and to the original home of its inhabitants. Nor were Rumbold, and Boniface, and the other converts of Augustine and his successors the only missionaries that our island then produced. Long before their arrival, while the states of the Heptarchy were still sacrificing to Thor and Woden, Christianity in the north had broken the moral gloom; and an isle in the stormy Hebrides afforded a secure asylum to piety and learning. Columba, an Irish saint, the founder of that monastery, derived his faith not from Rome, but from the east; and the members of his community preceded the Saxon

missionaries in these labours of love among the pagans of Germany and Switzerland. The spiritual conquests of some of these may still be traced : one of them in particular, whose name has been merged in that of his nation, is commemorated by the Abbey of St. Gall, which became an Iona to Germany, being for some centuries the chief seat of education, and the birth-place of German poetry ; and memorable moreover for the preservation of Latin classics, several of which were first published from manuscripts in its library. 'It was an age of missionaries : their character and success form indeed almost the only shining picture in these dark centuries :' and it deserves to be noticed, in evidence of the fulfilment of the promise that the gates of hell shall never prevail against the church, that it was reclaiming the north of Europe from idolatry, at the very time that Mahometanism was trampling upon Christianity in its cradle, and had nearly exterminated it in the country of Cyprian and Augustine. The monasteries that now rapidly arose, and which, like the Roman colonies, consolidated the conquests that had been achieved, must not be hastily condemned, as the retreats of indolence or sensuality, as protestants, judging from their abuse in a subsequent age, are forward to pronounce them. On the contrary they are to be regarded with respect, like the Moravian settlements of Greenland and the Cape, as the home of the arts and sciences then known, which sent forth their inmates to clear the forest, to cultivate the soil, and to proclaim the gospel to all within their reach, before the formation of parishes and the establishment of a resident clergy superseded their itinerant services.

The lives of these missionaries, though abounding in incredible anecdotes, are among our best materials for the early history of modern Europe : and much curious information may be gleaned from the extant writings of some of them. While however the Eliots and Brainerds of Britain, the Ziegenbalgs and Swartzes of Germany, and the Xaviers of the Roman catholics are held up, as models for imitation, by their respective communities, the names of Boniface, Augustine, and others, to whom the very churches, now most active in the missionary cause, owe their own existence, are scarcely thought of by any ; and some protestants, like Mosheim, are so prejudiced, that the connexion of those respected names with the see of Rome cancels in their estimation all their claim upon our gratitude. With more honesty and in a more Christian tone does our English historian of the church acknowledge their merit. "These efforts had their blemishes, which have been malignantly insisted on, and even exaggerated

by modern writers. Defective however as these efforts were, they form the principal glory of those times; and they appear to have been attended with the effusion of the divine spirit, the genuine conversion of numbers, and the improvement of human society." (Milner, Vol. iii. p. 264.) But such scenes, however attractive, must not detain us from missions of more recent date; neither can we stop to notice the preaching of the Franciscan friars in Tartary in the fourteenth century, which from their translating the New Testament into the language of the country, appears to have been of a more Christian character than those of the Abbé Dubois, in the nineteenth. We proceed at once to that memorable era, which both discovered a new world in the west, and, by doubling the Cape, opened the populous regions of the east; and, while it presented in either hemisphere a vast field for missionaries, was at the same time purifying the faith from error over at least a third of the old continent.

But the triumphs of genuine Christianity in these newly discovered countries were reserved for a later age: for, when the intrepid Saxon reformer broke the trammels of Rome, and the reformation, advancing even into Spain and Italy, threatened the demolition of the papacy, the victories of Spain and Portugal were extending its dominion in India and America, and the founder of the Jesuits was unconsciously preparing for the Roman pontiff his most devoted and ablest emissaries both at home and abroad. Among these in priority of time, in celebrity, and, if we may trust the suspicious testimony of his biographers, in success, stands preeminent Francis Xavier. The conversion of heathens was one of the ends proposed by Loyola in the institution of his celebrated order; and it had scarcely been sanctioned by a papal bull, when Xavier, his friend and one of his original disciples, embarked, on the invitation of the king of Portugal, for his new territories in the east, where he landed in 1522, only ten years after the conquest of Goa.

"He traversed several provinces of India, and is said to have made many thousand converts, at a period when the prejudices of the natives against the Christian religion were far from reaching the height they have since attained. The caste of fishermen at Cape Comorin, who are all Christians, still pride themselves on being the offspring of the first proselytes, made by that Apostle. Xavier soon discovered in the manners and prejudices of the natives an insurmountable bar to the progress of Christianity among them. At last, entirely disheartened by the invincible obstacles he every where met with in his apostolic career, he left the country in disgust, after a stay of only two or three years, and embarked for Japan, where his spiritual labours

were crowned with far greater success, and laid the foundation of those once numerous and flourishing congregations of Japanese Christians, who within a period of less than a century, amounted to more than a million of souls." (Dubois, p. 3.)

The accounts, however, of Xavier's success will no more bear a critical examination than his reputed miracles. He has been described as another Alexander, surpassing that conqueror no less in the rapidity and extent, than in the merit of his victories. But his own letters, which describe the same obstacles, arising from the language, that other missionaries have to encounter, and have no allusion to miraculous assistance, confute the flourishes of his biographers. He may have laid the foundation of the Japanese church, but he did little more; for he soon left that country as well as India in disgust; and China he did not even enter; for he died within sight of that empire, after ten years devoted to the noblest cause, in which a man can labor or die. The island of Sancian, in which he breathed his last, has become holy ground, and here succeeding missionaries have honored his memory with an homage due to God alone. His remains were transferred to Goa; where in a land of idolatry he is himself an object of worship; and that worship is sanctioned by a Pope, who has placed India under his protection.

Xavier's endeavours were desultory and solitary. Later ones were more systematic. The other religious orders came forward; and a closer intercourse was kept up with Europe. A new era in missions may be dated from the foundation of the college of the Propaganda, a magnificent Institution, which originated with Pope Gregory XV. in 1622, and which combines the functions of our Missionary, Bible, and Religious Tract Societies. Grammars, and Catechisms, and even portions of the Scripture, in the languages of the remotest nations, have issued from its press; it instructs priests who are to undertake missions, and educates natives of the several countries, whom it afterwards sends out as catechists. Similar foundations were formed in France; and they seem indeed indispensable to give effect to missionary zeal, and to ensure an unity of design. A feeble and short-lived protestant copy of them was exhibited in Holland, by Walæus: and the plan is strongly recommended by the present Dean of Salisbury, in his Buchanan prize-dissertation, on the means of propagating Christianity. Some at least of these objects were comprehended in Dr. Buchanan's projected Christian Institution; and all (we trust) will be gained in due time, in the Bishop's College at Calcutta, which will open a home to the missionary, where he may gradually accommodate himself to the climate and

manners of India, and grow perfect in the attainments, which are necessary for the accomplishment of his high purpose. The Church Missionary Society is also pursuing the same objects in its projected Seminary at Islington ; where, indeed, they may be prosecuted with more advantage (it is presumed) in some respects than either in our Universities, or under private tuition.

The earlier history of the Indian mission we will state in the words of our Author, lest by giving them upon Protestant authority, we should be suspected of misrepresentation. Unlike the apostle of the Gentiles, who declared himself not ashamed of the cross of Christ, but ready to preach it even in Rome, the Jesuits

“announced themselves as European Brahmins come from a distance of five thousand leagues from the western parts of the Djamboody, for the double purpose of imparting and receiving knowledge from their brother Brahmins in India. After announcing themselves as Brahmins, they made it their study to imitate that tribe : they put on a Hindoo dress of yellow colour, the same as that used by the Indian religious teachers and penitents ; they made frequent ablutions, whenever they shewed themselves in public, they applied to their foreheads paste, made of sandal wood, as used by the Brahmins ; they scrupulously abstained from every kind of animal food, as well as from intoxicating liquors.” (Dubois, pp. 5, 6.)

We are even informed by Jouvenci, himself a Jesuit, and writing the history of his own order, that Robert de Nobili, the founder of this inland mission of Madura, forged a parchment, declaratory of his own descent from Brahma, and swore to its truth ; and the perjury is applauded by the historian as a pious fraud.

This mission (we are told in the edifying letters) surpasses all others. Each missionary baptized at least a thousand converts a year : and yet baptism was not granted without an accurate examination, and four months' previous instruction. The system itself however, to which they were converted, readily amalgamated with idolatry, and (there is reason to fear) exhibited little more than the form of Christianity. Its peculiar doctrines were so modified and distorted as to excite the indignation of many members of their own church, who would have tolerated and even approved of much, that would disgust us, as superstitious, not to say idolatrous. The friars of other orders at Goa and Pondicherry remonstrated, and preferred complaints against them in Rome, as having rather become converts themselves to Hindooism, than converted the Hindoos to Christianity. The bull of Benedict XIV. in 1744, declaring it unlawful to propagate the faith by fraud and artifice, put an end to this particular mission : and in others

“ what the Jesuits had foreseen happened : a stop was put to conversions ; and the Christian religion began to become odious to the Hindoos, on account of its intolerance. At that very time happened the European invasion, and the bloody contests for dominion between the English and the French. The Europeans, till then almost entirely unknown to the natives in the interior, introduced themselves into every part of the country. The Hindoos soon found that those Missionaries, whom their colour, their talents, and other qualities, had induced them to regard as such extraordinary beings, as men coming from another world, were in fact nothing else but disguised Europeans, and that their country, religion, and original education were the same with those of the vile, the contemptible *Fringy* (Europeans), who had of late invaded their country. This event proved the last blow to the interests of the Christian religion.” (Dubois, p. 11.)

We may add, that it should serve as a warning to all future missionaries, against that temporizing and short-sighted craft, the counterfeit of true wisdom, which would keep out of sight the characteristic tenets of the faith, and which, though it may deceive at first with the semblance of success, ends in ruin and exposure. Nominal converts may indeed thus be easily attained. But why should men cross the sea, and tear themselves from home and friends, and the enjoyments of civilized life, merely to substitute one set of ceremonies for another? Converts of this description may impose upon patrons at home. But they are no better than Pagans in disguise. They have but exchanged the image of Vishnoo for those of the Virgin and some favorite Saint, and are only distinguished from other natives by the use of a Latin service unintelligible to them, and the sign of the cross. “ The ordinary pomp and pageantry which attend the Catholic worship are deemed insufficient, and are accordingly encumbered with an additional superstructure of outward show, which differs little from that prevailing among the Gentiles.”

The ecclesiastical establishment of the Portuguese consists nominally of the Archbishopsrics of Goa and Cranganore, and the bishopsrics of St. Thomas near Madras, and Cochin : but the first see alone is filled ; and the others are at present governed by Vicars Apostolic. They claim the exclusive management of the spiritual concerns of India : notwithstanding which, the Pope appoints Bishops in partibus, who are under the immediate control of the Propaganda. These are three, and are settled at Bombay, Verapoli near Cochin, and Pondicherry, and superintend a small body of missionaries, at present all old and infirm, so that the missions are threatened with a speedy extinction. Under the jurisdiction of the Vicar Apostolic of Bombay are 12,000 individuals, chiefly half-castes, under that of Pondicherry about 35,000, and under that of Verapoli not less than 120,000 ; but this includes those Syrian

Christians that conform, and is the only one, in which converts are still made. Besides these the Capuchins of Italy have a mission of about 10,000 at Madras, and a few chapels in the upper provinces of Hindoostan; and in emulation of the fathers of their order in ancient time, they have penetrated into Nepal and Thibet, but with little success. The Abbé informs us, that scarcely a proselyte has been made by any of these missionaries for sixty years, and that what Christians they have under their care are hereditary ones, the descendants of the original converts. He estimates the whole body of Roman Catholics in India, both of Portuguese and of native origin, at less than half a million.

From this expiring mission we pass on to the next in order of time, which has long ceased to exist, but which reflects far more credit upon its conductors: for, with whatever alloy Christianity may have been there debased, its peculiar doctrines were sufficiently exhibited to recommend them to the hearts of the Japanese, who remained faithful unto death in successive persecutions; and their European instructors encouraged them to endure martyrdom by their example.

Marco Polo had brought into Europe a vague report of the existence of Japan, and so contributed indirectly to the splendid discovery of Columbus. But the first, who landed there, were some Portuguese sailors, bound for China, who were driven out of their course by a storm. This led to a commercial intercourse: and in 1549, only seven years after the discovery, a young Japanese, who had fled to Goa, and had been baptized there, excited in the merchants a hope of profit, and in the Jesuits of propagating religion. Both considerations determined the Government to establish a factory there; and, to effect this, the Japanese was sent back in a Portuguese ship, and was accompanied by Xavier, and other missionaries. They found no obstacles to the undertaking in the local authorities; and their own settlement at Macao, not to speak of the Spanish colony of Manilla, facilitated both objects, by furnishing them alike with articles of trade and with priests. To the missionary the prospect was at first less promising than to the trader, which is ascribed by Kaempfer, the Protestant historian of Japan, to the necessity of conveying their meaning through unskilful interpreters: but as soon as this impediment was overcome by the diligence of the Jesuits, their success far exceeded their own expectation. Even the petty princes of the Province, in which they labored, embraced their religion, and sent some of their nearest relatives to pay homage to the reigning Pope, and to assure him of their filial submission. An embassy of so extraordinary a character,

and from so vast a distance, had a tendency to exalt both the Pontiff and the Jesuits in the estimation of Europe, no less than to impress the ambassadors with reverence for him, whom they were taught to consider, as the common father of Christendom. The era was well chosen for making a favorable impression upon these strangers. Lisbon, where they landed, as well as Goa at that time, together with the other dominions of Portugal, acknowledged the authority of Philip the second; and Rome and the other cities of Italy, which they visited, were then in their most flourishing state. Thuanus has considered this embassy, as worthy of his notice; and the Jesuits recorded a memorial of it in Japanese, as well as in Latin, which they drew up in a dialogue between the ambassadors and two of their countrymen, and made it a description of the manners and customs of Japan as well as of Europe.

The example of these princes was rapidly followed, not by their subjects alone, but throughout the empire: new missionaries hastened from Goa and Macao, to assist in the work, while still more effectual ones were formed by the Jesuits in the country itself, out of their converts. But, while Christianity was thus spreading, the jealousy of the Government was awakened. The Emperor proscribed it; the churches were closed; and persecution raged. But in this, as in former instances, the old remark was verified, that the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church. Even the son of this very Emperor, to whom, as a child, he left the sceptre, is said to have been afterwards a convert, with the greater part of his Court.

In 1616, however, he was dethroned by his guardian Jiojas, the founder of the family that still reigns; who conceived, that he should best secure possession of a station, to which he had no title, by hostility to a foreign religion. An edict accordingly was issued, which ordered the foreign priests out of the country, forbade the introduction of any more, and commanded, under pain of crucifixion, the Japanese, who had embraced Christianity, to renounce it. Jiojas however found it a harder task to force the conscience than to seize the throne: his own death soon followed; and his object was not accomplished till about twenty years after, when the persecution ceased for want of victims. More (it is reported) than thirty thousand, the last remains of the Christians, had shut themselves up in despair, in the castle of Simabara, which after a blockade of three months was taken by the grandson of this Usurper. The singular expedient of providing for the internal peace of the country by shutting it

up, as it is called, (that is, by breaking off all intercourse with foreigners,) which had been resolved on by the first persecuting Emperor, was now acted upon, and has ever since been rigorously enforced.

When the missionaries were commanded to depart, the traders were still suffered to remain, but under the most irksome restraints: for they were confined to Desima, an island in the harbour of Nagasaki, not more than six hundred feet long, which was actually made for their reception. Their conspiracy however against the Emperor soon banished them altogether. A letter to the King of Portugal from a Japanese Christian, in which the whole plot was detailed, was found by the Dutch on board a Portuguese vessel which they captured; it was communicated to the Governor of Nagasaki; and upon the Dutch engaging to supply Japan with the European articles required, both the Portuguese and the produce of their country were proscribed. They of course made every effort to retain so lucrative a trade. But the determination was irrevocable; and, when in the following year ambassadors were sent from Macao with a splendid retinue, the Emperor caused them all to be beheaded, except twelve of the lowest rank, who were dismissed with an insulting message, that he would serve the King himself in the same manner if he should presume to enter his dominions. So inveterate is the hatred they bear both to Christianity and to Portugal, that an attempt of our country to trade with them in the reign of Charles II. was frustrated by his marriage with a Princess of that country, and even the British flag was viewed with an unfriendly eye on account of the Cross. The Dutch have been blamed for betraying the Portuguese to the Japanese Government, and with far more reason for consenting to assist with one of their ships then lying in the harbour in the siege of Simabara. Their obsequiousness however did not gain for them the advantages they expected: their privileges were not extended, but contracted; and on the expulsion of the Portuguese, their own factory was taken from them, and they were shut up in their prison, as it may well be called, (for it is enclosed with palisades and strictly guarded,) where they are exposed to constant imposition and vexation, forced to pay for it an exorbitant rent, and forbidden, even within these limits, the open exercise of their religion. The same horror of Christianity led the Emperor to subject the Chinese to similar restrictions, the favour, in which the Jesuits then were at the court of Peking, having alarmed him, and some of their Chinese tracts having been secretly imported. Still notwithstanding these extraordinary precautions the name

and form of Christianity has survived ; and we may hope, that, whenever Providence shall be pleased to open Japan to our missionaries, there are many, who, though scarcely knowing why they cherish an attachment to it, will be ready to welcome its preachers, and to listen to their instructions. Such at least there were above a century ago, when Kaempfer was physician to the Dutch factory, who saw fifty persons confined for life in the prison, because they would not renounce their religion ; and they had friends at large, who provided them with clothing.

The Chinese mission has thrown the rest into comparative obscurity : nor is this extraordinary ; for the vast extent, the dense population, and the peculiarity in literature and manners of the “ celestial empire,” as it is boastfully entitled, naturally fixes our attention ; and its vicissitudes of persecution and imperial favour, the scientific attainments of the missionaries, and their consequent influence and success, their learned publications, and above all the discussions respecting the ceremonies, which they permitted their converts to retain, and which shook their credit both in China and in Europe, confer on it an additional interest. The same jealousy of strangers, which now shackles commercial intercourse with China, prevailed at least as strongly, when Xavier aspired to be its Apostle. In vain did his countrymen urge the probability of perpetual confinement. He was not to be shaken from his purpose, not that he disbelieved their representations ; for in a letter to a friend, whom he hoped to meet there, he expresses his expectation, that it will be in a dungeon : but with that termination of his career in view, he declares, that he wished for nothing more than to be set down at the gates of Canton ; and he had actually bribed a native to land him there.

The wish, as we have seen, was not gratified ; and the formation of the Chinese mission was an honour reserved for Ricci, an Italian Jesuit, who had studied mathematics at Rome under Clavius. His zeal had previously been tried by a long delay : but the time had been profitably employed at the Portuguese settlement of Macao, where he perfected himself in the necessary preparatory studies. At last, thirty years after Xavier’s death, the covetousness of the Governor of the province of Canton procured him admission into China ; and in a residence of seven years, he had collected a small congregation, when the appointment of a new Viceroy led to his removal to another city. Here too he was successful, and through one of his converts, a wealthy merchant, was the means of introducing Christianity into the important

city of Nankin. But nothing less than its introduction into Pekin itself would satisfy him; and in the end, this triumph rewarded the toils and privations of twenty years. When however his most sanguine hopes promised to be realized, a storm arose, not from a quarter from which it might be expected, but from an individual, who ought to have sacrificed his personal feelings to the cause of the common faith. The Vicar General of Macao resented the decision of the Rector of the Jesuits in a dispute between himself and a Franciscan friar, and determined to ruin the order, reckless in his passion of the risk of extirpating Christianity, which had been so lately planted. He declared to the Chinese, that the Jesuits were plotting against the state, and even aspired to place one of their own body upon the throne. His intelligence was communicated, as he expected, to Canton; the panic spread; and a missionary there fell a victim to it; for he was bastinadoed, till he expired. Happily the rumour did not reach the capital, or it might have extinguished this infant mission. The founder of it was removed by a natural death in his fifty-eighth year, twenty-seven of which he had passed in China.

Three years after this event the first persecution arose; and the missionaries retired to Macao, leaving their house and burying-ground to the care of a native disciple. The Tartar invasion, which threatened the metropolis, was overruled to effect their recal. Siu, a mandarin of the highest rank, and a zealous Christian, recommended in this crisis, that the Emperor should call in the assistance of the Portuguese, who better understood the management of artillery than his subjects, and proposed also, that, to conciliate these allies, the missionaries should be invited to return. The expulsion of the invaders was the result of Siu's advice, and was most favorable to the mission, which in a few years was strengthened by the arrival of Father Schaal, a German, who rivalled Ricci in mathematical science. A rebellion soon after broke out; and the Emperor, besieged in Pekin, destroyed himself. The Tartars, who had been called in by his party, performed the stipulated service of quelling the insurgents, but recompensed themselves by keeping possession of the Empire. Their chief expired in the hour of victory: but his army raised his son, who was a child, to the throne; and, though several attempts were made to restore the Chinese line, his uncle repressed them all, and put him at fourteen years of age in quiet possession of despotic sovereignty.

This revolution promoted the cause of Christianity. Schaal won the affections of the young monarch, who frequently visit-

ed him, an honour never granted to a subject; and he transferred to him the superintendence of the tribunal of mathematics, which had been under the direction of Mahometans for three centuries. He permitted the churches in the provinces, which had been destroyed during the troubles, to be restored, and two new ones to be erected in Peking; fourteen fresh missionaries were honorably received; many conversions took place; and the Jesuits were sanguine enough to hope for that of the Sovereign himself. He read their books, and admired the purity of Christian morality; but, like other infidels, the sublime doctrines, from which it derives its sanctions and its motives, and which alone can constrain men to embody in their conduct its precepts, were to him unhappily foolishness. The influence of the Bonzes and a criminal attachment to a married lady proved insurmountable impediments. He endured Schaal's faithful remonstrances. "I pardon," he said, "your reproaches, because I know, that you love me." He even sent for him during his last illness. But the missionary, though treated by him with his usual condescension, had the mortification of seeing him die a heathen. He named, as his successor, his second son, Kang-hi, then only eight years old; who was afterwards distinguished, both as an author and a conqueror, and during a reign of half a century, was the friend and patron of missionaries,—but not of missions; for his patronage, as they themselves allow, arose not from any secret predilection for Christianity, but out of his passion for the arts and sciences, which they were careful to gratify. During his minority Schaal had been thrown into prison, upon a charge of high treason, and condemned to die, or, according to the Chinese law-phrase, to be cut into ten thousand pieces: but before the day of execution arrived, the Queen mother's influence had effected a favorable change, and the venerable missionary was released, and restored to his flock. At his advanced age however, his long and rigorous confinement equally answered the purpose of his enemies; for he died soon after his liberation.

Verbiest succeeded him in the superintendence of the Board of Mathematics, and in no long time stood as high in Kang-hi's favour, as Schaal had ever done in that of his father. Nor did Verbiest merely amuse Kang-hi with philosophical experiments, or astronomical observations: he rendered him essential service in his military operations, by casting cannon; a singular employment (it must be confessed) for a minister of the gospel, which even in that age did not escape reprehension, both in Italy and Spain. But in candour we ought to observe, that it was forced upon him

by the Emperor, and that he ventured in the first instance to refuse. Having once begun however, he proceeded with spirit. In the first year he cast 132, and soon after 320 more, and published a treatise both on the founding and use of artillery. A papal brief was issued, highly applauding the measure, as likely to promote the national conversion, and exhorting him to persevere in it; and he satisfied any scruple of conscience he might entertain, by consecrating these engines of destruction, and dedicating each to a Saint. Verbiest was the frequent companion of the Emperor, and attended him on his journeys into Tartary; a circumstance to which we owe his grammar of the language, and our improved geography of that extensive country.

Nor was he, amid these scientific occupations, forgetful of the cause, for the sake of which he had visited China. The promotion of the mission was still the object nearest to his heart; and he availed himself of his imperial pupil's favour (for such he was in science), to write home, that new and younger missionaries might be sent to enter upon his labours, and to reap, where he had sown. One of these pressing letters interested Lewis the 14th in the missionary cause, and led to that royal patronage, which only ceased with the existence of the throne. Its immediate effect was to strengthen the mission with six French Jesuits, who were selected on account of their mathematical attainments. They landed in the province of a Viceroy, unfavorable to their object, who endeavored to frustrate it by writing for instructions to the tribunal of rites. But the Emperor's answer was decisive:—"It is not men of this description that ought to be driven out of my states. Let them all come to my court! The mathematicians shall stay with me. The others may settle, where they please." They came accordingly, and were honorably received: but they had not the satisfaction of seeing Verbiest; for he only lived to hear of their landing. He was honored with a public funeral, and the Emperor himself composed a brief eulogium of the deceased, which was carried in the procession.

The new missionaries also ingratiated themselves with Kang-hi, and became his teachers in European science. Still, though enjoying his personal favour, they were only legally tolerated; the edict which rescinded Schaal's sentence, and authorized their own public profession of their religion, forbade their making proselytes; and although this clause was generally overlooked, and their preaching connived at, it was always in a Viceroy's power to enforce the law within his government. Their converts there-

fore beyond the metropolis were never secure from persecution: and they were anxious to obtain for them the privileges which they enjoyed themselves. Their petition was not only supported, but, if we may credit their account, actually drawn up for them by the Emperor; notwithstanding which the tribunal of rites rejected it: but in the end their perseverance prevailed; and an edict appeared, granting to the Chinese entire liberty of conscience. This was followed by the Emperor's recovery from an alarming fever: which completed their triumph; for he had trusted himself to their care, and they cured him by administering the Peruvian bark, a specific which then was only beginning to be used in Europe, and which was called after their order, as they had imported it from the new world. He marked his gratitude by a grant of ground within the precincts of the palace, and not only permitted them to erect upon it a church, but even contributed to the building.

Their fondest wishes seemed now about to be realized, when another proof was afforded of a remark, too often verified, that in seasons of external peace the church is harrassed and weakened by schisms within. The Dominicans and Franciscans, who had likewise missions in China, had long objected to the methods, practised by the Jesuits in keeping back unpalatable truths, and tolerating idolatrous ceremonies. Perhaps, they might be actuated in part by envy. Yet it must be observed, that some even of their own order remonstrated against their proceedings; and, when the cause was referred to Rome for decision, it was determined against them. The Jesuits, pliant and bending to gain a point, were not disposed to submit even to papal authority, when it thwarted their schemes. They contrived to protract the discussion. A brief, explanatory of the former, and upon which a more favorable meaning could be put, was granted; a legate was twice sent over to investigate the subject upon the spot, and Kang-hi himself was prevailed upon to engage in the discussion, who gave it as his opinion, that the homage, paid to the memory of Confucius, and to the portraits of their ancestors by the Chinese, was not of a religious nature.

The following remarks from Dr. Milne's '*Retrospect of the Protestant Mission to China*,' a work printed at Malacca, at the Anglo-Chinese College, and probably little known in Europe, are so just and written in so catholic a spirit, in the proper meaning of the term, that we are tempted to transcribe them:—"The high tone, assumed by a legate from Rome, the imperious conduct of individual missionaries in

high ecclesiastical stations, and the inflexible firmness, (some have called it obstinacy,) of the greater part, who were neither intimidated by the thunders of the Vatican, nor softened by the intreaties of the friends of truth, nor moved from their purpose by the pacific counsels of moderate pagans,—these things tended to lower their religion and its ministers, in the estimation of the Chinese; and the introduction of separate and contending interests divided the missionaries among themselves, so that instead of exhausting their whole time, strength, and talents in the service of the heathen, a very considerable portion of these was thrown away in defending the claims, defining the peculiarities, and in supporting the pre-eminence of the several monastic orders, under the banners of which they had enlisted. These remarks are not made for the sake of passing any gratuitous and oblique reflections on the Catholic missions in China, but with the view of exciting, by an example in point, the most watchful caution against similar evils amongst modern laborers. For although among Protestant missionaries these evils may not flow from exactly the same causes, or attain the same notoriety, yet they may arise from numberless other causes, and the consequences will be equally dangerous, yea, perhaps more so; for the power of numbers, the influence of wealth, the patronage of Christian kings, the attractions of a showy worship, and the high scientific attainments of some individual Catholic missionaries, might keep their cause still breathing, where ours, supported by few such visible and tangible aids, would be laid in its grave.”

The discussion of these Chinese ceremonies had lasted near twenty years, when Kang-hi unexpectedly expired. His death was a fatal and irrecoverable blow: it was the signal for pouring in petitions against the missionaries to the new Sovereign, who was by no means well-disposed towards them, and who told them that his father had lost much of his reputation in the opinion of the literati, by permitting them to settle in his dominions. The subject was referred to the tribunal of rites, but under very different circumstances from the former; and the determination, as might be anticipated, was against them. The Europeans at court were permitted to remain for the sake of their services in calculating the calendar, but the rest were removed to Canton. The Jesuits of Pekin memorialized the Emperor and the tribunal; but instead of obtaining a mitigation of the sentence, the missionaries who had been sent to Canton, were banished from the empire; and before their departure they had a painful proof of the irreconcilable enmity of the Sove-

reign, in his condemning to perpetual exile in Tartary a branch of the Imperial Family, for no other offence than the profession of the proscribed religion.

The churches, stated by Duhalde at no less than three hundred, were demolished ; and 300,000 Christians were left without a pastor. The missionaries, who still arrive, often wait at Macao for years, before they can elude the watchfulness of the Chinese, and reach their congregations ; and when they join them, their ministry, which is laborious and exercised in a clandestine manner, is continually in danger of a premature termination by martyrdom.

The continuation of the edifying letters informs us of several persecutions ; and Dr. Milne mentions an edict against Christianity, which was issued as late as 1814, drawn up in harsher language than any former one, and denouncing them as worse than the white water-lily sect, which had rebelled several times during the late and present reign. Still there are intervals of peace ; and an increase of converts is reported in the last accounts, especially in the mission of Setchuen, where the number of believers, which in 1785 did not exceed 24,000, is stated in 1809 at 60,000. In the metropolis the missionaries have four houses : one belongs to the Propaganda ; and those of the Portuguese and French Jesuits have been transferred to the Lazarists of these nations. The Portuguese have three bishops, and there are three Vicars Apostolic in the provinces of Fokien, Setchuen, and Chensi. The college of St. Joseph at Macao, founded by the Jesuits, still supplies the missions with native priests, of whom there were 231 in 1810, in China and the Indo-Chinese states. The European missionaries were at one period forty-three, and the whole number of native Christians was estimated at 585,000.

Our limits will not permit us to touch upon the countries that lie between China and Bengal. But were we to record the success which encouraged the Jesuits on their settlement in Siam, Tonquin, and Cochin-China, the royal patronage, the subsequent persecutions, and present condition of these missions, our narrative might almost pass for a repetition of the events that occurred in China. Nor would the extension of our survey to America enable us to present a more favorable view. It is well known, that in the interior of Paraguay the Jesuits, left to their own discretion, and uncontrolled by Spain and Portugal, preserved, till their suppression, a despotic, yet happy Christian community. Their Utopia was more rational than the happy villages, recommended by the visionary philanthropist of New Lanark, because founded upon

the basis of religion: yet their scheme was liable to objections, because instead of developing the faculties of the Indians, and training them in habits of virtue, its tendency was to keep them all their lives in an intellectual and spiritual minority. The feeble efforts of the other orders need not detain us; and as to the French missionaries among the wandering tribes of the north, their success will bear no comparison with that of the English Puritans.

But we must conclude. Indeed for our prolixity hitherto, the celebrity of these missions must plead our excuse: and since in all of them a promising beginning has ended in disappointment, we must trespass a little further on the patience of the reader while we rebut the objection, which the indolent and the sceptic may draw from our sketch, namely, that missionary attempts are chimerical. We grant, that it may be argued with plausibility, that, where so much talent, ingenuity, patient perseverance, and self-denying privation, and that during so long a season, have been bestowed in vain, the soil is incapable of cultivation; nor can we wonder at the Abbé's desponding tone, since, were we of his communion, and could we recognise in the creed, which he and his predecessors have so long, and (we doubt not) so honestly inculcated, the features of genuine Christianity, we too should be tempted to think that the experiment had failed, not in India alone, but in all the countries that have been mentioned. But the failure, which to a Roman catholic is so perplexing, springs from a cause, on which, as protestants, we build not merely a hope, but our firm and immovable conviction, that the promise of Him, that is immutable, shall be fulfilled in its season, and that the worshippers of Budhu and Brahma, "shall cast their idols to the moles and to the bats," and that India, Japan, and China, and indeed all the kingdoms of the world, shall be converted, not to the corrupted form of Christianity, which Jesuits have exhibited to them, but to a pure, enlightening, and sanctifying faith. We know from the word of truth that the genuine gospel is able to demolish all the strong holds which ancient superstition or reasoning pride can cast up, and that it can reduce to the obedience of Christ the thoughts of every heart, of that of the philosopher as well as of the savage, of the deist no less than the idolater. Nor is its triumph over human prejudices and passions and interests confined to the page of history: our own times corroborate the testimony of past ages, and the advocate of missionary exertion may silence the scoffer and the incredulous, by an appeal to Greenlanders and Hottentots, Negroes, Otaheiteans, and Burmans, as living evidence of the assertion. Why then should

we despair of the conversion of the Chinese or the Hindoo? It is true that we have recorded abortive efforts. But in our opinion they were abortive, because they were not carried on in the proper spirit. It is true, that we have in the Abbé Dubois a missionary declaring the conversion of the Hindoos impracticable. But it would better have become him to suspect his own qualifications and the means he has employed, than to hazard an opinion which, as far as he can influence, must put an end to the attempt altogether.

Of these means we hear little: but the book, which ought to be his guide, (we know) is carefully excluded; and there seems reason to apprehend, that he has kept back or frittered away its doctrines, for fear of giving offence. At least he seems to approve of the advice given him by a congregation of native Christians, not to discourse to a mixed assembly upon the humble origin of the Saviour and his apostles, and informs us, that in accommodation to the Hindoo prejudice against fermented liquors, when he has occasion to speak of the Lord's supper, he substitutes for the word answering to wine, the phrase—the pure juice of the grape! But it is time, that we should allow Mr. Hough, who, as chaplain to the East India Company, speaks from personal knowledge, to bear his testimony to the hollow system on which Roman catholic missions are conducted. His work is well arranged and fitted to throw light on a subject, which the Abbé has darkened. But we can only afford room for the following extracts, as making for our present purpose.

“If the design be to recover the soul from the dominion of the senses, to purify the heart and correct the actions—in a word, *to make true Christians*—then we deny that the Jesuits have reason to entertain the faintest hope of witnessing such a result from their exertions; they make little or no effort to raise their proselytes from the degraded condition in which they find them. I once asked a priest, on the Coromandel coast, by what scriptural authority they performed the ceremony of the Rutt,* and other idolatrous customs. He replied, ‘There is no authority for it in scripture: *but if you come among dogs, you must do as dogs do!*’ It was in vain that I endeavored to convince him, that it was the Christian minister's duty to exalt his flock, if possible, to the character of men and Christians; and not to degrade himself to a level with their base condition. This doctrine did not accord with his policy and secular interests.

“The Roman catholics in India, where they can afford it, celebrate the great festivals of the church by a theatrical representation of the

* A vehicle resembling Juggernaut's car, used at all the principal Pagodas in India. The Roman Catholics place upon it the image of the Virgin Mary; and draw it round the church in the same manner as the Hindoos drag their idols round their temples.

event commemorated: this is followed by an exhibition of fire-works, accompanied by repeated shouts and the barbarous music of the Indians, as at the Hindoo festivals, which is often continued through the night. As far as my observation has extended, I have never witnessed any attempt, on the part of the Roman catholic missionaries, to improve the character of their converts. They change their idols indeed; substituting the crucifix and the images of the Virgin, Peter, Thomas, Sebastian, and other Saints, for the Lingum, Maha Deva, &c. &c.; but they leave them at heart as they found them. No wonder, then, that their character is as bad as the Abbé Dubois describes them. Indeed, it would be matter of surprise if he *could* find 'a true Christian' among proselytes made by such means."

"After all, however, if we inquire into the expedients used by the Roman-Catholic missionaries to *preserve* Christianity among their converts, its decline will be found to have arisen more from their own negligence, than from any other cause: for it requires as much care, if not more, to cherish a love and reverence for the gospel, as to produce it. They withhold from their converts the word of God. This is the charter of our faith and privileges, the only 'lamp to our feet, and light to our paths,' to guide us, through the darkness, and across the devious ways of ignorance and vice, to the kingdom of glory. For this infallible guide, they substitute images, pictures, and unintelligible ceremonies. M. Dubois denies 'that the reading of the Holy Scriptures is forbidden to catholics:' (P. 27.) I will only reply, that I frequently offered to supply them, through their priests, with the New Testament; but have never been permitted. I have often left a Testament with the catechist of the Roman-Catholic church in the interior, which the priest has afterwards ordered to be returned. I have never heard of a translation of the scriptures by the Jesuits into any of the Indian languages; nor have I ever seen a New Testament in the possession of even one of their Catechists, unless it were one that he had received privately from some protestant missionary, and which he kept carefully concealed from the priest. A Tamul book, written by a Roman-Catholic priest, was once brought to me to answer. The author defends the worship of images, upon the plea, that images, and pictures, are books for the illiterate. All question, then, about the corruption of Christianity by the papists apart, had the Almighty prospered the labours of the Jesuits in India, He would, contrary to His avowed determination, have given his glory to another, and His praise to graven images." (Pp. 82—98.)

Without entering therefore into further particulars, our readers will at once see an important distinction between popish and protestant missions. The one are founded on the bible; they are accompanied with the bible; and they make their appeal to the bible alone for support. The other rely on images and pictures, as books for the illiterate, and aim only to substitute one form of implicit belief and superstitious worship for another. These, avowedly and on principle, disguise and adulterate the truths, which they hold, in order to make a

compromise with error, and gain the suffrages of men, who are still heathens at heart and in practice. The protestant missionary on the other hand, if true to his own principles, may adopt the honest profession of the Apostle—"We are not, as many, which corrupt the word of God: but as of sincerity, but as of God, in the sight of God, speak we in Christ."

Surely then, if this be, as we have the authority of their own writers for saying it is, the character of Roman catholic missions, we are justified in asserting, that, although their Asiatic missions are as ancient as the middle of the sixteenth century, the true experiment of missionary labour is now only beginning to be tried; for to come in the disguise of Brahmins from a distant country, softening down the scandal of the cross, till the spirit of religion evaporates, leaving only a *caput mortuum*, is not to come, as a missionary of Christ; nor can the minister who is ashamed of the doctrine in which that model of missionaries, St. Paul, gloried, expect his master's blessing. Conversions under such a system may be multiplied almost at will; for, as some of the Jesuits have had the honesty to own, it is only the substitution of one kind of ceremonies and pageantry for another.

Dr. Milne, who has perused several of their works in Chinese, informs us in his *Retrospect*, that "the doctrines, which these writings communicate, are mostly such as were propagated in Europe, in what Protestants call the *darkest* periods of the church. Here and there a beautiful sentiment, well expressed, and supported by appropriate quotations from the Latin Fathers, occurs; but often in close connexion therewith, some traditional absurdity, which disgusts reason and common sense, meets the reader's eye; and their ritual has certainly lost nothing, by being transported to the East. The isolated rays of scripture-light, passing through so thick and clouded an atmosphere, must have been faint indeed." We fully accord with this amiable missionary, whose decease the Christian world has lately been called upon to lament, in the opinion that these corruptions are to be attributed to the system and not to the men. The learning, personal virtue, and ardent zeal of some of them deserve to be imitated by all future missionaries, will be equalled by few, and perhaps rarely exceeded by any. Their stedfastness and triumph, in the midst of the persecutions even to death, which they endured, shew that the adulterated christianity, which they taught, is to be ascribed to the effect of education, not to design, and also afford good reason to believe that they have long since joined the noble army of martyrs. It is also not to be doubted

that many sinners were through their labours turned from sin to God; for we have abundant cause to think, that, wherever the great lines of the gospel are made known, should there even be a mixture of error with the truth, God will not suffer his word entirely to fall to the ground.

From these languishing and expiring missions, from one of which our Author has sounded the retreat, we turn to the brighter prospect opening to the Protestant missionary; and hail with hope and thankfulness, as reserved for Britain, the high honour of converting these eastern nations, which Spain and Portugal sought in early days, but not in the right spirit, nor by legitimate means, to reclaim.

The whole of India may be regarded, as in reality a British province, and consequently may be traversed in every direction by the missionary with perfect security, since he will be respected, as an Englishman, where he will not be acceptable, as a Christian. The Scriptures, translated, with few exceptions, into all their dialects, have been widely dispersed; the missionary cause is sanctioned by the local government, and has a warm and eloquent supporter in the Bishop; a spirit of improvement has been excited among the natives, who are establishing a college for their own instruction in European science, and have a press of their own; the more intelligent among them are growing ashamed of their idolatry, the grosser parts of which they are endeavoring to explain away, much in the same manner as in the Roman empire, when the licentious tales of their polytheism could not endure the light of christianity, the philosophers resolved them into allegorical representations of the powers of nature and the attributes of one great and pervading spirit; and a conviction is generally spreading, that the genius of Britain is irresistible, and that her laws and religion are destined to supplant their own,—a conviction, which, like many predictions, that are credited, has an obvious tendency to produce its accomplishment.

China is still forbidden ground. But though her territory is not yet accessible, her language has been subdued by a protestant missionary, who alone commenced at Canton, what by many was deemed impracticable for an European, the translation into it of the Bible, and after twelve years' perseverance, with only one coadjutor, has achieved that arduous task, which during two centuries, and with all the advantages of a residence at Court, the Jesuits never ventured to undertake. This is a *κτῆμα ἐς αἶν* which defies decay, and will outlive political revolutions. Had Schaal or Verbiest, like Morrison and Milne, bestowed upon China this inestimable gift, though their successors were banished, and their con-

gregations dispersed, a scriptural christianity would have flourished there in spite of persecution.

Indeed the Chinese version is the most important, that has been made; for it will not only be the medium of conveying religious knowledge to one hundred and fifty millions, who at present have no other means of obtaining it, but, being in a character, which, like the notes of music and Arabic numerals, is addressed not to the ear, but to the eye, and is a representation not of sounds but of ideas, can be read in Tonquin, Cochin-China, Corea, and by many in Japan, where the spoken Chinese is as unintelligible as in England. In the Indian Archipelago there is a considerable Chinese population settled under British protection, among whom the London Society's agents have introduced schools and oral instruction: and to Singapore, which is growing into commercial consequence with unexampled rapidity, they have transferred their Anglo-Chinese college, where, to use the language of its founder, Dr. Morrison, "Chinese printers, unawed by any mandarins, are printing the Book of God, and Chinese youths are singing in their own language the high praises of Jehovah." Opportunities also occasionally arise for introducing the Scriptures, where the missionary cannot penetrate; the public exercise of our religion is enjoyed by the Russian factory in Pekin; and, while the Scriptures are entering the empire from the south, the Russian Bible Society has established an auxiliary at Kiachta, the frontier town, where the traders of the two nations meet to exchange their respective merchandise.

Japan, almost the only spot upon the globe from which our commerce is excluded, and which since its shutting up, has remained a blank in the missionary map, begins at last to attract notice; for the London Missionary Society, "viewing with Christian compassion the vast population of Siam, Cochin-China, and Japan, now sunk in the most debasing idolatry, has resolved to attempt, as early as practicable, complete versions of the Bible into each of the languages of these three kingdoms."

We strongly recommend to Christian philanthropy these extensive regions, which contain a fourth of the human race, in a state of comparative civilization. Hitherto, principally it may be presumed from their vast distance, they have almost been overlooked; for they contain only five missionary stations: but we trust, that their importance is beginning to be seen in its true light, and that some of our Societies will have the courage to make in their behalf as vigorous exertions, as to their honour they have already made for the savage and thinly scattered tribes of America and Southern Africa.

ART. XIV.—*The Hermit Abroad* By the Author of the *Hermit in London, and Hermit in the Country*. London: Colburn. 1823. 12mo. 4 vols. Pp.viii. and 1162.

SEVERE and general censure has been passed upon those persons who hasten into other lands, before they have become thoroughly acquainted with their own. "It certainly seems strange, that so many Englishmen who have travelled extensively abroad, should remain ignorant, to the end of their lives, of the curious and romantic scenery at home; and wholly uninformed of the local and statistical history of their native soils. The lakes and mountains, the remains of ecclesiastical or castellated grandeur, the unrivalled enterprise of the sea-ports, the minute and the mighty application of mechanical powers to every branch of manufacture, the mineralogical or geological histories,—in short, the riches of nature, and the inventions of art at home, demand the first and dearest interest of an Englishman; and it must be humiliating to him, occasionally to meet with strangers better informed on these subjects than himself." If, however, a traveller should in no case leave the boundaries of his own island, until he had investigated every quarter of it, and exhausted every source of information within it, the continental rambles of our countrymen would become

"Like angel visits, few, and far between."

Instead of being met with in every corner of Europe,

"Thick as autumnal leaves that strew the brooks

In Vallombrosa,"

the occasional appearance of a wanderer would be productive of much the same speculations, as were excited two centuries ago, when a comet became visible in the firmament.

An extensive acquaintance with the features and institutions of his own country, physical, moral, and political, is unquestionably necessary, in order to prepare every man fully to profit by that wider range of observation which foreign travel may afford. There seems however, a degree of familiarity with domestic scenes, which, once attained, might be profitably exchanged for subjects of different and more distant inquiry. A necessary sameness of pursuit and remark will eventually belong to him who only "travels at home;" and tend to produce a repose, if not a listlessness and stagnation of mind, unfriendly to the acquisition of knowledge. Carry him however into other countries, place him among local scenes, or popular manners, strongly contrasted

with those on which he has pondered, and curiosity will be awakened into beneficial exercise by the mere charm of novelty and variety; and he may be expected to return, possessed of the advantages, which increased materials for thought, and an expanded power of comparison never fail to communicate. If good store of classical and scientific learning be laid up by a judicious course of early study, improved by a general acquaintance with the most interesting subjects of inquiry at home; and if especially, the moral principle be well cultivated, and confirmed by the influence of religion, we do not hesitate to say, that more valuable information may be obtained by foreign travel, than by the most minute and unwearied observation of our own land. Without the former of these provisions, the traveller would expose himself and his country to ridicule. Without the presiding influence of the latter, he would be abandoned, unprovided with chart or compass, to the rocks and quicksands of infidelity or guilty pleasure, on which so many bewildered wanderers have "made shipwreck of faith, and of a good conscience."

Well were it indeed for many of our English youth, did they exemplify the poet's adage, in the fulness of its moral extent,

"Coelum, non animum, mutant, qui trans mare currunt," instead of exhibiting so mournful an eagerness to adopt the follies or vices of the countries in which they sojourn. But alas! the lessons of early piety, and the reverence for established customs are too generally neglected by these aspirants for notoriety, as prejudices unworthy of the enlarged and enlightened views of a cosmopolite. English coin, and English bashfulness are the common articles of export; and little is often returned in the ruinous barter, except a senseless admiration of every thing foreign; an avowed contempt for good feelings and good principles; and that callous insensibility to the wholesome restraints of public opinion, which makes men "glory in their shame." 'There are *degrees* in vice,' (observes the learned author of the dialogue on the use of Foreign Travel) 'as well as *varieties* of it: and I cannot think it necessary for us to be greater proficient than we are; or to import new species of it, by rambling into countries where it may chance to rage with greater violence; or where such modes of it at least prevail, as are luckily unknown to us.' In these sentiments we heartily concur: and some personal observation upon the conduct of our countrymen, during, and after their continental travels, has enabled us to verify the Prelate's remark in instances too melancholy to be forgotten.

But ‘misfortunes seldom come alone.’ Such giddy absentees ‘commit two evils.’ They debase the national standard of morals by the introduction of new vices or follies upon their return : and in the mean time they help to render their country contemptible in the eyes of foreigners. ‘There is an influx of tradesmen, adventurers, half-educated boys, and low speculators, who can no longer be tolerated at home, spread over the half of Europe, so that honorable men are confounded with the ragamuffin tribe that misrepresent Old England. The consequence is, that, if a riot occurs in the street, the mob will cry out—‘*Voilà les Anglais d’aujourd’hui!*’—if awkwardness and pride, arrogance and vulgarity, stand blended together in one compound, the English of the present day are saddled with it, and the Frenchmen, too happy to confound all characters together, will not be at the pains of selection.” Such is, with a little alteration, the picture drawn by “*The Hermit Abroad.*” It is from real life, and the coloring, though dark and strong, is by a master’s hand.

Perhaps English travellers are guilty of no greater slander against the reputation of their country, than that arising from the zeal with which they endeavor to forget, amidst the nameless and numberless pollutions of a continental Sabbath, the wholesome lessons which taught them to spend it in the highest and noblest employments in which man can be engaged. They must have wrestled down many “compunctious visitings of conscience,” and triumphed over many a prostrated principle, before they could engage in all the sabbath frivolities, vices, and dissipations around them.

A polished exterior meets the eye of an Englishman, when he is first introduced to Parisian manners and society. Its fascination is not easily withstood. The evil which lurks below is concealed : the senses are enslaved, the judgment is perverted ; and many are the individuals, once the objects of better hopes, who are thus unthinkingly ensnared and undone. At first they mingled in the seductions around them with bashfulness and hesitation ; but are soon hurried onward with unsuspecting rapidity,

“As shallop, launch’d on river’s tide,
That, slow and fearful, leaves the side,
But, when it feels the middle stream,
Drives downward, swift as lightning’s beam.”

Could our ingenuous youth behold all the causes of ruin, with which the capital of France abounds, in their full deformity, disgust might do the office of a better principle, and make them flee with loathing and abhorrence. Unfortunately the causes of mischief are contemplated through a

medium so dazzling, as to mislead, while it delights : and thus vice, instead of "losing half its malignity by losing all its grossness," becomes on that very account more formidable.

In England the vices most ruinous to youth are broadly distinguished from the cherished, or tolerated usages of society. They consequently assume a prominence which forces them painfully upon our notice, a prominence, which is often regarded by foreigners, as unequivocal evidence of a depraved national character. In our opinion, this very circumstance affords presumptive evidence of a comparatively higher standard of public feeling. Contrast this state of things in England with the course of Parisian society, to which, with obvious reference to the work at the head of this article, we chiefly allude ! So much latitude is there allowed in the general intercourse, so much, that is equivocal, in conversation and sentiment, so tacit, yet so strong a compact among all parties, not to look too narrowly into the boundaries of vice and virtue, so little regard is paid to the cultivation of the more retired, but more endearing duties and joys of domestic life, so despotic an authority does the love of almost promiscuous society exert upon the population of Paris, that the very charm and fascination of its manners, arises perhaps in no small degree from a compromise of principles, and an abatement of purity.

Another influence unfavorable to the exercise equally of the more retired and of the more prominent virtues, proceeds from the prevalence of that overstrained delicacy of sentiment, by which the intercourse of our neighbours with each other is marked. We do not stop to consider that singular refinement of manners, which pervades even the lowest classes of society ; though to English feeling, or English prejudice, it seems to resemble that hectic flush, which, while it enhances beauty, marks the sure inroad of disease. The very language of the country is so entirely marked and filled with terms of endearment and tenderness, that the genius of the people, by whom it has been framed, cannot be mistaken. It bears the impress of national character. Let any one sit down to read the familiar writings of Voltaire and Rousseau, the lighter productions of the Encyclopædists, the correspondence of Baron de Grimm, or the letters of Madame du Deffand. The nauseous flattery, with which individuals are addressed, contrasted with the terms of unmeasured dislike or contempt, in which they are spoken of to a third correspondent, shews us, that sentimental politeness is too frequently a tone, to which the lip or pen is disciplined, but with which the heart has no alliance.

Most sincerely should we rejoice, were the contrast between France and England, in this respect complete. We fear however, that the semblances of virtue and good feeling,

“ That palter with us in a double sense,
That keep the word of promise to our ear,
And break it to our hope,”

have naturalized themselves among us to a fearful extent. We had trusted, that, having unfortunately been imported, they would have pined away and drooped beneath the keen and hardy atmosphere of English simplicity and sincerity, like weak and tender exotics in the searching air of our more chilling latitude; or that by some occult quality in soil or climate they would have fared, like poisonous reptiles, introduced into a sister kingdom. The fact has been otherwise. From the time of Sterne, the chief importer of this ill-omened and sickly sensibility, to the present day, it has been on the increase among us: and a comparison of his writings with his conduct may shew the evils, which an affectation of sensibility never fails to produce, when it usurps place and dominion over the moralities and charities of life. Against this insidious enemy of our best principles we would loudly and faithfully warn all, whom our voice may reach; and intreat them strenuously to resist and expose its attacks.

“ ——— Quanto ille magis formas se vertet in omnes,
Tanto, nate, magis contende tenacia vincla.”

But we must turn to our friend, “the Hermit Abroad,” whose work has occasioned the preceding observations upon Parisian manners, and rules of conduct—observations which will serve to shew our opinion of the scope and tendency of the work, because his views are strongly contrasted with our own, upon the principles to which we have alluded. We remember his former lucubrations in the metropolis, and in the country of his own land. The present volumes answer to them “as face answereth to face in a glass.” He certainly, though a hermit, is not one of those ascetics who embody the creation of the poet’s fancy,

“ The moss his bed, the cave his humble cell,
His food the fruits, his drink the crystal well:
Remote from man with God he pass’d his days,
Pray’r all his business, all his pleasure praise.”

When he left his retirement, “to know the world by sight,” his purpose was evidently not to read his breviary, and do the office of a “book-a-bosom” among his neighbours. He travelled more “pour rire, et pour s’amuser, que pour enseigner les autres.” The essays, into which these volumes are divided, are introduced by poetical mottoes in various

languages, usually well chosen, and exhibiting a considerable range of reading. In every part of the work sentiment is deified, and the determination to become agreeable is too frequently substituted for a morality, which, however correct, would have been inconvenient and unfashionable. If we are offended at this, it is, because we object to every thing, calculated, however remotely, to produce impressions, unfavorable to that real delicacy of feeling, which, like the bloom of youth, once lost, may be imitated, but will never again be renewed.

“Where ignorance is bliss,
’Tis folly to be wise.”

The Hermit represents himself, as a man fast entering into the vale of life. The book, as we think, bears intended evidence, that this statement is a mere assumption. That assumption, however, having been made, consistency required, that the author should think, and speak, and act, like one who knew “how to grow old with dignity;” and who might have found more profitable employment for the remnant of his days, than an eager pursuit of every frivolity around him. He is too good-natured an author to be displeased with us, if we recommend to his consideration a modification of one of his own mottoes on this very subject;

“How ill grey hairs become a fool and jester!”

The Hermit Abroad affords us amidst the motley variety of subjects, which he has examined, many pages of very characteristic and just description of continental scenery. His book indeed is a magic lantern; and the characters of Paris, whether English or French, pass before his lens, sometimes in just proportions, sometimes with an increased focal distance, which gives them the air, and the indistinctness of phantasmagoria, but always invested with vivid, if not always with graceful coloring. From this praise however something must be subtracted. He is an inveterate punster. A play upon words continually seduces him from his path, with this disadvantage, that his efforts are neither good, nor bad enough to raise the laugh, which should compensate for their admission.

We must however bring our remarks to a close; and shall content ourselves with extracting the chief part of one paper, which will afford as favorable a specimen of his manner of writing and habits of thought and remark, as could easily be selected. It also possesses the advantage of being a connecting link between the countries, and exhibits one, though among the most humble, of the many strange results, arising out of the glorious fortunes of that eventful field, where France and

England were the combatants, and the liberty, or slavery of Europe, the stake of the mighty contest.

The wandering hermit, as he calls himself, found himself unexpectedly in the house of a Scotch soldier, who had married a French woman under circumstances which will be detailed presently. Of his reception there, although he only called to inquire his way, he gives the following account.

“ ‘Tak a seat, Sir,’ said Donald, ‘and mak your *ain sel* welcome, I’s sure ye are sae to the gude-wife,’ (who bye the bye seemed to be commander-in chief.)—‘*Donnez-vous la peine de vous asseoir, monsieur ; aurai-je l’honneur de vous offrir quelque chose ?*’—‘Take the trouble to be seated, Sir,’ said she ; ‘what can I have the honour to offer you ?’ (How different from Donald’s humble style !) But there was a union of policy and politeness in this ; I might be of Donald’s country, and she was anxious to represent her own as gracefully and as successfully as possible, and thereby to convince me, that the heart and the hand of the highlander were not thrown away. I complied with her request to be seated, but declined taking any refreshment. Madame very speedily interrogated me about my birth, and whether I was a Scotchman or an Englishman, at the same time making a great distinction between the two countries, very disadvantageous to the latter ; she assured me that the word of a Highlander would be taken to any amount in France and Flanders, but that the English were not to be trusted. I cannot help regretting that some of the worst of the country have given cause to these remarks. Previous to the battle of Waterloo, the Highland soldiers, quartered on the inhabitants, behaved so orderly, quietly, and correctly, that you might see them walking out with the children of the family, making themselves useful in the household concerns of their landlord ; taking charge of the house at times, and becoming in a short period, as members of the family : on this account they were paid particular attention to after the battle ; the inhabitants went out to look for their lodgers on the field, and in many instances would not allow them to be carried to the hospitals, but had them treated with the utmost attention and humanity in their own houses.

“ I now naturally inquired, in my turn, to what good fortune the mountaineer (for such he told me he was), owed his alliance with a *belle Française*—(the compliment was fully appreciated.) ‘To the fortune of war!’ replied the wife with an arch smile : ‘not that I was actively employed therein, but from the chance of arms which placed Donald in the same house with myself, and enabled me to render him some service.’—‘Faith, an she did render me muckle service!’ interrupted the worthy highlander ; ‘but she’ll tell ye better herself, for I’ve got a Highland tongue, and can speak no lang-age well except the Gaelic.’ ‘But you found out the way to make love in French,’ observed I. ‘*Tutz*,’ exclaimed Donald, ‘that’s of a’ lang-ages!’ The wife now began her story, the amount of which was, ‘that previous to the battle of Waterloo, Donald had been quartered in a house at Brussels, in which she lived in the capacity of a cook and house-

keeper, and that Donald ingratiated himself with every one under the roof; that he used to assist her and lighten her domestic toil, and that she easily perceived that he had a *tendre* for her, which however went no further. On the night previous to the battle, he expressed much regret at quitting her, and bought a small gold ring, which he bade her keep for his sake, in case he should never return to see her more, requesting one embrace at parting, which she assured me, '*parole d'honneur*,' was the first which he ever took.—'*Il vous a donc embrasée sur parole.*' She nodded assent and smiled—assuring me that she was '*bien émue*' at this scene; indeed she was so affected that she could not close her eyes for two nights. Various reports reached the town during these days of cruel suspense; at length she was informed that he was amongst the slain. More than woman at the time, and fired with love and gratitude, she sought him on the frightful field with the view of procuring him decent interment. She took with her two hired laborers to assist in carrying him off, and they found him, exhausted by the loss of blood, amongst the dying and the dead, with five body-wounds. They conveyed him to Brussels. Marguerite attended him night and day, until he was perfectly recovered. The pang of separation was now about to be renewed, when honest Donald hung down his head, looked grave and scratched his *lug*, and then suggested that if she would travel wi' him into France, he could get his discharge and marry her; the bargain was made and carried into effect. Marguerite quitted her service, and Donald put off the red jacket, and now faithfully serves another flag—the standard is his wife; and I am convinced that he would sooner die than desert her.

"Their courtship must have been somewhat droll, as he spoke no French at all at the time. Doubtless,

" '*She lov'd him for the dangers he had pass'd,*

And he lov'd her, that she did pity them."

"This couple, united under circumstances so little to be expected, seem to enjoy the most perfect felicity; the man is of sober and industrious habits, the woman appears to be very fond of her husband, and to perform her share to provide for this small family. She seems to take pride in being the wife of a Highlander, and is quite romantic when she talks of going some day or other to see his family, and the clan which he belongs to. The tartan ribbon always adorns her cap, and Donald thinks that *naeboddy* is half so bonny as *the* wife. On asking him how he liked France, he said "*Weel eneugh*; he could be resigned to live any where, to get an honest livelihood, and to provide for *Moggie* and the bairn; but if he *war* rich, he would prefer to *bide* at home.' 'In the old mountains of Caledonia?' said I. He shook his head and looked grave. 'To be sure,' answered he; but a *pure man minna chuse*; *am varra happy wi' Moggie for a' that*."

"How many virtues in humble life, on both sides!" (Vol. IV. P. 189—196.)

ART. XV.—*An Essay on Human Liberty*; by the late Rev. Isaac Milner, D.D. F.R.S., Dean of Carlisle, and President of Queen's College, Cambridge. London, Cadell: 1824. 12mo. Pp. xv. and 130.

THE question concerning the origin of human volition, which was agitated by heathen philosophers, and has since been taken up under a different form and perpetuated in the Christian church, has given occasion to too much animosity and misrepresentation, and been conducted with too much intemperance of exasperated feeling, for us willingly to embark in that troubled sea of controversy. Christians indeed, from the superior importance they attach to all questions, connected with religion, have generally felt strongly upon the subject, and from that cause have seldom examined each other's reasonings with that dispassionate coolness of inquiry which is essential to the attainment of truth; and hence party feeling, a spirit at utter variance with the liberal character of christianity, has been generated by an investigation, which beyond most others, requires a surrender of all partialities and private regards, in order either to place it upon a correct footing, or to conduct it to the proper conclusion.

It is therefore peculiarly gratifying to find in the small pamphlet before us a sort of Tusculan disputation upon this intricate problem; in which the bearings of the question on either side are traced by the hand of a master, and, all extraneous reasonings being set aside, the contending parties may take at leisure, if they will, a clear and commanding view of the real points at issue. Dean Milner was, of all persons that can be named within the last half-century, the most competent to the execution of such a task; and, though in the few pages before us he has not gone much further into the question than to bring out into a clear light the reasonings of others, even that undertaking, when executed with candour and impartiality, is an important addition to the materials, which the lapse of time has accumulated with fearful industry for the determination of it. The work is therefore a sort of summing-up of the evidence on both sides, leaving the decision of the dispute to others. In fact the result of the treatise is not so much to decide the question, as to shew why it can never be decided; to point out, in what the real difficulties of the inquiry lie; and to present the question itself, disembarrassed from unnecessary perplexities, to the mind of the reader.

For this purpose he brings forward in the body of his essay an Arminian and a Calvinist, successively developing their respective views, and replying to each other's arguments, till the inevitable perplexity, which results from discussing with limited faculties a subject of infinite extent, or rather of pushing an investigation of this nature to those first principles, which are beyond the reach of our intellect, is felt; and then the author closes the discussion by introducing the power of conscience, as a distinct faculty, implanted in us by our Maker, for the purpose of enabling us to discern practically differences, which theoretically baffle our investigation.

"This reasoning will not appear more extraordinary to the reader, than it did to the writer of this essay, when it first occurred to him. On a careful review of the whole, he cannot but think that conscience, as distinguished from the understanding, is the natural guardian of virtue. Mere human reasoning seems insufficient to discover the true essence of morality, or to establish its foundations; and the Omniscient Creator has wisely secured us from the precarious determinations of so imperfect a faculty. We abuse our noblest endowments, when we profanely reject the dictates of conscience, and suppose them to be delusive admonitions, because we cannot clearly perceive the necessity of moral relations;—we use them as we ought, when we are disposed to receive implicitly the intimations which they afford us of the Divine Will." (Pp. 128, 129.)

There is nothing which has tended more to increase the natural darkness of this inquiry, than the universal departure of writers from that simple phraseology, which describes the operations of our mind, as they are, and their agreement in proceeding to the investigation of a subtle metaphysical problem by personifying the several faculties of understanding, will, and the rest, which are concerned in the discussion. This additional and in some measure gratuitous cause of obscurity is to be found in almost every—perhaps we might even say, in every writer upon the subject. It has not been altogether avoided even by the lucid and masterly author of this essay. Thus he speaks of the internal structure, p. 64, of the unknown and incomprehensible structure p. 92, of the will, and ascribes

"a difference of operation in the same motives to some essential difference in the structure of the choosing principle." (P. 71.)

To a certain extent indeed it is unavoidable. Human language even in the common occasions of life is an inadequate and imperfect vehicle of thought; and, when we proceed to discuss the subtle operations of mind, we find it necessary to resort to expedients of various kinds, in order to represent our meaning with effect, and are often obliged to sacrifice exactness to force. The original design of language is to serve

the purposes of mutual intercourse; and hence it adapts itself with ease to all those cases, in which one man acts or is acted upon sensibly by another, or by the world around him. But, when we wish to express the subjects of consciousness and internal thought, we soon find, if we will observe, how circuitous the process is, and by what indirect methods the phraseology, which was borrowed from corporeal operations, is accommodated to the mysterious actings of a power, which, though we know we possess it, none of our senses is competent to discern. But for this reason it becomes a person, whose object is truth, to clear his language, as far as possible, when he pretends to discuss the qualities of mind or nature of thought, from all those figures, which, however they may embellish, rather obscure than elucidate the inquiry.

The real question in debate on the subject of human liberty is this—‘Is man a free agent?’—or in other words—‘Do men in the ordinary circumstances, in which they are placed, do what they will, or what they must? Are they compelled against their inclination, or without consulting their inclination? or do they act, according as they are inclined?’

The question, so propounded, admits but of one answer. Every man, except when his limbs are fettered, or his person confined, does what he will. Even the most oppressed slave, though he wishes his circumstances altered, yet follows his own will in submitting to them for fear of worse. He does it ἐκὼν, ἀέκοντι γὰρ θυμῷ.

But this does not satisfy the inquirer. Why does he choose this or that? What inclines him? Why is one man inclined in one direction, and another in a different one?

This is the point, at which the old Arminians introduced the notion of a self-determining power in the human will, a notion, which owes its currency almost entirely to the imposing form, which it assumes, when the will is thus personified, and invested with qualities, which belong to a sovereign or a legislator. They were afraid, that, if they allowed the will to be governed by any thing out of itself, they should leave an opening for the doctrine of necessity to creep in, and weaken the responsibility of human actions: and therefore they ascribed to the will a self-determining power.

But now let us disencumber the question of this pompous diction, and see, what will become of it! Why is it, that men choose so and so? Is it for no assignable reason, but only because they choose it? or is there something in the nature of the thing chosen, or in the manner, in which it is represented or appears to them, which determines them to choose

it? The former part of the alternative is that which must be adopted by the advocates for the self-determining power of the human will, at least, if they would give to their own language the only meaning which can intelligibly be assigned to it, the latter by those, who deny it: and it cannot be denied (we conceive) that common sense is with the latter. The proof of this point is the direct object of president Edwards's celebrated treatise on the human will; and in the decision of it, if he could have been satisfied with that decision without drawing from it corollaries, that do not result, we think he has been eminently successful, though, had the question been previously stripped of its artificial disguise, and nakedly propounded, so elaborate a discussion of it might have been spared.

We may see in this instance, to what absurdities men are driven on one side of an argument by the fear of some inconvenience on the other. The Arminians, apprehending, that any concession concerning the determination of the will by external causes would be pressed against them, till they should be constrained by a legitimate inference from their premises to deny free agency, ran into the opposite extreme, and denied the efficiency of motives, thus outraging common sense in one direction in order to save it from being outraged in another. Certainly, as Bacon observed in the commencement of his memorable essays, though in reference to another question;—"Certainly there be, that delight in giddiness, and count it a bondage to fix a belief, affecting free will in thinking as well as in acting; and though the sects of philosophers of that kind be gone, yet there remain certain discoursing wits, which are of the same veins, though there be not so much blood in them as was in those of the ancients."

The doctrine of president Edwards is, that the mind of man is so constituted, that it cannot fail to desire above all things whatever at the moment appears to it most desirable, or to dislike whatever appears to it most hateful: and this position (we should think) is so obvious, that it cannot now be disputed. That we are perpetually influenced in our choice not only by the object presented to us, but also by the advice and example of others, and by innumerable other circumstances not under our own control, is universally admitted: nor is the existence of such influence any disparagement to our freedom, so long as, when our choice of action has been determined, to whatever considerations that determination was attributable, we are able to do, as we choose. This position may also be rendered evident

from the very condition of a person under restraint, as a prisoner for instance. His preference is still determined by the nature of things, by the same causes in short, which governed it before. His will is neither more, nor less free than it was. He cannot help desiring what seems to him to be an improvement in his condition; or, if he is able to discipline himself to contentment, he must first reason himself into a persuasion, that it is better for him to be, as he is, than to repine, because he is not in a different situation; and then he will still choose what appears to him in his present circumstances to be best for him. But, though his will is neither more nor less free than before, his free agency is at an end; and for this reason he is no longer said to be a free man: whence the conclusion is irresistible, that freedom consists not in being able to direct our wills, or in other words to choose what we will, but in being able to regulate our actions according to our wills, or to do what we choose.

This statement of the matter (it will be observed) is extremely simple. But at the same time it must be acknowledged, that it leaves the theological question, namely, whether man be the virtual governor of his own actions, whether he had a liberty in Paradise, which is now lost, and whether the renovation of his character through divine grace be altogether independent of his volition and an interference with his moral agency, untouched. Whether Adam was constituted differently from his descendants at the present day, is a question not of observation, but of revelation; and to revelation alone we must look for the answer. The only point, for which we have already contended, is so plain, that it would not be worth so many words in putting it forward, if the subtleties of theological discussion had not involved it in obscurity. We are so constituted, that we cannot help desiring what seems to us at the present moment to be most for our advantage. We may reason ourselves into a persuasion, that a future good is preferable to a present gratification; and we may be so fully convinced of that distant interest, that the present gratification shall cease to gratify. But whatever actually appears to us at the moment to be most desirable, whether it be present or near or distant, we cannot hinder ourselves at that moment from desiring in the most intense degree. In this respect we have no freedom, and can have none. It is one of the laws of our nature: for though certain objects, which pleased us once, please us no longer, yet, if they appeared to us now, as they appeared to us then, if we thought of them now, as we then did, they would please us still. We may not desire now what we once

thought desirable. But we cannot but desire what we think desirable now.

And this is a maxim which we must not expect to trace to any higher principle. Philosophy will not help us. When we come to a law of our nature, our inquiries have always reached their termination. Bodies are so constituted as to obey certain chemical affinities. Matter is so constituted as to attract matter in the compound ratio of its distance and density. The magnet is so constituted as always to point to the pole. Animals are so constituted as to direct their own limbs by mere volition. Men are so constituted as to desire that, which they think beneficial to them, and to dislike what they think to be hurtful. None of these facts are capable of being traced to any higher principle, except the will of the Creator.

Human freedom, as has been stated before, consists in being able to do what we will, not in being able to choose what we will. Therefore, when two individuals in precisely the same circumstances are found not to choose alike, this is not to be construed into a proof of their liberty of choosing, but is rather a proof of a difference in the present state of the individuals, on whom otherwise the same causes would in the same circumstances uniformly produce the same effects, and in whom therefore, in the case supposed, the difference of choice can only be accounted for by a difference in the present posture or condition of their minds.

This is pretty much what the author means, when he says with great felicity of illustration and language—

“There can be no doubt that, if man remained precisely the same at every period of his life, the same motives of interest, of persuasion, of appetite, would produce precisely the same effects, with a never failing repetition:—but if the subject be altered, either by known or incomprehensible causes, and you have not sufficiently attended to the alteration, you will be deceived in expecting the same results under different circumstances. Nor is this any more than what constantly happens in the material world. The experienced chemist pretends not to foretel the sensible effects of his experiments, unless he be perfectly master of all the circumstances which may attend the operation. He knows that the slightest alteration in the property, the quantity, or the position of his subjects, will often give rise to the most extraordinary changes; and he has sometimes been surprised with sudden and important discoveries from some trifling and accidental variation in the process, which has hitherto been thought completely arbitrary and unworthy of attention. Omitting, therefore, such intricate cases as exceed the narrow limits of human comprehension, take your examples both of the operations of bodies and spirits, in the simplest circumstances. Is it less certain, for instance, that a child will gladly accept something offered, which is agreeable

to its taste, than that water will move along a descending channel? And yet, the water in one case, if frozen, will cease to flow, and the child in the other, if sickly, will reject his sugar-plums. Do you not *expect* that an unfeeling miser will pass by unmoved the next object of distress he meets, with as much confidence of the event, as, when fatigued by labour, you receive food in expectation of refreshment? It is needless to multiply instances, when you may learn by those already given, that the universal principle of causation can never rationally be given up, but extends itself to immaterial as well as material substances. In this respect, they are both upon a footing. In neither case can we ever perceive the ultimate connexion of the cause with the effect. In both, we very often experience a constant connexion in nature, and can infer the future effect, with the highest degree of probability, from the preceding cause: and as the various properties of bodies are better understood in proportion to the number of careful experiments which are made upon them, so mankind are agreed, that constant observation and intimate acquaintance with a person will by degrees lay open the internal fabric of his mind, and enable a judicious observer to predict almost with certainty how he will resolve and act, in a variety of situations." (Pp. 30—34.)

We can hardly doubt, that, if the same proposition or the same object were presented to the whole community of blessed angels, they would all think alike, and all choose alike in regard to it: and yet their liberty is universally admitted to be greater than ours. The real question at issue therefore is—Whence arises, to what is owing, that great difference in the minds of different individuals, which leads them in the same circumstances to choose differently?

And this opens the way to a very extensive and difficult, but at the same time, an intelligible investigation, namely that, which relates to the effect of education, reflection, observation, affection, or friendship in moulding the character, to the force of temptation and other circumstances in altering the judgment, to the influence of mind on mind, and lastly, to the power, which may be exercised over the soul of man by unseen spiritual agents or by the holy spirit of God. It is obvious, that any of these causes may produce considerable changes in the character, by leading the same man to think differently of the same thing from what he thought of it before: and yet all this may be done without infringing his liberty. He may still do what he pleases, notwithstanding the operation of all these causes. At least, if we set aside the last of them, namely, the influence of an invisible spiritual agency, it will never be contended, that man is not free, because his character is altered, although the force of circumstances, the advice of friends, or the dislike of others may have united their influence to produce the change. These causes are not

omnipotent: and a man yields to them, only because he sees reason to do so. Why then may not any influence, which spiritual beings, or which God himself may exercise over him, be exercised without impairing his freedom?

That it may be so exercised, is evident, because it may be exercised in the same way, though with greater power than those other causes, to which we are often, though not always, conscious of yielding. It may be exercised by suggesting thoughts, which otherwise would not occur, by strengthening the powers of the mind to discern truths, which are not familiar, by regulating the external objects, which are successively presented to it, or by removing those unknown impediments, which hinder it from taking a right view of things, as they come before it. This last work is analogous to what every writer on intricate subjects finds it necessary to do in combating popular prejudices, or getting rid of ambiguous or unmeaning phrases, or of such as suggest unfavorable associations: and the Being, who made the soul, and who has the key of its inmost recesses, may be able to do this with a degree of ease, of which we can form no idea, and with as little violence and as little infringement of liberty as the jailor exercises, when he unlocks the door of a dungeon, and allows the captive to depart.

That it actually is so exercised, as not to abolish or even impair free agency, though we cannot fathom or understand the method of its operation,—a degree of penetration, which we do not possess even in relation to the influence exerted by one human mind upon another, in which we are ourselves both patients and agents,—may be inferred from the uniform appeal of Scripture to the moral qualities of our nature, and from the manner in which it every where inculcates the doctrine of human responsibility; for responsibility is abolished, and moral suasion idle, where free agency does not exist.

That it is exercised so as not only not to impair, but to improve our free agency, is clear from our Saviour's words—"The truth shall make you free"—, an expression, which implies, that in some sense we are not free by nature: and the ambiguity of this figurative expression, when transferred from the simple lessons of the bible into philosophical disquisitions, has very much embarrassed the reasonings of men upon this much agitated question. That our blessed Saviour could not mean to deny the free agency of man in the sense in which it has been here asserted, must be allowed, not only because it is a matter of universal experience and consciousness, but because no one has appealed to it more frequently or more earnestly than our Saviour himself, as when he said—

“How often would I have gathered thy children together ! even as a hen gathereth her chickens together under her wings ! and ye would not. Ye will not come to me, that ye may have life.” But in a metaphorical sense it may be truly said, that we are not free agents. A soldier, when under arms, is not a free agent, because he must act against his own inclination at the dictation of another. So a man who is under a perpetual bias, under the dominion of some headstrong passion, which he cannot conquer, or to which he quietly submits, may be said metaphorically to be not a free agent, because by a figure of speech that passion may be personified, and represented, as his master, commanding him to do actions, which he would not think of, when not under its control : and, that ever since the fall of Adam we have universally been subject to such a bias, inclining us to judge, and by consequence to choose amiss, to think that desirable, which we know to be wrong, and to love our present ease beyond our permanent happiness, and above all, constraining us from the consciousness of having offended our Creator, to forget his claims upon our gratitude, reverence, submission, and obedience, is the unvarying testimony of holy writ. How our minds have acquired this bias, how it came to be transmitted from father to son, and to appear even in the fretful waywardness of children, is a mystery, which we can as little solve as we can explain the means, by which the likeness in countenance and feature of children to their parents, and even to a remote progenitor, is brought about. But, if it be admitted, that such a bias exists, and that it is universal, all that we contend for is, that it is only by a figure of speech, that it is represented as destroying our free agency by bringing us under the dominion of a master. In fact, however, and without a figure, it does not make us cease to be free agents. But, what is worse, it makes us cease to be good agents. Our dispositions are rendered evil by it ; and we are led to desire and avoid the wrong objects ; in which evil choice (it has been already shewn) the essence of moral liberty is not concerned. Plato saw far into the disease of human nature, and the remedy, which is needed for it, though he could not know, how it was to be sought, when he stated the true objects of a right education to be, to teach the youthful mind *χαίρειν τε καὶ λυπεῖσθαι, οἷς δεῖ*.

Nevertheless, though this corruption of nature, to borrow a theological term, does not destroy our free agency, it must be admitted, that it cripples our powers by rendering us inconsistent in our purposes and resolutions. When we take a large view of our nature and destinies, we see one thing to

be desirable; when we are under the influence of a present temptation, we fancy another: and hence arise those irregular propensities, those discrepancies between the judgment and the appetite, which have attracted the notice alike of poets, philosophers, and apostles, but which have seldom been more felicitously compared than to the awkward struggles and efforts of a paralytic to recover his posture, καὶ ὅτι τὰ παραλελυμένα τοῦ σώματος μέρια, εἰς τὰ δεξιὰ προαιρουμένων κινῆσαι, τοῦναντίον εἰς τὰ ἀριστερά παραφέρεται. Hence also arises that unhappy state of human nature, so justly described in the tenth article.—‘The condition of man after the fall of Adam is such, that he cannot turn and prepare himself by his own natural strength and good works to faith and calling upon God.’ All this indicates the same loss of power, the same absence of self-government and of just and well-directed action, which characterizes a slave, and may he fitly compared to the evils, which result from privation of liberty. In the same way whatever can restore us to a healthy and vigorous state, may be said not only to make us whole, but to make us free; for it gives us that ready command of our powers and faculties, which marks and befits the freeman; and certainly the truth of the gospel, that truth which tells us of God, reconciled to his creatures, and a way, opened in heaven for his ransomed to enter, is well adapted to reanimate and restore those energies, which were paralysed by a course of iniquity.

We do not mean to assert, that in the preceding strictures we have either sketched the actual manner of operation, pursued by the Holy Spirit (for we disclaim the attempt), or that we have pointed out the real method, by which divine energy is communicated to a prostrate soul, and awakens the fallen spirit of man from the dead. But we trust we have confined the questions at issue within narrower limits, and shewn, what is the real subject in dispute, which is too often disguised under the terms of a free and enslaved will. We have only sought to do what Ajax prayed for, to give a little light to those who were contending under a cloud, and who, if they did not say—

“Εν δὲ φάει καὶ ὄλεσσον” —

would often (it is hoped) have been contented to surrender a favorite hypothesis, when the light should reveal their error.

Whoever will bestow a careful perusal upon the volume, which has given occasion to these remarks, cannot fail to be struck with one fact, which it elucidates, namely, that the question, however difficult in itself, courts additional diffi-

culties in the hands of all its advocates, by the habit, in which they are prone to indulge, of rushing at once into speculations upon the nature of God, his will, its subjection to the government of motives, and other points, which to reasoners, to whom their own minds are a mystery, must prove a labyrinth instead of a clue. Thus, when it is asserted, that our minds are swayed by circumstances, and that we cannot help choosing what at the moment appears to us most desirable, the inquirer transfers this to the mind of Deity, and says—

“ If nothing ever happen without a cause, and if this principle extend to spirits as well as bodies, then, when God brought into existence this immense system of things which we contemplate, His choice was not properly and philosophically the cause of that event, but something else which effectually impelled the divine mind, and by its secret and necessary operation produced the wonderful result. It is this necessity, which is to us a stumbling block. The Supreme Intelligence could not possibly have done otherwise: God is no longer an independent agent, understanding with perfect wisdom and choosing with perfect liberty: He is the passive, mechanical medium of Fate—of some superior and hidden powers, which control the freedom of his actions, and inevitably direct his motions.” (Pp. 36—38.)

“ A doctrine which manifestly tends to impiety, and subverts every principle of moral obligation, can never be founded in good sense and sober argument. If the Supreme Being act not voluntarily, if he be not perfectly independent of every thing without himself, and contain not the fountains of intelligence and of action in his own incomprehensible essence—in a word, if he be liable to constant interruptions and preventions from the necessary influence of motives and powers, or else must sink inevitably into a profound lethargy from want of internal thought and activity—I know not what there is worth contending for in natural religion; and how do you differ from the confirmed Atheist, who asserts that there is a fatal necessity presiding over every event from the beginning of time?” (Pp. 34, 35.)

Now this appears to us a very unwise way of arguing a metaphysical question; in which it is one of the greatest difficulties to understand the precise views which another takes of it, and in which therefore the gratuitous introduction of any topic beyond the limits of experience and observation, multiplies its difficulties indefinitely, and plunges us into a sea without a shore. The cautious process of patient induction is the only course, likely to lead to one safe or satisfactory conclusion: and in such a process any position respecting Deity will appear, as an inference, not an element, and will come, if it come at all, as a last result, instead of being forced into notice, as a first principle, to be fixed and settled, before we proceed in our reasoning. On

speculations of this kind it may well satisfy us to state without pretending to any minute explanation or discovery, "that the complex idea of an Omnipotent Agent, choosing in all cases with perfect wisdom, is the most magnificent conception we can form of the Deity." (P. 87.)

And in regard to the general inquiry we must be contented to dig deep for our principles, and not hope to fetch them from the sky. In the way of arguing, to which we have adverted, it may be said—

'Coelum ipsum petimus stultitia.'

The Arminian (we have seen) is represented, as reasoning on the self-determining power of the will by arguments, deduced from our inadequate notions of Deity and eternity, since, if it be impossible to choose without a cause, causes must exist before choice, and the same thing must be true of the Deity himself, whose choices, being dependent on some other cause than his mere will, prove him not to be himself the first cause of all things, but dependent on some prior principle; which may be called fate or reason, as you please. But surely, if we can only understand those qualities in God, which exist imperfectly in ourselves, it is a perversion of sound reasoning to invert the argument, and conclude concerning the human will from premises, relating to the nature of God. Reason as you will, about Deity, and the same perplexity remains, because we cannot steadily conceive a first cause.

The following statement of the case is far more reasonable, because confined to facts, as we see them.

"If a particular motive, operating on the human will, particularly disposed, does not necessarily produce a particular effect, it is indeed in vain to use means, to exhort, to persuade. But the perfect propriety of using means upon all occasions appears from this single reflection, that they are absolutely *necessary* for procuring the ends, the most cogent argument, that can be conceived, but which is weakened, if not entirely destroyed, by admitting an imaginary power of self-determination." (P. 76.)

"We only affirm that persuasion or commands, the hopes of future rewards or the dread of future punishment, are effectual in producing different events, according to the different circumstances in which these powers are supposed to exert their energies. These circumstances we usually denominate by one word, the *disposition* of the moral agent. (P. 70.)

After all it is plain, that the question concerning human liberty is important, only, as it affects human responsibility. To this point therefore the remainder of our observations shall be addressed.

If liberty were the only condition required, the fact of our responsibility would be established by our being at liberty to

act as we please; nor would any one, unfettered by the trammels of system, and following only the plain dictates of common sense, say, that it is necessary that we should also be at liberty to choose as we please. The very phrase indeed is a tautology: for to choose as we please, or to be pleased as we choose, are the same thing; or, if they mean any thing, imply a constraint, obstinately set upon our wills, rather than a freedom in following our inclinations, and signify, that we refuse to be pleased, when we should naturally be so, from some perverse obstinacy or sullenness of mind. In choosing we follow the law of our nature. We cannot choose a thing, which we do not perceive or imagine to be upon the whole good for us. But we are responsible, so far as mere liberty is concerned, if, choosing, as we may, and desiring what it is impossible we should not desire, we are free to act according to that desire, or to deny or restrain it. This indeed is necessary: for, as the author justly observes,

“The very essence of moral obligation depends upon moral liberty. To what purpose do you lay down rules of conduct, and make distinctions in morality, when man is incapable of observing them? To what purpose do you allure by promise, or alarm by threatening, a being who owns himself to have no liberty, no freedom of action?” (P. 3.)

These questions are pertinent: for they proceed upon the assumption, that a man's moral liberty consists in freedom of action, not freedom of desire. As to the latter description of freedom, inasmuch as we know nothing precise of the operation, to which it refers, we hold it to have been only introduced into the discussion by a confusion of thought, which fails to distinguish the point, on which the issue of the question turns.

“To inquire into the ultimate cause of willing, or to attempt an explanation of the manner in which motives influence the will, must for ever be vain and useless, because in no one instance of thinking are we able to comprehend the essence of those internal principles which produce the effects. If this plain truth had been sufficiently attended to, I apprehend a great deal of pains might have been spared, and a great deal of confusion avoided, by that class of writers who maintain a self-determining power in the will. They imagine that they clearly discover some necessary connexion between the cause and the effect in many of the sensible operations of matter, but are conscious of no such perception when they attend to the production of their own volitions; and therefore they hastily conclude that motives have no necessary influence on the human mind; and, as they always suppose that our understandings are capable of assigning the true reason of every mental process, they boldly ascribe the volitions of man to the mysterious agency of a self-determining principle. This

and similar attempts to penetrate into the essences of things, always produce useless or deceitful conclusions." (Pp. 10—12.)

But, to constitute moral responsibility something more than liberty is wanted. Liberty of action is indeed essential for that purpose. But a faculty of distinguishing right from wrong is still more essential. A child possesses liberty; and we make even a child responsible for such actions as it knows to be right or wrong. But who ever thought of making a child responsible for actions, of which it knew not the value or tendency? So again a stranger is not thought blameable for violating rules of propriety, which exist only among ourselves; nor would any one find fault with another for interfering with his neighbour's property, if it could be proved that he was fairly cheated into a persuasion of its being his own. The power of distinguishing right from wrong is that quality, which renders man a responsible agent: and this agrees with what the author asserts, when he says—

"No propositions seem to be better founded than these, that our characters are to be estimated simply by the nature of our dispositions, and that we are constituted moral agents by a moral sense of virtue and vice." (P. 129.)

Further than this we need not, and we cannot go. Our nature may be such as to desire that, which is morally wrong; but if we are conscious of its being wrong, we are guilty, when we indulge our desire: and although we may dislike our duty, yet, if we have the faculty of discerning it to be our duty, and power also to act freely either according or in opposition to our desires, we are still guilty, when we omit it. This would be allowed in any court of justice. It is the principle, which regulates our judgments of each other; and, when the conscience is neither bribed by interest, nor perverted by passion, it determines our judgment of ourselves. None but a child, or an idiot, or a madman, is allowed to plead an exemption from the legal consequences of his own actions.

In this review we have purposely abstained from all speculative reasonings upon points, not capable of being subjected to the test of experiment; and we think, that the only way to promote the advancement of knowledge on this intricate and obscure question is to allow no statement to be introduced into it, which is beyond the reach of our present faculties. The origin of evil, if at all to be touched in this argument, should, as we observed of another question, equally remote, be the last point in a series, the result of a chain of established and admitted conclusions, not introduced as the basis of an hypothesis, from which the present state of

human nature may be deduced. The question also concerning the consistency of divine foreknowledge with the contingency of human action must be excluded; though we are willing here to hazard a few observations upon it, not with the ambitious hope of explaining it, but from the wish, which we have all along kept in view, to remove some unnecessary mists, which envelop it in the minds of many.

"The question is not, whether an Omniscient Being may know the future actions of a free agent in a manner which we can have no idea of, but whether He knows them at all. We readily allow, (says Dean Milner's Calvinist) that the manner may far exceed the comprehension of man, but deny, that a future and contingent event is any object of knowledge, according to our clearest perceptions and apprehensions of things." (Pp. 106, 107.)

What then is meant by contingency? Is it a dependence upon causes not yet in action, and consequently not yet known to dependent creatures? If so, a contingent event cannot be an object of knowledge to them. But is it therefore no object of knowledge to the Creator, on whom all causes depend, and from whom nothing that now exists, nor any properties of the things which now exist, nor any consequences that necessarily result from the operation of those properties, can be hidden? On the other hand, if contingency means any thing more than this, it is a word, which so far implies a dissolution of the connexion between cause and effect; and by abandoning all events to mere chance, apparently involves the consequence of excluding foreknowledge from them all. That all events are not contingent in this sense, and that future events are contingent in the other sense, are truths alike demonstrated by the imperfect insight which our own observation acquires into distant probabilities,

Till old Experience do attain

To something like prophetic strain.

In fact, to take a particular and intelligible example, in certain circumstances, such as a house on fire, a leak in a ship, or others which might be named, we are as certain of the effects of such accidents, both upon the intelligent and upon the inanimate sufferers by them—we know what will be the conduct of individuals in such circumstances, with nearly as much precision as if the event were past. Yet it will not be pretended that these events are not contingent. They depend on the free agency of the persons concerned; and our knowledge of the direction in which that free agency will be exerted, though it enables us to foretel the event, does not render the action less free, or in any way alter its character. Neither then does the divine foreknowledge alter the contingency of future events. It may indeed be alleged, that nothing, but

what is past or present, is a proper object of knowledge. To us indeed, except in such futurities as are revealed, it is not, because we can never be quite certain, that we are possessed of all the elements which will determine it, and any one alteration in any of the concurrent causes will affect the result. But, if we did know all the properties of the things, and all the qualities of the persons, and the exact state in which the former will be presented to the latter, since we should then be able to pronounce concerning them with no less exact a correspondence between our words and the subject to which they refer, than if the thing itself were past, we do not see why the word, knowledge, should not be as correctly applied in the one case as in the other. In this view therefore the divine foreknowledge and the contingency of human action cannot be said to be irreconcilable.

Yet we allow a part of the difficulty, which the Calvinist in the above passage presses upon us : for, if by the contingency of human actions is meant nothing more than their dependence upon causes, known only to the Almighty, a way is made clear for the divine foreknowledge, but at the expence of that responsibility, for which we have contended. For, if the choice follows external motives in a way of regular causation, the choice may be foreseen ; and, if the action follows the choice in the same way, the action may be foreseen. But in that case men, though still free (for they still do what they choose) are not responsible ; and he, who made both them and the causes, which operate upon them, would seem to be chargeable with the quality of all their actions.

But for the purpose of the present argument, a distinction ought to be drawn between the contingency of natural events, and the contingency of moral actions. An earthquake or an eclipse is a contingent event, which may be foreseen by a being, who knows the causes on which it depends. The flight of men in a panic, and similar occurrences, fall under the same observation. But a moral action does not result simply from the desire or aversion, which is governed by external causes, but also from that sense of right and wrong which ought to control the desire ; and it is difficult to conceive, how the universal Creator can foresee the actual result of such a competition in each particular case, without ascribing to him the chief share in the production of that result, whether good or bad, by supposing him to have constituted the moral sense stronger or weaker than the passions with which it has to contend. The author indeed plainly determines that he cannot do so ; for he says—

“ A superintendent of the works of another being may permit, or

not hinder, the consequences of which he is not the author; but He who made and governs all things cannot, I think, be said to permit what he did not cause." (P. 122.)

The unhesitating positiveness of this statement did (we confess) surprise us, and still more the fearlessness, with which in the next sentence he calls the eternal Creator "the good and benevolent cause of evil." (P. 123.)

God saw every thing, that he had made, and behold! It was very good. If scripture is to be believed in opposition to the bold speculations of presumptuous reasoning, that, which God created good, has since its creation become evil. How it became so, we cannot explain; nor will our philosophy help us to a solution of that deep problem, how God can have created all things, and yet not have originated those evil propensities, without which sin cannot exist. Equally difficult is it to explain, how God can leave human actions in all their relations contingent in such a sense as not to be himself the ultimate cause of them, and yet foreknow them with unvarying accuracy. But on such subjects it becomes the most acute and wisest of mortals to speak with diffidence and humility: and to pronounce God in any sense the cause of moral evil, is a proposition which a Christian moralist should be somewhat scrupulous to affirm. It is too much to lay it down as a clear truth, that

"He who made and governs all things cannot be said to permit what he did not cause." (P. 122.)

For although it be true and undeniable, that he, who created an agent, and endowed him with a certain disposition, does not simply permit, but causes whatever results wholly from that disposition, yet, if he imparts to that agent not only a certain disposition, but also a moral sense, by which that disposition ought to be regulated, if again that agent, being free, fails to regulate it accordingly, but yields to the disposition, which was given to him, as for instance to the disposition to desire knowledge or enjoyment, under circumstances, in which his moral sense would tell him it was wrong to indulge it; surely it should not be said, that God causes him to neglect the internal monitor, which himself had given him for a guide, although it is clear that he permits him to neglect it. The question will still be asked, what caused him to neglect it? But to say, that God was the cause of it, is to contradict the testimony of scripture, from which we derive all our information upon the subject; and we must not contradict the word of truth, which says, that sin is not the consequence, but the transgression of the divine will, merely because we cannot account for the origin of evil. The difficulty is not so

much in seeing, that God may permit what he did not cause, as in reconciling that fact with his eternal prescience. God certainly placed the first man in a state of trial; and a state of trial implies, that he does not cause the result. But, that he should foreknow the result without causing it, that he should leave it to the effect of considerations, which do not necessarily spring from the nature he imparted, and yet foresee the event, is a mystery, which we cannot solve.

We turn therefore gladly from these speculative difficulties, which lead hasty dogmatists to cast upon the Divine Being the responsibility of human iniquity, to that power of conscience, which the author has introduced at the close of his essay, as sufficient to make every man responsible for his own.

When we observe, how few individuals in the human race have leisure to examine moral questions for themselves, yet how few judge wrong in cases of conscience, where their own interests or passions are not implicated, we cannot resist the conclusion, that our minds were intended to be influenced by other means than abstract reasoning; and conscience must be allowed to be a separate faculty, whereby we discern moral distinctions as naturally as by the eye we distinguish colours. How few again in the great mass of mankind are competent to judge even of the evidences of the Christian religion, or to hold a particular doctrine only so far as it is established by legitimate argumentation! and yet they judge of character, and distinguish right from wrong with remarkable acuteness: and this latter faculty it is, which, notwithstanding the imperfection of the former, renders them amenable to the judgment of the last day; a consideration which seems to indicate that the faculty of reasoning, strictly so denominated, is not that, which exercises the most decisive influence upon human destiny.

It appears to us indeed, that too much stress has often been laid by metaphysical, and still more by unmetaphysical writers, on the faculty of reason, as the swaying faculty of man. To a certain extent we may be said to reason in every thing, which we do, except, when we are led by a blind instinct to gratify a particular sense. Yet we have also a power of discerning right from wrong in cases of common occurrence almost intuitively, certainly without, and often in opposition to such deductions of reason as we are capable of forming. Aristotle has argued, that to forgive injuries is an act of injustice, in a manner, that may carry conviction to many minds, who yet could not fail to perceive the beauty of forgiveness in any heroical instance of magnanimity and forbearance. For the same reason the most successful appeals

of an orator, even where there is no considerable interest concerned or passion excited in his audience, are made to this moral sense; and he very seldom addresses himself directly to the mere reason of his hearers. Our Lord himself seems to imply the natural correctness of this sense even in our present state, when he asks the Pharisees—"Why even of yourselves judge ye not what is right?" A child is very soon able to distinguish the equity or unreasonableness of his nurse's decisions, much sooner indeed than he can be taught the cogency of the plainest argument: and hence very much in the formation of the temper depends on the justice or caprice, with which those decisions are formed. Indeed in after-life, and among persons of education, how many more do we find competent to pronounce a correct judgment upon opinions, than to see the justness of a conclusion! In a fictitious tale, in a narrative, in which we have no personal interest, we are instantly prone to say—"This is right, or wrong,"—without sufficiently doubting the correctness of our own sentiment to form an argument upon it: and half the charm of history arises from the exercise, which it gives to this natural turn of our minds.

Conscience itself indeed is liable to error, and requires the habitual exercise of reason, and still more the presiding influence of honest intention to keep it rightly directed. It is also in an unenlightened mind apt to confound conventional propriety with moral rectitude, and in a wicked heart to be so far defiled as in many instances for a time to put evil for good and good for evil. But the power of conscience cannot be permanently bribed or suppressed; and the separate provinces of the two faculties may be distinguished by observing that the effect of reasoning is slow, and produces a change by little and little in the sentiments of society, whereas the dictates of conscience are instantaneous, and satisfy the individual at the moment concerning the moral quality of an action, even where the knowledge is imperfect, and the reasoning obscure.

In conclusion, setting aside the unintelligible speculations about a freedom of will, and without perplexing ourselves with the origin of human volitions, we are satisfied to hold, that all men are free agents, although they too generally make a wrong use of that freedom. We are also persuaded, that this freedom would not be sufficient to render them responsible, but for that sense of right and wrong, which, however it may be impaired by vice or perverted by sophistry, has never been, and never can be extinguished from the mind of man, while the present frame of human nature continues.

ART. XVI.—*Observations on the History and Doctrine of Christianity, and on Religions connected in History, the Primeval, the Judaic, and the Heathen, Public, Mystical, and Philosophical.* London. Rodwell and Martin. 1823. 12mo. Pp. 184 and 188—24.

THIS work, though originally anonymous, we have since seen, introduced with a new title-page, bearing the name of Mitford. It therefore naturally excites expectation, as the production of the erudite historian of Greece. That expectation, however, it will disappoint. The author indeed avows his total ignorance of

“the science of divinity, and little reading in Ecclesiastical History,” (P. 7.)

though he announces himself a zealous churchman, and assures us that in all his insinuations against creeds or formularies, he means no offence to the “venerable establishment.” Nevertheless, finding from his intimate acquaintance with the Bible, that allusions to the starry heavens *rarely* occur in that volume, he seems to recommend in its place, so far as we understand him, the more intelligible and profitable “study of the stars.” (P. 8—10.) And certainly we conceive, that some of his very extraordinary lucubrations must have been derived from that or some other source, rather than the Bible.

In sober sadness, we cannot admire either the scope or the execution of this work. It carries with it indeed one antidote to its pernicious tendency, in the difficulty of making sense or English out of half of the sentences. We present the following lucid question and almost equally lucid answer, as a specimen.

“Whence originated the evil, that should make trial requisite, and why does Almighty Goodness allow its existence? To this I answer for myself, not presuming to lay down a rule for others, what on so abtruse a subject, so far satisfies me, that I reckon it unquestionably a duty to acquiesce, is that the matter, clearly above human apprehension, seems to be somewhat in the same way so as the nature of time and space.” (P. I. pp. 39, 40.)

Mr. Mitford may pique himself on being singular. In style indeed, as well as in orthography, he has well earned that fame; but we know no merit in being unintelligible.

The book consists of two parts. The former, under the denomination of volume the first, seems to have been submitted before publication to the criticism of a friend, to whom the remaining half is addressed in the form of “Letters.”

We wish Mr. Mitford had attended to the hint so kindly, but with a sly touch of irony, administered by another friend, "that there is too much learning in his book for the unschooled, and too little for the learned." (P. II. p. 3.)

The first eleven sections are rambling disquisitions on creeds and prayer—on the creation and fall of man—the origin and nature of sacrifice—the state of the Antediluvians—the deluge—Noah and his posterity—the Israelites—their settlement, laws, and religious observances—and then, a disquisition of some pages to prove the unsuitableness of the Old Testament for general edification. This is succeeded by part the second, treating of the state of the world at the birth of Christ—the Evangelists in general—St. Matthew's gospel—and the Dæmoniacs. The "Letters" pursue nearly the same line. We find however, some difficulty in referring to this part of the work, two of the letters being consecutively numbered, as fourth in the series, with a new mode of numbering for the interpolated pages. They also contain his remarks on the gospels, on the credibility of the miracles of the New Testament, and on the apprehension, trial, and condemnation of Christ. Lastly, we have part the fourth, though no third has intervened, which plunges us into the depths of heathen mythology, the public, mystical, and philosophical religion of nations renowned in antiquity, especially the Greeks and Romans; and this is followed by criticisms on the Greek dramatists, tragic and comic, and a bird's-eye view of the philosophical sects of Greece, and is summed up by a short chapter at the close,

"On the superseding of Heathenism in the Roman Empire by Christianity." (P. 172.)

Such is the outline of these extraordinary "collectanea." How far the author has justified his pretension to the title of a zealous churchman, may appear, as we proceed.

In his observations on the creeds, he objects to the articles of the descent into hell, the Holy Catholic Church, and the communion of saints, as "unintelligible," (Pp. 17 and 19) and to "the resurrection of the body," as "presumptuous." We pass over his jejune and puerile Commentary on the Lord's Prayer (P. I. p. 27.) But we cannot quietly overlook the startling assertion, that divine authority for their writings has not been claimed by the authors of the Old and New Testaments. Nay, he even adduces "Luke and John as virtually disclaiming divine inspiration." (Pp. 34, 132). But is rather unfortunate for his theory, that John has distinctly recorded the promise of the Holy Spirit to the Disciples "to teach them all things, and bring all things to

their remembrance which the Saviour had said unto them." We cannot too strongly reprobate an opinion which reduces the sacred volume to a mere historical record, and brings down Moses and Paul to the level of Thucydides and Plato. Our author indeed cannot deny, that

"inspiration is frequently mentioned in Scripture; but it is so little being explained, that it remains (he tells us) a mystery." (P. I. p. 133.)

He is perpetually starting doubts as to the correctness of our authorized version, though we believe that he stands upon an insulated post of bewilderment, when he finds the first sentence of Genesis—"quite unintelligible," (P. I. p. 37.) Indeed he suffers throughout under a scriptural myopia, and finds or makes a difficulty in the plainest text.

The alarm too, which he has sounded, as to the mistranslation of Levit. xvii. 7. is altogether childish, (P. I. p. 178, 179.) The word rendered by the LXX. *ματαιως*, and by the Vulgate, "*dæmonibus*," in the original denotes the *dæmon*-gods of Canaan, worshipped under a form not unlike that of the Pan of Grecian mythology.

A vast deal of gratuitous criticism he has expended in his disquisition on the "*Dæmoniacs*," mentioned in Scripture, (P. I. p. 152—179.) With Jortin and Campbell, we hold, that, if by being possessed with a devil, is only meant that "a man is mad," the writers of the New Testament cannot be acquitted of being either themselves deceived, or intending to deceive others. We will not however enter into this question here: but, while we admit that it is inexpedient to translate *διάβολος*, *δαίμων*, and *δαιμονίον*, by the same word, we must oppose to the author's remark, that the word *Δίμων* is *never* used classically in a bad sense, the contrary statement of Chalcidius,—"*Juxta usurpatam penes Græcos, loquendi consuetudinem, tam sancti sunt dæmones, quam profesti et infidi.*"

Mr. Mitford in his perfectly unique exposition of the miracle wrought upon the *dæmoniacs* at Gadara, tells us, that the man, out of whom the Legion was expelled, being "zealous in the cause of piety, pointed to a herd of swine feeding on the hill, and observed, that according to the law of Moses, it would be just punishment for their irreligious owner, and might prevent sin, to which they were a proposed temptation, if the madness, from which he had been relieved, might seize the animals and drive them to their destruction." (P. 170.)

Equally bold is the paraphrase on our Lord's expostulation with the Pharisees, (Matt. xii. 27, 28.) "If I by Beelzebub cast out devils, by whom do your sons cast them out?"

"If I relieve the lunatic and the epileptic through power, given me

by the imaginary supreme deity of the Syrians, by what power do the physicians of your own nation, respected among yourselves, relieve those similarly afflicted? But this affliction shews itself enough not of the character of Satan's works. Often an extravagance in piety is either its cause or consequence. Physicians among yourselves with long and diligent and meritorious attention to suffering objects are successful sometimes in using that skill for its cure. But, seeing, that what they never achieve without long process of uncertain result, I do instantly and unfailingly, the power, thus evidently given to me, may be your assurance, that an extraordinary visitation from God is come unto you." (Pp. 167, 168.)

Admirable as is this commentary, it yields, in novelty at least, to the discovery, that Solomon's idolatry in his old age was caused by

"anxious meditation on the [failure of any satisfactory assurance of a future life], working on his powerful mind, while temptation abounded around." (P. I. p. 105.)

But we have not yet reached the climax of Mr. Mitford's adventurous novelties. Sacrifice, according to this author, was neither more nor less than the "ELEMENTS OF COOKERY," a purely CULINARY RITE, intended to shew the little value "of animal life." With this help he enters the lists to vindicate the calumniated Cain from the charge of murder. Not believing, that Cain was "of the wicked one, and, slew his brother, because his own works were evil and his brother's righteous," he affirms, that Cain in the simplicity of his taste *preferred a vegetable diet to the animal food which God commanded Adam to eat on leaving Paradise*, and, entering into conversation with Abel upon the subject, was provoked by his petulant replies.

"Cain, their eldest son, directed his diligence to the cultivation of the fruits of the soil. Abel, their second, zealous in obedience to the divine ordinance, applied himself, for the purpose it (may seem) of having acceptable offerings for the altar, to domesticate and multiply cattle. Each offered, in sacrifice, the fruit of his care; Cain the produce of the soil only; Abel in the words of our translation, 'the firstlings of his flock and the fat thereof.' Manifestation was made from heaven that Abel's sacrifice was accepted, but none for Cain's.

"Reason for the difference is not directly stated; but, though no intimation is offered that Cain's conduct had been previously offensive, yet that, on the immediate occasion, he dissatisfied his Creator, is fully shewn. In combining the matters related it appears to me not obscurely indicated, that, ruminating on his own degraded and suffering state, resulting from his father's crime (for information of this, vouchsafed to late posterity, it seems reasonable to suppose, would not be withheld from him) and presuming that, being himself clear of that offence, he had a right to live as his father had previously lived, eating only the produce of the soil, Cain would not kill and

offer animals on the altar. On the non-acceptance of his offering, a proud spirit, strongly marked in his reported answer to his Creator, prompting, he engaged in dispute with his brother, who, it is indicated, did not avoid controversy in words. Cain proceeded to blows, and, in his violence, killed his brother." (P. I. pp. 52, 53.)

Indeed, that Cain was no murderer in our English sense of that term is manifest from

"the degree of favour, shewn by the Almighty to Cain," (P. 55.) who merely cursed the ground for his sake, and condemned him to be a fugitive and a vagabond all the days of his life.

Mr. Mitford next throws his protecting shield over Caiaphas and the Sanhedrim, and even Pilate himself, who must henceforth be crowned with civic wreaths, as the mildest, most upright, and conscientious of magistrates. Is Mr. Mitford serious in all this? or does he merely sport with our credulity?

He avers, that

"the body alone was for Adam's crime made perishable, and that, from God's almighty justice, amends for the worthy, suffering here, were to be assuredly expected hereafter." (P. I. p. 56.)

"In proportion then to the amount of temptation to sin obviously would be the merit of persevering in righteousness." (P. 59.)

Mr. Mitford is an avowed enemy to the general circulation of the Bible, on which subject he has favored us with a diatribe. Indeed, if he had been a contemporary with Ezra, or with those learned Fathers who collected into one the writings of the New Testament, he would probably have taught them to prune the excrescences of Holy Writ. St. Matthew would not then have presumed to record the massacre of the infants by Herod—a fact which the judicious critic discredits, and discards as "furnishing nothing of doctrine," and "not found in any one of the other three gospels," (P. II. p. 16.) The ritual also which Moses prescribed is treated, with very cavalier disparagement. Its enactments are stated to be utterly unimportant, and its only purpose "to maintain the separation between the Jewish people and the nations around them, and to try their patience and disposition to obedience." (P. I. pp. 106, 107.)

The last six letters of the volume are the only part, from which much entertainment or instruction can be gleaned; and even from this we must except the author's strange ascription of the "curse of Noah upon Canaan," to that patriarch's abhorrence of the "mystical religion:" and on the whole we earnestly recommend to the author, as he values his own credit or usefulness, to resume his suspended and valuable labours as an historian, but by all means to avoid the "hazardous path of scriptural criticism."

ART. XVII.—*An Essay on the nature and design of Scripture Sacrifices: in which the theory of Archbishop Magee is controverted.* By the late Rev. James Nicol, Minister of the Parish of Traquair, near Peebles. London: Hunter. 1823. 8vo. pp. xxiv. and 408.

THE doctrine of the fall requires no other demonstration than that which results from comparing the present conduct and condition of the species, with the revealed declaration that God created man upright. This fact once admitted, the necessity of an atonement and mediation is made apparent. The character of the appointed Mediator is a further and a most interesting question to an inquirer, thus far advanced in the discovery of his condition: and it is a question, the answer to which may be said to form the principal and almost the single subject of the Old and New Testaments. The contradictory conclusions, to which nevertheless men have come on this most vital point, is one of the most melancholy illustrations that can be adduced, of the doctrine, which we set out with asserting.

On the divinity and atonement of Jesus Christ, the revealed Mediator, the statements of Waterland and Magee have never been overthrown, and consequently need no confirmation. We were a little surprised, therefore, to find a man hardy enough to announce in his title-page an open attack upon the latter. Mr. Nicol denies *in toto* every genuine notion of atonement and sanctification for sin, by the sacrifice of Christ. He views the orthodox doctrine on this subject, as "blasphemous." Still he perpetually uses the terms of scripture, which assert that great truth, without appearing to feel in general any thing in their phraseology, which disconcerts him. He also roundly denies, that the Old Testament dispensation was a "shadow of things to come," of which the "body is Christ." That text of the apostle Paul indeed gives him a little concern: but he professes to believe that its meaning is, not that the former things shadowed forth the latter, but that they were comparatively so trifling as to be only like a shadow when compared with a substance. Nevertheless he allows, that the whole of the Mosaic ritual, at least its sacrifices and more substantial parts, were shadows which pointed out a substance; but insists, that the substance, to which they pointed, was not a substance to take place afterwards of the shadow; but a substance then pre-

sent, namely, a pious state of mind, and an upright conduct, corresponding with their external resemblance.

In order to justify God from the imputation of dealing hardly with his ancient people, in giving them ordinances "which were not good," and which led to nothing better, Mr. Nicol makes two observations, which he lays, as the foundation of his scheme. His first position consists in a gross disparagement of God's ancient worthies. The second is a metaphysical error.

In regard to his first position, Mr. Nicol admits that the Mosaic œconomy, as disconnected with any future dispensation of a superior character, was a very meagre, unprofitable, and burdensome system. But he tells us, that it was the best system of things, which the Jews could have, under their circumstances; that, from Adam to Christ, even Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and the whole body of Old Testament saints, as well as the common people, were so perfectly weak and childish, and addicted to such superstitious fears, and predilections, as to be utterly incapable of profiting by a more mental and spiritual religion. He considers the excellency of character which appears in some of them, as effected by divine miraculous interference, and that, when left to the ordinary course of divine providence,

"they fell into those egregious follies and enormous vices, which stain their characters, and excite our astonishment. Abraham had even the meanness and the pusillanimity to allow his wife to be taken to the house of a man who did not even endeavor to conceal his designs, without the least attempt on her part to escape, or on his, to deliver her. By this he was reduced to the necessity of asserting a falshood; for, notwithstanding his quibbling apology, it was nothing else. If we then lay aside prejudice, and judge impartially, we must admit that the intellectual and moral excellence, to which Adam, and Noah, and Lot, and Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and the twelve Patriarchs, who laid the foundation of the Jewish dynasty, (attained) was high and dignified indeed, when compared with the state of those amongst whom they lived; yet still, many of their actions would not only cloud the character of Christians at the present day, but consign their names to deserved infamy." (Pp. 22—25.)

As Mr. Nicol has thought proper to single out Abraham, the "Friend of God," and "Father of the faithful," as a peculiarly exceptionable character, we shall content ourselves here with alluding to this example alone, reserving our remarks on the general subject of these worthies, till after we have noticed Mr. Nicol's second position. The case of Abraham, however, is peculiarly worthy of regard, both as it respected his future prospects, and his personal conduct. The former is settled by Mr. Nicol in this general statement—

"The imperfect dispensation never did direct the eyes of a single Jew in the sense of the orthodox to that better dispensation." (P. 53.) Yet of this very man, our Lord himself says, "Abraham rejoiced to see my day; and he *saw it*, and was glad." Of his personal conduct, Mr. Nicol speaks even with contempt. He disdains this venerable patriarch as a man wicked enough to tell a "falshood," and weak enough to make a "quibbling apology," to conceal it. We shall make no apology for Abraham's conduct. The Bible does not. But, as a whole character, we may fairly ask, where do we find men even in the present day of light and knowledge, under Christian doctrine, and Christian hope, of more decided holiness, more disinterested piety, and more heavenly minds? And even with respect to his "falshood and quibbling apology," sufficient, as Mr. Nicol conceives, to consign the names of Christians to deserved infamy: will our Author's own character shine by the side of it? The editor of Mr. Nicol's Essay has given a portion of his public history which is of some importance in the way of illustrating, how far the "intellectual and moral" character of the ancients sunk beneath the superior perfection of "modern" boasters. Will it then be believed, that the very man who thus speaks of Abraham's "falshood," as he chooses to call it, though it was literally a truth, (she was his sister, as he said,) should have been for many years chargeable with the guilt of professing in his public covenants what he really disbelieved, and what he spent all his strength to overthrow? He even continued to his dying day to eat the bread of the church of Scotland, whose essential doctrines he here denounces, as blasphemy.

The second point insisted on by this writer is, that these people could not, from their "intellectual and moral" degradation, profit by a more spiritual mode of instruction. He had largely endeavored to prove respecting this almost brutalized people, that

"since they could not rise to the contemplation of the happiness and misery of another world, (which is grossly untrue, see Heb. xi. 35.) all that God could do, was to fix their attention and impress their hearts by temporal rewards and punishments." (P. 28.)

In answer to an objection, that God

"instead of adopting for their improvement such means, as to minds more enlightened must appear weak and beggarly, ought rather to have exalted their intellectual and moral powers to a capacity of perceiving truth in all its native majesty, and of aspiring after moral excellence from a conviction of its intrinsic beauty and dignity;" (P. 29.)

he tells us, that the objection rests upon a principle "false"

in theory, and impossible in practice. We certainly do not perceive, how Mr. Nicol has proved the principle false, when he tells us, that, if God would use means to make his creatures

"absolutely worthy of his regard, he must exalt them to an equality with himself." (P. 30.)

But we think we do comprehend the following passage on the impracticability of the principle above stated. He says ; "I have, however, had occasion to prove in another work, that to lead creatures to the possession of moral excellence by any but moral means, really involves in it a contradiction. That the natural powers and capacities of creatures may, without their own choice, be increased by God, according to his pleasure, is evident ; but let them be increased as much as can be supposed, the creatures themselves are still as destitute of virtue or moral goodness, as they were before. Virtue or moral goodness, must begin and terminate with the beginning and the termination of the volition of the agent, to be virtuous or morally good." (P. 30.)

This paragraph in the first place supposes, that "intellectual" endowments afford the possessor no advantage, but leave him as destitute of moral excellence, and (it would seem) of the probability of attaining it, as those who are not so endowed. But this, though in some respects true, is at issue with the preceding proposition, which ascribes the incapacity of the Jews to profit by spiritual and intellectual instruction, to their barbarity and ignorance.

2. It denies the influence of the Holy Spirit, and his operations upon the heart ; for all such operations are of a different nature from "moral means," though they may be communicated through them. What then becomes of regeneration, being born of God, and renewed in righteousness and true holiness ? or of Christ's promise to send his spirit, to give repentance to his disciples, and to work in them the "work of faith with power ?"

3. This notion would destroy the virtue of those, who are created or born holy. Therefore neither Adam, who was "created after the image of God," nor Samuel, Jeremiah, and John the Baptist, who were sanctified from the womb, could be virtuous till after a due course of years of discretion, when they became virtuous by "their own choice."

4. This notion would leave it utterly impossible, that virtue should ever be attained. For, if creatures must choose to be virtuous, before they can possess any "moral goodness ;" it is certain they never can possess it. That every being chooses virtue, when he is possessed of it, is true. But how is a being void of virtue, to choose virtue ? The common sense of all mankind is, that a choice, which is not a virtuous choice, is of

no value. But no man can make a virtuous choice without virtue ; and no man can have virtue, before it be given him. A man destitute of "moral goodness," cannot exercise in his choice any moral goodness ; for he cannot exercise what he does not possess. Such an one then cannot exercise any disposition or love towards virtue or moral goodness. For a love to virtue is a virtuous love, and a disposition to moral goodness is a good moral disposition ; which is all at variance with the supposition, that the person is void of moral goodness. The 13th article of the Church of England has placed this subject in a very clear and decisive point of view. "Works, done before the grace of Christ and the inspiration of his spirit, are not pleasant to God, forasmuch as they spring not of faith in Jesus Christ, neither do they make men meet to receive grace, or (as the school authors say) deserve grace of congruity ; yea rather, for that they are not done, as God has willed and commanded them to be done we doubt not but they have the nature of sin."

5. This argument would make "virtue" and "moral goodness" to consist, not in moral goodness itself, but in the choice of it, a choice, which does not arise out of a good moral principle, nor has any relation to it.

But we have not yet done with the two notable arguments, which, like two gigantic pillars, Mr. Nicol erects, as another Haman, fifty cubits high, to execute not Mordecai only, but "all the Jews." We are greatly mistaken, if another purpose may not be served by this erection, as little dreamt of by the author, as by Haman of old. Let the reader remember these two grand positions are, 1. That the "intellectual and moral" incompetency of the ancients rendered them incapable of profiting by a spiritual religion ; which rendered it necessary, that they should be instructed by such "carnal ordinances" as "strike the senses ;" 2. that virtue cannot by any possibility be induced or encouraged by any but "moral means." Therefore any other means of improving this incorrigible race would have destroyed their own intention.

Now then let us just glance over the Old Testament, and see, whether these representations be not as unjust in point of fact as they are absurd in theory. To say nothing of Adam, or of Enoch, what must we think of Moses, the man of God, who was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians ? Was he a man of weak intellect, or of immoral principles ? Did he eat the bread of the Egyptian court, after he had "lift up his heel against it ?" Or did he shew himself incapable of profiting by a "spiritual religion," when he chose "rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season ?" Was he a man

"upon whom the Christian dispensation would have been entirely lost," (P. 32.)
when he "esteemed the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures of Egypt?" Did he prove, that he
"could not rise to the contemplation of the happiness and misery of another world," (P. 28.)
when he forsook all the glories of Egypt, because "he had respect unto the recompence of reward," and, with Abraham his father, "looked for a city, which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God?" And what will be said of the weakness and folly of David and Solomon, the latter of whom gave his mind to "wisdom, justice, judgment, and equity;" whose instruction is calculated to "give subtlety to the simple, and to the young man knowledge and discretion;" whose philosophy extended from the "cedar of Lebanon to the hyssop on the wall;" whose wisdom and whose polity, civil and domestic, were the admiration of that age and of all succeeding ones? What must be the judgment we form of Daniel, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, men "skilful in all wisdom, and cunning in knowledge, and understanding science," men, whom the "king of Babylon found ten times better than all the magicians and astrologers, that were in all his realm, in all matters of wisdom and understanding?" Or how shall we dare to undervalue the moral character of men, who, rather than commit sin with the multitude, submitted to the fiery furnace and the lions' den? "The presidents and princes sought to find occasion against Daniel concerning the kingdom; but they could find none occasion, nor fault; forasmuch as he was faithful, neither was there any error or fault found in him." And what shall we say of the literary incapacity of the authors of the Book of Job, or of the sixteen Prophets, especially of the sublime Isaiah? What was the testimony of Sir William Jones respecting those writers and their writings?

We have no objection to this author's replying to these facts of the wisdom and piety of the ancients—that they owed both to the peculiar, perhaps "miraculous displays of divine wisdom and power" (P. 24) in their favour. For this reply admits the facts of their wisdom and piety, and thus overthrows his first position, that they were almost wholly incapable of either. If moreover their mental and moral excellence was owing to the Almighty's peculiar or miraculous attention to them, this subverts his second principle, that only "moral means" can operate towards the advancement of virtue.

There is one more observation on this part of Mr. Nicol's essay, which we cannot pass over. He speaks "of the ridiculous rites of idolatry, as the growth of an ignorant rather than of a wicked age." (P. 60).

How then did it happen, that the Greeks, who in their highest seats of learning and refinement "sought after wisdom," were quite as great idolaters as those, whom they denominated barbarians?

Having disposed of Mr. Nicol's two fundamental principles, which lie at the basis of his theory, we must now pay a little attention to the theory itself. To analyse and point out the errors, which run through the whole texture of his book, would lead us far beyond the usual space allotted to a review. Instead therefore of following the author through all his ramblings, we shall endeavor to concentrate the substance of his essay in the three following positions; which indeed run through the whole essay, and are the main points aimed in every part; first, that the old-testament sacrifices symbolized the temper and conduct of the offerer, and not any distant and future events; secondly, that the old-testament persons and services did not typify the person, offices, and blessings of Jesus Christ; thirdly, that even Christ's sacrifice only adumbrated the spirit and temper, required of his followers, while it made no atonement whatever for their sins.

Mr. Nicol supports these positions with an ingenuity and zeal which would do honour to a better cause. To answer all his interpretations, criticisms, and allegations upon each of them would in fact be to answer the whole book. We can only attempt briefly, though we shall hope demonstratively to establish, first, that the old-testament sacrifices symbolize more than the temper and conduct of the offering; secondly, that Christ and his offices were unquestionably typified by the old-testament dispensation; and thirdly, that Christ's righteous life and meritorious death implied and effected more than is implied in a mere example.

First then, the primary position of Mr. Nicol is, that the ancient sacrifices symbolized the temper and conduct of the offerer, and had not any typical reference to future persons and events. We shall let Mr. Nicol speak for himself upon this point. He writes, as follows—

The great end which God appears to me to have had in view, when he appointed sacrifices, was, in a symbolical manner, to give the offerer information of the temper and conduct, which it was necessary for him to display, in order that he might be a proper object of divine benevolence and mercy, and be qualified for a

nobler state of existence. Hence it follows, that these symbols ought to have been different, both in the names which have been imposed upon them, and in the rites which attended their immolation, that they might properly represent the different dispositions which animate the heart, and the different virtues which dignify the character. Agreeably to this observation, I apprehend, it is evident, that the sin-offering was appointed to be a symbol of the offerer's devoting sin to death—the burnt-offering, of his devoting himself to the service of God—and the peace-offering, of his devoting himself to the service of God—and the peace and happiness which he afterwards enjoyed. The first, then, represented his sanctification, or his being dead to sin—the second, his justification, or his being alive to righteousness—and the third, that tranquillity and joy which he must have experienced, who in the scriptural sense of these words, was thus sanctified and justified—in whom the body of sin was destroyed, and in whom the life of Jesus was manifested. Hence the great intention of these symbols was fulfilled in the Jews, and terminated in their own improvement. Hence, instead of being appointed to direct their views to the dispensation of Christ, they were appointed to direct their views to the moral or spiritual part of their own dispensation. And hence, instead of informing them, that they were to look to the sacrifice which Christ was afterward to offer to God, in order to procure for them the pardon of their sins, and the acceptance of their persons; they informed them, that upon their 'putting sin to death,' their sin would be forgiven; that upon their 'offering up of themselves living sacrifices to God,' God would accept of them; and that upon their 'ceasing to do evil, and learning to do well,' peace and happiness would be their portion.

"That this account of sacrifices, though entirely new, is perfectly consistent with the moral attributes of God, and with the nature of the Mosaic œconomy, every person must at once perceive. As the minds of the Jews were so rude and ignorant, as to be unable to profit by a pure and spiritual religion, the supreme Being, in condescension to their weakness, appointed external ceremonies to assist their understanding in the conception of moral duty, and to remind them continually of the necessity of performing it. It was necessary to throw the veil of ceremonies over the moral part of the Jewish dispensation, to make it a proper object of sight to the Jews, whose weak and diseased eyes were unable to look upon it in all its dazzling splendour." (Pp. 175–177.)

The design of the whole Essay is here laid open. But our immediate business is with the design of the sacrifices. These, Mr. Nicol tells us, were symbolical of the temper and conduct of the offerers, and were not appointed to direct their views to the dispensation of Christ. There are two points in this Author's position; namely, what the ancient sacrifices did symbolize, and what they did not. They did symbolize the internal disposition of the offerers. They did not symbolize any thing further.

We must here advertize the reader, that Mr. Nicol is often

evangelical in his language, and socinian in his principles. Like a genuine sophist, he is at vast pains to prove a point, which his opponents receive as well as himself; and then he takes care to have it understood that he has gained his point against them. For instance; Mr. Nicol all along secretly implies in his arguing, that it is the same thing to say, the sacrifices directed the Jews to the moral or spiritual part of their own dispensation, as to say, they did *not* direct their view to the dispensation of Christ.

We do not intend to wade through the sea of bloody and unbloody sacrifices, to shew wherein we differ and wherein we agree with the many ingenious turns and glosses of this artful writer. Suffice it to say, that, without pledging ourselves to adopt the interpretation of Mr. Nicol, in any particular sacrifice (and in almost all we should be obliged more or less to express our dissent,) we nevertheless adopt and believe *both* these positions; namely, that the Jewish sacrifices in their spiritual import did "direct their view to the dispensation of Christ," and also that the "Supreme Being appointed external ceremonies to assist their understanding in the conception of moral duty." We view these two points which Mr. Nicol has set in opposition to each other, not only as compatible but as essentially united; not only as things which may possibly both be true, but as necessarily forming one grand whole; and that any scheme of religion would be essentially defective which did not embrace them both. The sacrifice of Christ is doubtless the grand object of a believer's desires and expectations; but conformity to him in heart and life is the necessary result of faith in his blood. And whatever points out the nature and necessity of that divine medium of our acceptance, points out also, either directly or by consequence, the spirit and conduct of those who receive him. Were then any pious Jew required to view, in his offering, the meekness and love of Christ, as led "like a lamb to the slaughter," to make an atonement for his sin; he was surely by the very same scene led to view his sin as odious, his Saviour as the object of faith, love, and imitation; and to see that his professions, in thus approaching God in the way of his appointment, must, to be accepted, be sincere, holy, and spiritual. When therefore Mr. Nicol triumphs in his having demonstrated, that the ancient sacrifices adumbrated (or rather perhaps implied) the internal disposition and external conduct, required of the persons who offered those sacrifices, he might have spared his exultation; for he has proved nothing more than the orthodox believe as well as himself. Whatever vanity Mr. Nicol might feel in

supposing that this "account of sacrifices" is "entirely new," it may be new in the Socinian school—it may be new, when considered as the whole, which the sacrifices import,—but we can assure him it is far from being new among pious, orthodox, and evangelical divines. Few of these would refuse their assent to Mr. Scott's statement.—"In general, all the sacrifices in various ways typified Christ, and also shadowed out the believer's duty, character, privilege, and communion with God." (Notes on Levit. i. 1, 2.)

As a great deal of this essay is spent in elaborating in every way, and under every sort of sacrifice upon which it treats, this grand truth which nobody disbelieves, it is quite clear that much of the writer's labour goes for nothing. For he might just as well have employed his talents in opposing, as many have done, the divinity of Christ, by proving his humanity, as attempted to disprove the use of sacrifices in symbolizing the Saviour, by shewing that they pointed out the offerer's duty. Having duly settled this point, we may be sparing in our notice of the author's criticisms, as they mostly tend only to prove the above sentiment. Had he intended his arguments to bear upon the subject, he should have proved that the sacrifices typified the believer's duty, and privileges, and that they typified nothing more.

When therefore Mr. Nicol informs us that the Hebrew verb, עלה, from which is derived עולה, the term used for the burnt offering, signifies to ascend, he only tells us what is well known, and what is nothing to his purpose, because his gloss upon it, that the offering was so designated from the ascent of the offerer's affections to God, and not from the ascent of the flame and smoke of the burning victim, is perfectly gratuitous. St. Paul translates this term, עולה into Greek, by ὅλοκαυτώμα, a "whole-burnt-offering." (Heb. x. 6. 8.)

Many similar observations might be made on his criticisms upon the original languages. We must not, however, wholly pass by his representation, or rather misrepresentation of sin in the sin-offering and its accompaniments: for, if it shall appear, that atonement and the forgiveness of sin were an essential part of the design and effect of the sacrifices, Mr. Nicol's system sinks, to rise no more.

This point, then, properly respects what we may call the second clause of Mr. Nicol's account of the nature of sacrifices. His theory is, that the sacrifices adumbrated the temper and conduct of the offerer; but it admits of their adumbrating nothing more. Now it is perfectly certain, if

language have any meaning, that the offering was to procure the forgiveness of sins to the offerer, and not merely to point out his duty. We are sorry that we cannot do all the justice to this subject, which its importance deserves. But, as it is a turning point with this author, we must not dismiss it without some observations. Mr. Nicol labors very hard to prove, that the term, חטאת, which signifies sin, and is also the word used for the sin-offering, represents the sin of the offerer, not the offerer himself; and that, when the victim was slain, which represented sin, it shewed the offender, that he should put to death his sin: and thus he would merge all ideas of atonement in the destruction of sin. Many passages are referred to with a view of corroborating this interpretation: such as the following; "the seven ears are seven years," "the three baskets are three days," "the ten horns are ten kings;" and above all, our Saviour's words respecting the eucharistical bread—"this is my body." Mr. Nicol argues, that our Lord's meaning is—"This bread represents my body." And this he applies to the sin-offering—"This represents the sin of the people," &c. and he quotes Archbishop Magee, as admitting, that

"the use of the word, sin, for a sin-offering, is so familiar, that it can scarcely be necessary to adduce instances in proof of it." (P. 183, 184.)

It is acknowledged on all hands doubtless, that the term 'sin' is put for 'sin-offering.' And Mr. Nicol does not disapprove of its being so translated; the context being the true guide for this purpose. This then being confessed, it becomes now the question, what is the meaning of sin-offering, for which the word sin is used. The same question might arise respecting the burnt-offering and the peace-offering, &c. for though the corban be a general term for gift or offering, yet, when any specific offering, as the sin-offering, the peace-offering, the burnt-offering, is intended, the word sin is used, but the term for offering is omitted. What then is its meaning? Will the word, sin, of itself, give us the proper notion? Sin-offering must mean an offering for or on account of sin. This Mr. Nicol would probably admit. But then he contends, that this offering for sin, is an emblem of sin, and the death of the victim an emblem of the death of sin. But will the analogy of language bear him out in this point? Does the term, sin, always hold such a definite meaning as to enforce upon us this interpretation? As the sin-offering must mean an offering for sin, the question still returns, could it not be called sin on other grounds, than that of its representing sin? And will not an examination of this matter rather compel us to adopt the notion, that the sin-offering must certainly

represent the sinner, not his sin? The sin-offering might be called sin, because sin made it necessary, because it was offered on account of sin, because it was to atone for and put away sin. It is perfectly clear, that in scripture some things are called, sin, or denominated by the term, sin, which are not so called because they represented sin. For instance; the term, sin, when it personifies or designates something else, is put for the instrument, for the effect, for the substitute, and so forth. It is put for the instrument, as when Moses says (Deut. ix. 21.) of Aaron's golden calf; "I took your sin, the calf which ye had made." It is certain, that this calf was not called sin, because it represented their sin; for it represented their God. But it was the instrument of their sin. It is also put for the effect of sin, or the punishment of it, as—"your sin will find you out," (Num. xxxii. 23.) That is, "the effect or punishment of your sin will overtake you." Thirdly it is used for the sinner's substitute. Respecting Christ St. Paul says—"He made him to be sin for us who knew no sin." Will Mr. Nicol say here, that Christ was called sin, because he represented our sin? That would be monstrous. Further, in some other cases it is perfectly certain, that the victim was a substitute or representative of the person. When Abraham was restrained from actually sacrificing Isaac, he saw a ram, caught in a thicket by his horns; and he "took the ram, and offered him up for a burnt-offering in the stead of his son." It cannot with any honesty be denied, that Christ was truly made sin, (that is a sacrifice for sin,) "instead" of sinners, any more than it can be denied, that the ram was offered by Abraham "in the stead of his son." This is perfectly consonant with the prophetic description—"Messiah shall be cut off, but not for himself."—"Thou shalt make his soul an offering for sin."—"He shall give his life a ransom for many."—"He died, the just for the unjust, that he might bring us to God."

Suppose, however, with the view of getting into close contact with this writer, we were for the sake of argument to admit this maxim! We should still contend that Mr. Nicol had here again only got one part of the truth. If the death of the victim represented or adumbrated the death of sin; it must have adumbrated the whole of sin, or whatever belongs to the nature and character of sin. But if the victim by its death, adumbrated the death of sin, the whole of sin, sin in its essence and amplitude, we shall find no difficulty in overthrowing Mr. Nicol's conclusion from his own premises.

If we only ask ourselves, what is sin? we shall immediately perceive the imperfection of Mr. Nicol's theory. Sin is the "transgression of the law." It is a wrong doing. It is a fault. There is then guilt in transgression. It is not only an evil in the sinner, but an offence against law, an infringement of justice. The offender therefore is amenable to the law. He stands charged with guilt. This indeed is the main point which the law regards. If then the sin-offering put away sin, or adumbrate the destruction of sin, it is quite certain that it must put away guilt, or adumbrate the destruction of guilt. Then, if it be "impossible that the blood of bulls and of goats could take away sin," their blood must have represented the blood of the "Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world." This consequence is inevitable. For the offering of sacrifices guilt is always made an essential part of the consideration, because forgiveness, which respects the guilt of sin, is always particularly recorded, as the effect of the offering.

Let us collate a few passages of holy writ, in which this matter is directly treated! Mr. Nicol's scheme admits, from its poverty and error, only one object in the sin-offering, viz. sin: and only one branch of sin, its power or pollution, without embracing its other essential characteristic, guilt. The burnt-offering, (he teaches us) only regards the offerer's devotedness to God: for

"in the burnt-offering there was no reference made to sin:" (P. 236.) and lastly, he contends that the peace-offering denoted

"the tranquillity, the happiness of those, who have presented to God their sin-offering, and their burnt-offering; who have 'ceased to do evil, and learned to do well.'" (P. 238.)

These three kinds of offerings Mr. Nicol makes the substance of his scheme, as embracing all the essential parts of the believer's duty. And let it be particularly regarded by the reader, that, as the entire propriety and utility of the sacrifices centre in this meaning and this application of them, this meaning must correspond with the history of their formation. The several sacrifices must point out that, and only that, for which Mr. Nicol contends they were expressly and solely established. That is, they must not intermix their design, nor interfere with each other's office. The sin-offering must symbolize only the destruction of sin, and not the offerer's devotedness to God; the burnt-offering must represent only the offerer's devotedness and must have no reference whatever to sin; and the peace-offering must have no respect to either, but solely point out the peace and happiness of the offerer. This is of the essence of Mr. Nicol's

system throughout his whole discussion. If these fail, the whole fails; for the foundation is laid in them. Now in examining this subject, with Mr. Nicol's scheme before us, we shall find that his notions are erroneous in every part.

First, with respect to the sin-offering. We must be careful here not to suffer the ingenuity and declamation of the author to draw us from the precise point to be contemplated; which (let it never be forgotten!) is, that the sin-offering has reference only to the destruction of sin. It could not then have any thing in common with the burnt-offering, which was to represent devotedness to God. It was not to be offered on the same altar, or (according to Mr. Nicol,) even with the same "qualities of the heart." (P. 228.) The same altar, take notice! This is that which distinguishes the burnt-offering from the sin-offering. If any part therefore of the sin-offering be burnt on the same altar, and not without the camp, (which is the distinguishing character of the sin-offering,) the scheme is broken, and the theory destroyed. Now then, the reader will see, that this scheme fails in the very first instance, and overthrows and subverts itself. For the truth is, that, though the sin-offering and burnt-offering had each their respective peculiarities, they were literally intermingled in their essential characters. For, notwithstanding the body of the sin-offering was "burnt without the camp," which (Mr. Nicol says,) was to mark, that the offerer was

"not only to confess his sin, and to devote it to death, not only to shed its blood, to extinguish its very life and spirit, but to remove its dead carcase from his dwelling, as an object of abhorrence, and to consume it with an utter destruction;" (P. 227.)

yet the "fat" and some of the internal parts of the victim were actually to be burnt upon the altar of burnt-offering; and part of the blood was to be put upon the same altar with that of the burnt-offering. This is exactly recorded of the sin-offering, by Moses. "And thou shalt take of the blood of the bullock, and put it on the horns of the altar; and thou shalt take all the fat that covereth the inwards, and the caul that is above the liver, and the two kidneys, and the fat that is upon them, and burn them upon the altar. But the flesh of the bullock, and his skin, and his dung, shalt thou burn without the camp: it is a *sin-offering*." (Ex. xxix. 13, 14.) Thus then, we see, in spite of all the ingenuity of Mr. Nicol, that the sin-offering is itself partly a burnt-offering, which is utterly destructive of his scheme, in the first step.

Secondly, the burnt-offering, also, to the utter confusion of Mr. Nicol's theory, actually partook of the nature of a sin-

offering; and though this author is bold enough many times to repeat that it had "*no reference to sin,*" and it would be wholly inconsistent with his theory that it should have any reference to sin, yet it is expressly declared by God himself, respecting the "*burnt-offering,*" that, "*it shall be accepted for him to make atonement for him;*" viz. for the offerer. (Lev. i. 4.) The trespass-offering, moreover, which was of the character of a sin-offering, ("*as the sin-offering is, so is the trespass-offering: there is one law for them,*"—(Lev. vii. 7.) was in part expressly commanded to be made a burnt-offering; "*the priest shall burn certain parts of it upon the altar for an offering made by fire unto the Lord: it is a trespass-offering.*" (Lev. vii. 5.) If moreover we examine the practical purposes for which holy men of God made use of the burnt-offering, we shall find that they were literally expiatory and piacular. For instance, Job "*offered burnt-offerings according to the number*" of his children: and he gives us this express reason for what he did,—"*It may be, that my sons have sinned.*" "*Thus did Job continually,*" chap. i. 5. See the same process in chap. xlii. 8.

Thirdly, even the peace-offering, which according to Mr. Nicol's theory, should not only have "*no reference to sin,*" but no relation to the burnt-offering, because the burnt-offering was to represent the offerer's devotedness to God, but the peace-offering was to represent an entirely different thing, namely, his peace of mind, and personal enjoyment, was only available to the sinner's comfort through the medium of a sacrifice and burnt-offering. "*If his offering for a sacrifice of peace-offering be a goat, then he shall offer it before the Lord; and he shall lay his hand upon the head of it, and kill it before the tabernacle of the congregation; and the sons of Aaron shall sprinkle the blood thereof upon the altar round about: and he shall offer thereof his offering, even an offering, made by fire unto the Lord; the fat that covereth the inwards and all the fat that is upon the inwards, &c. shall he take away; and the priest shall burn them upon the altar. It is the food of the offering, made by fire, for a sweet savour. All the fat is the Lord's.*" (Lev. iii. 12—16.)

Thus we perceive that every one of these offerings, respecting which Mr. Nicol's theory makes it essential that they should have nothing in common, participates of the character of every other, so that the very form and structure of this "*new*" invention is literally "*rent in twain from the top to the bottom.*" Mr. Nicol was quite aware of this difficulty; for he acknowledges, that in relation to the fat and the reins, which (he says)

"were emphatically called the bread of the sacrifices, or, more properly the bread of God," (P. 242.)

both the *sin-offering* and the *peace-offering* actually

"partook of the nature of a *burnt-offering*." (P. 245.)

Although the *sin-offering*, according to his theory, represents sin, not the sinner, not his affections or devotedness to God: yet he adds, that

"in every sacrifice, these parts of the victim were emblematic of the desire, the intention, and the conduct, of the offerer." (P. 246.)

Another thing, equally destructive to his theory, and much more important as it respects the present discussion, is, that the atonement and forgiveness of sins are universally connected with the sacrifices. Even the *burnt-offering*, which (Mr. Nicol declares) had "no reference to sin," is, in the words we have quoted from Lev. i. 4., expressly declared to be accepted for the offerer to make an *atonement* for him. It need only be mentioned here, that the two points, reformation of the offender, and atonement for his sin, are so united in the divine record, that no art of man can separate them—"without shedding of blood there is no remission." If we give one instance out of a dozen, it will be enough. We beg the reader to mark the perpetual association of the sin, the guilt, the priest, the sacrifice, the atonement, the forgiveness. "If," says the divine record, "the whole congregation of Israel sin through ignorance, and are guilty, when the sin is known, then the congregation shall offer a young bullock for the sin, and bring him before the tabernacle of the congregation; and the priest shall make an atonement for them, and it shall be forgiven them."—The same process is repeated for the ruler; and it is closed with the same emphatic language—"The priest shall make an atonement for him as concerning his sin, and it shall be forgiven him." This ceremony is also repeated for any of the "common people;" and the same is always the conclusion.—"The priest shall make an atonement for his sin, that he has committed, and it shall be forgiven him." Again, "If a soul sin, though he wist it not, yet is he guilty, and shall bear his iniquity; and he shall bring a ram, and the priest shall make an atonement for him concerning his ignorance, wherein he erred and wist it not, and it shall be forgiven him. It is a trespass-offering. He hath certainly trespassed against the Lord." (Lev. iv. v.) In the next chapter again, reformation, by *restitution to the person injured*, is joined with an "*offering unto the Lord*," for an *atonement*; by which the very life of Mr. Nicol's system is destroyed.

We cannot dwell upon the numberless circumstances, all

absolutely in contravention of this novel theory, which meet us in all these quotations. But we perceive, that guilt is everywhere supposed to be contracted ; and the removal of guilt, in order to the forgiveness of sin, is the grand end in every one of these examples. The removal of guilt is by an atonement. But how is this effected ? For the offerer does not make the atonement ; which on Mr. Nicol's theory he ought to do, and that not by piacular sacrifices, but by his own reformation. But there is a combination of circumstances, the victim, the priest, the altar, the sprinkled blood, the burnt flesh and fat, the offering made to God ; the Almighty smells a sweet savour, and accepts the sacrifice ; the priest is the mediator between the sinner and his offended Creator ; the victim is clearly the substitute, suffering in the offender's stead ; while his act in bringing the offering, and the blood, which is sprinkled upon the altar, which altar, as Mr. Nicol admits, symbolizes the heart of the offender, imply his repentance of sin, and his hope to be forgiven and accepted through this appointed medium. Thus the atonement is made ; the sin is forgiven ; and the repentant sinner is received into favour. Even in the peace-offering there is no communion with God, but by a victim first suffering. This is the universal medium of approach to God. "Through him we all have access by one spirit unto the Father."

When Mr. Nicol argues, that the command, that all victims should be without blemish, symbolized the perfection of character, which God required in those, who offered them, and at the same time denies all reference to the spotless Lamb of God, as the only perfect sacrifice ; he shews, how little he understood either of the nature of sin, or of the difficulty, that he is hereby throwing in the way of the acceptance and salvation of sinners. Gloomy indeed must be that man's prospect, who thus contemplates his guilt and his obligation, without being permitted to take refuge in an all-perfect Saviour, who has magnified the law and made it honorable by his obedience and sufferings for men ; for he can only in that case contemplate a command of reparation for the past, and of obedience for the future, which no man ever has afforded, or ever can afford.

We cannot find room for any discussion relative to the scape-goat, which is precisely of a piece with the rest of his interpretations. Mr. Nicol cannot discover even the semblance of atonement or substitution in any or all the Jewish sacrifices. The several acts of laying their hands upon the head of the victim, confessing their sins over him, and then slaying the victim, only represented, according to Mr. Nicol's creed,

the offerer's determination to kill sin; and did not in the least adumbrate the transfer of his own guilt and punishment to the animal.

Mr. Nicol is inconsistent in every point. He finds great fault with the orthodox for making all the sacrifices terminate in Christ, and thereby only meaning one thing. But this is literally applicable to his own schème. In referring the sacrifices to the person, offices, and grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, every thing and all things are substantially represented by them. But by making all the sacrifices refer to the disposition of the offerer, Mr. Nicol not only confines them all to one object, namely, the offerer, but to one branch only of what concerns him, viz. his temper of mind.

Before we proceed to the next particular, we must notice one more daring criticism of Mr. Nicol. He has occupied eleven pages in an inquiry into the meaning of the word, *ἱλαστήριον*, which is employed by the seventy for "mercy-seat," and is translated in the Epistle to the Hebrews and to the Romans "mercy-seat," and "propitiation." He contends, that, as *ἱλαστήριον* is a translation of כפרת, and כפרת is derived from כפר, and as according to some critics the original meaning of כפר is to cover, it must signify, not, as the analogy of construction would seem to demand, the covering, but the place of covering; whence he infers that, as the "law of commandments" was kept in the ark, which was covered by the mercy-seat, the mercy-seat intimated, that the mode of covering was by keeping the commandments, and, "that if ever men are covered with the robes of holiness and righteousness, it must be by obedience to this law." (P. 108.)

And with this view he wishes to substitute the term "Rectitudinous" for mercy-seat. From the whole of this criticism it will be instantly seen that it is only a fetch to get rid, at all events, of a term which so pointedly refers to Christ as the "propitiation for our sins."

Suppose we admit, that the Hebrew verb כפר signifies literally to cover, it means metaphorically, as must be allowed on all hands, to cover sin. Junius renders the Hebrew כפרת, which is first used in Ex. xxv. 17, for the lid of the ark, a "propitiatory covering." And Schleusner and Leigh, and all our best biblical critics, assure us that the corresponding Greek verb always signifies to expiate, to appease by sacrifices, or, that God is propitious in consequence of an atonement for sin. But our limits and design will not admit of our pursuing criticisms of this nature. Our business here is not to instruct the learned. The Greek word, *ἱλαστήριον*, and others from the same root, are found, we believe, only in the

following six places in the New Testament. We print the English words, which correspond with the original, in italics. "God be merciful to me, a sinner;" (Luke xviii. 13.) "That he might be a merciful and faithful High Priest in things pertaining to God, to make reconciliation for the sins of the people;" (Heb. ii. 17.) "Whom God has set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood." (Rom. iii. 25.) "And over it the cherubims of glory shadowing the mercy-seat;" (Heb. ix. 5.) "And He is the propitiation for our sins;" (1 John ii. 2.) "Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins." (1 John iv. 10.) Let the English reader try to substitute for the words in Italics Mr. Nicol's rendering, and see whether common sense will permit him to allow, that, in any one of these instances, they can possibly mean, "to cover with, or to obtain by the improvement of moral means, a covering of personal righteousness!"

But we must hasten to a brief consideration of the second proposition, namely, that old-testament persons and services did not typify the person and offices of Jesus Christ.

We admit, with Mr. Nicol, that analogy, or similarity of office will not of itself prove one person to symbolize another; nor the circumstance merely, of his being the subject of prophecy. But where analogy, prediction and fulfilment are combined, the thing speaks for itself.

Now Christ is called the second Adam, David, Melchisedec. He is called the rock; and the rock is called by his name. "That rock was Christ." Therefore, as Mr. Nicol infers from the sacrifice's being called sin, that they represented sin, he must allow us to adduce the rock's being called Christ, in evidence that it represented Christ. But the New Testament not only declares that Christ bore the same sort of character and offices as were sustained under the Old,—it not only tells us, that "This is He of whom Moses in the law and the prophets did write," and that "all things which God before had shewed by the mouth of all his prophets, he hath so fulfilled;" but it informs us, that Christ came to finish or perfect what the Old Testament only pointed out. It tells us expressly, that the "law was a shadow of things to come, but the body is of Christ." It assures us, that those things were types or patterns, of which Christ was the reality. Hence Christ finished, compleated, perfected, what the "blood of bulls and of goats" never could execute. Indeed the epistle to the Hebrews is given, as it seems on purpose to stand, as a wall of adamant, or of fire, in the way of such speculators as Mr. Nicol. It affirms, that Christ actually made an atonement for the

sins, committed under the Old Testament, and then sat down at the right hand of God, having obtained eternal redemption for us.

Mr. Nicol's struggles to escape from these obvious conclusions are preposterous. He professes to adopt a part of the truth for the sake of making the whole of none effect. He holds, that many things represented or typified Christ and his dispensation, in their exemplary, but not in their atoning character. But nothing can be more arbitrary, or inconsistent, or ridiculous, than to admit a representation of Christ in things merely exemplary, and to deny it in matters peculiar and vicarious; when the New Testament most expressly assures us that the typical atoning sacrifices, were fulfilled in Christ. Mr. Nicol is not more successful in his efforts to get rid of the typical character of the "Paschal Lamb," which adumbrated, he tells us, the destruction of the "Egyptian first-born!" For, suppose we apply Mr. Nicol's own rule of a symbol! What shall we discover? The lamb is expressly called the passover. "It is the Lord's passover." (Ex. xii.) Then according to Mr. Nicol's rule, this lamb represents the passover. If then it represent the passing over the houses of the Israelites for their protection, it cannot also represent the passing through the houses of the Egyptians to destroy their first-born.

But we must proceed to the third consideration, that even Christ's sacrifice only adumbrated the spirit and temper required of his followers, while it made no atonement whatever for their sins.

We had intended to say a little more upon the section preceding this, (the seventh) which discusses the point, whether the Mosaic sacrifices were types of the death of Christ. The grand argument is derived from the ignorance of the Jews, especially at the time of our Lord's coming, respecting any such interpretation, and from their total ignorance, that he should die as a sacrifice, or ever die at all. But the shortest answer to this is found in what the author affirms of his own theory. It is quite *new*, he tells us; and yet it is the only true one. If so then, Christians were quite as ignorant, at the very moment, in which Mr. Nicol wrote to inform them better, of the essential meaning of the New Testament as ever the Jews could possibly be of the meaning of the Old. The argument therefore proves nothing.

But, to proceed to the sacrifice of Christ, Mr. Nicol allows that Christ's death was a "true sacrifice." But from what we have so largely seen, the reader will be prepared to un-

derstand what sort of a sacrifice the writer means. He only retains the name, for the sake of destroying the thing. He retains the language too, of Lord, our Lord, our Saviour, our forerunner, &c. &c. because they are so constantly found in scripture. But yet Mr. Nicol, by the sacrifice of Christ, means no more than a symbol or image of righteousness and peace.

"The more excellent sacrifice of Christ, as of a lamb without blemish, was the image of the purity and righteousness and peace to which the wise and good were to attain under the gospel." (P. 371.) Mr. Nicol tells us moreover, that Christ was to be a "burnt-offering," answering to the burnt-offering under the law; that Christ however could not accomplish this end by his death, but

"by a life devoted to the service of God." (P. 389.)

And with respect to the "peace-offering," Mr. Nicol adds, "It is to our Saviour's life, that we are to look, not for the shadow, but for the very image of that internal harmony and equability of soul, which habitual virtue only can bestow, and which conscious innocence only can enjoy." (P. 392.)

In short,

"The whole life of our Saviour may be considered as one continual sin-offering, exhibiting not in symbol, but in reality, the death of sin, and powerfully impelling his followers to the same purity." (P. 374.)

"His death was the symbol designed to adumbrate the death of sin." (P. 376, 377.)

Thus Mr. Nicol teaches, that our Lord's "*life*" exhibited not in *symbol*, but in *reality*, the death of sin, while his *death* only *symbolized* the death of sin. The true import of which is, that the death of our Saviour was the symbol of his life. We should not have supposed, that extravagance itself could maintain, that the holy Being who, we are told by Mr. Nicol himself, abhorred "human sacrifices," would require the sacrifice of his son, when that sacrifice was to answer no important purpose, but was only to be a *symbol* of *that*, of which his *whole life* had been the *reality*. So fatal is error to its own existence!

The *consequences* of this system are tremendous. The "death of Christ" (we have seen) is a "symbol," and a symbol only, of the "death of sin." But all the "Jewish sacrifices," as well as Christ's sacrifice, were symbols of the "death of sin." The Christian dispensation then is only of the same kind with the Jewish:—that is, both symbolical; not one the accomplishment, the fulfilment, the reality of the other. The Jews, however, seem greatly to have had the advantage in having constantly before their eyes the true

documents of their spiritual edification ; whereas the Christians have only the sacraments, which are, according to this view of the case, only the symbols of Christ's death, which death was itself only a symbol of the death of sin ; so that, while the Jews had symbols of the reality, we have only symbols of the symbol. On this supposition, the death of our Saviour was unnecessary, and all the new-testament representations of the redeemed, as " washing their robes and making them white in the *blood* of the lamb," have no meaning.

If Christ's sacrifice, however, were only of the same efficacy as those offered under the law, though more perfect in degree, it will be utterly impossible to understand St. Paul's reasoning. He not only places Christ's office above those of the law, but puts it in contrast and opposition to them.— " If righteousness come by the law, then Christ is dead in vain." " The son became the author of eternal salvation." " He is the mediator of a better covenant." " By his own blood he obtained eternal redemption." " How much more shall the blood of Christ purge your conscience ! " The notion, that Christ's sacrifice is only an example, but of higher degrees of perfection than those under the law, is struck dead by St. Paul's reasoning in the tenth chapter of the Hebrews, from the first to the fourteenth verse. He argues this contrast. The blood of bulls and of goats could not take away sin. But Christ Jesus, having offered one sacrifice for sin, hath perfected his followers for ever. He further argues, that those sacrifices could never make the comers thereunto perfect, as pertaining to the conscience ; while he assures us that the blood of the cross hath made peace for ever to them that are sanctified. Now if Mr. Nicol's theory be true, St. Paul's reasoning must be perfectly erroneous. For if Christ's sacrifice perfects his followers only by symbolizing the death of sin, the Mosaic sacrifices did the same, and perhaps with equal perfection. Therefore the " comers thereunto," in old time, provided they put sin to death, as they put their victims to death, would be every way " perfect as pertaining to the conscience," as well as the strictest follower of Christ. For the ancient sacrifices shewed sin was to be put to death ; and Christ's sacrifice, according to Mr. Nicol, did no more.

But this would make the Christian dispensation infinitely more mysterious than the Jewish ; more hard to be understood, and less efficient as a system of divine instruction. For the whole instruction which can be derived, if Mr. Nicol be right, from all the immense *blood* and treasure of the Mosaic and

Christian sacrifices, is delivered in plain, intelligible language, without figure and without obscurity in the *ten commandments*! Nothing whatever, not one jot or tittle, according to Mr. Nicol, is intended by all the adumbrations of the Old Testament, and the infinitely more mysterious symbol of Christ's death, in the New, than is told us in these words—"Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and thy neighbour as thyself."

Moreover, as Mr. Nicol makes Christ's example every thing, it is obvious that, in order to answer his purpose, it must not only be perfect according to the scriptural representation, but upon his own system. For it is evident that an example may have many traits in it, highly proper when considered as making an atonement for sin, which would be even improper when no atonement is contemplated. For instance, Christ was in an agony. He sweat drops like blood. His soul was exceedingly sorrowful. He prayed that his cup might pass from him. He uttered strong crying and tears. He was almost heart-broken, when he cried—"My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" If these complaints were occasioned by the wrath of God, while he bore our sins and carried our sorrows—if they were excited, because it pleased the Lord to bruise him and to put him to grief, by making his soul an offering for sin; the cause is adequate, the effect appropriate. But they cannot possibly be explained on Mr. Nicol's system, nor made consistent with it. For if these terrors of mind, unaccompanied by any displeasure from God, and attended by the conscious satisfaction of his own rectitude, and the grand results of his example, arose, as they must have done, from the love of life, or the fear of death, every one must admit a defect in the virtue of fortitude. In any other case, Mr. Nicol would have designated it "pusillanimity." And truly, on this supposition our Lord's disciples, who went rejoicing to prison and to death, were in this respect above their Master. Nay, Greek and Roman heroes, and even Hindoos and Pagans, have looked forward to death, and endured the cruellest torments without a groan.

But Christ was not only a perfect example. He also suffered, the just for the unjust, that he might bring us to God. No wonder, therefore, that Mr. Nicol, suspected that his doctrine concerning our Saviour's life and death would be accounted

"rather an artful evasion of the doctrine which the Scriptures contain respecting it, than a full and clear elucidation of it." (P. 376.)

Most gladly we turn from it to contemplate Christ, our Saviour, in those characters of which this system would de-

prive him ; as our peace, as bearing our curse, as reconciling us to a justly offended God, as suffering, rising, living, reigning, interceding on our behalf before the throne of God, as representing our persons, pleading our cause, giving us access to God, and acceptance with him, making full satisfaction to divine justice, and giving glory to his heavenly Father, by offering himself without spot to God, and thus obtaining authority to present his spiritual followers perfect before him : and most earnestly do we exhort all, who are conscious, that their views of his office and character come short of this description, to be wise in time, to be instructed by the plain import of scriptural language, and according to the tenour of one of its most emphatic admonitions, to kiss or worship the Son, lest he be angry, and so they perish from the right way when his wrath is kindled, yea but a little ; for at that time assuredly it will be said with truth—“ Blessed are all they that put their trust in Him.”

ART. XVIII.—*Private Correspondence of William Cowper, Esq.* with several of his most intimate friends, now first published from the originals in the possession of his kinsman, John Johnson, L.L.D., Rector of Yaxham with Welborne in Norfolk. London : Colburn, and Simpkin and Marshall. 1824. 8vo. 2 vols. Pp. xxxii. and 727.

THERE is something in the mind and character of Cowper so pure, and yet so peculiar—it presents so many points of interest to the medical, the mental, and the moral observer, that no man of his time, with perhaps the single exception of Dr. Johnson, is so intimately known, and so fully appreciated.

It was in those hours of bitterness and woe, when “ hope never came to him, that comes to all,”—when an impassable gulph seemed to separate him from the promises of redemption, and when the decree of God forbade, as he thought, even the aspirations of prayer and the yearnings of the heart for mercy, that the spirit of poetry descended upon him ; and the world learned with surprise, that the very writer whose verse diffused cheerfulness and delight around, was himself the prey of a dejection which no effort of human skill could either remove or palliate. Like a marble aqueduct, imbibing none of the life-giving stream which it serves to convey to neighbouring lands or cities, the mind of Cowper

remained unvisited and unrefreshed by the salutary flow of his own religious musings; and, though he was himself

“The living pattern of the truths he taught,”

they furnished him with no sources of hope or consolation, except the benevolent hope that his verse might under the blessing of God attract others towards the pursuit and attainment of that happiness, from which he was for ever excluded. Such a state of mind is too striking not to demand attention: and, as a very serious and very general mistake upon the subject of Cowper's unhappy malady prevails in the world, we hope to be excused for calling the attention of our readers to some remarks, calculated, as we believe, to convey impressions, at once more correct and more cheering, to such as derive their happiness and hope from those views of religion, which he so ably taught, and so faithfully exemplified.

There is a school among the pathologists of the day, whose professors, in all their inquiries into the origin of mental disease and aberration, have marked, what they call the undue preponderance of religious sentiment, and the indulgence of gloomy, visionary, enthusiastic notions of faith and duty, as among the peculiarly active causes of evil, which require the most vigilant attention and the most industrious counteraction.

That a melancholy number of instances has occurred, in which minds, once sane and vigorous, have apparently fallen from their steadfastness after having embraced a more serious view of religion, it would be equally unwise and uncandid to deny. But the question still remains to be asked, are they plain, unequivocal, uncontradictory instances of *religious* madness? The probability seems to be, that in most of these cases a texture of mind peculiarly tender, sensibilities unusually acute, passions strong and dominant, united with some morbid tenderness of bodily constitution, lay the train, if we may so express it, to which any powerful exciting cause is sufficient to set fire. It has been pertinently observed on this subject, that the French revolution filled the houses of reception for insanity, in a manner unprecedented in any former period; and that Paris, under the tremendous reign of a godless multitude, infuriate and wild with the devices of their own reprobate imaginations, exhibited a greater number of lunatics than can be found amidst the same extent of population in the wildest periods of religious excitement. It is also to be remarked, that injudicious treatment by friends or guardians, connexions and associates ill-adapted to the patient's state and circumstances, want of occupation, possible laxity of conduct, neglect of private prayer, and, it may

be, the indulgence of some secret sin, have often much to do in producing that despondency which is attributed to excess of religion: and on many occasions the mind, tossed on a sea of doubt, agitated by the apprehension of danger, distorted and clouded by imperfect views of truth, and uncheered by any knowledge of the gracious offers of mercy in the gospel, has been shattered in the struggle, and never found repose or hope, until those very views of religion, which have been stigmatized, as the cause of the evil, dawned above the darkness, bade the day-spring from on high arise within the soul, and filled it with peace and joy in believing; a peace permanent or transitory, according as the causes of madness could be reached and counteracted, or remained too deeply seated to be removed.

These last remarks are applicable with the most strict propriety to the case of Cowper. "His afflicting malady," as it has been judiciously observed in the preface to his own little memoir, "evidently had its origin in an excessive sensibility, to which he was by nature subject, and which amounted from the first to a constitutional tendency towards derangement. This morbid tendency, perhaps, no combination of circumstances, however favorable, no system of education, however prudent, could have *wholly* counteracted: but it was certainly confirmed and increased by the circumstances in which he was actually placed, and by the habits of his early life. The loss of maternal tenderness and vigilance, which it was his lot to sustain in his very childhood—his education in large schools, where his feelings were kept in perpetual excitement by the irritations of that vexatious tyranny which was exercised towards him by some of the elder pupils—his destination to a profession uncongenial to his taste and disposition—and finally the terrors which his vivid imagination associated with an examination at the bar of the House of Lords, as to his fitness for the office to which he had been nominated—these were circumstances which fatally contributed to the ultimate disturbance of his faculties, and to all the painful events of his subsequent life. Religion was so far from causing that disturbance in the first instance, either directly or indirectly, that, even in his earliest depressions, it was the only source from which any feelings of a counter-acting or consolatory nature were derived. His own narrative, in which he has minutely related the many awful attempts which he made upon his own life, proves beyond the possibility of candid doubt, that his reason had been dethroned a year and a half, before he became decidedly religious. His own testimony to the state of his mind previously to those acts of

insanity is thus given in a letter to lady Hesketh, dated in 1765. "I called myself indeed a Christian: but He, who knows my heart, knows that I never did a right thing, nor abstained from a wrong one, because I was so,—but, if I did either, it was under the influence of some other motive." Religion came afterwards, as a balm to his mind, not its poison; and to attribute the disturbance of his understanding to that cause is to be as unreasonable as the wolf in the fable, who accused the lamb of polluting the river, from which he drank, though the lamb was then standing at a lower part of the stream.

Mr. Hayley, a man, who, with many amiable qualities, was as far estranged from Cowper's peculiar estimate of Christian faith, privilege, and duty, as from equality with him in playfulness or sublimity of fancy, has done something, though feebly and imperfectly, to vindicate his friend from the charge of being oppressed by a melancholy, strictly and solely religious. He has either described, or left his reader to infer many of the causes already mentioned, as pouring their injurious influence into the poet's mind, "and scaring it from its propriety." It appears also from the statement of Dr. Johnson in the preface to the work before us, that a cutaneous eruption on the face, which was incautiously checked and thrown inwards in very early life, originally induced his hypochondriacal affection, and rendered him ever after liable to depression of spirits. This indeed seems to have been in a degree the poet's opinion of his own situation, as he has expressed it in a letter to the Rev. John Newton.

"Distresses of mind, that are occasioned by distemper, are the most difficult of all to deal with. They refuse all consolation; they will hear no reason. God only, by his own immediate impressions, can remove them; as, after an experience of thirteen years' misery, I can abundantly testify." (Vol. II. P. 96.)

No greater testimony can be given to the truths and triumphs of that pure and undefiled religion, to which Cowper fled, and which through several years was the ark of his happiness, than his own pen and writings have afforded. "The storm being past," (says he in describing his own condition after his first recovery), "a quiet and peaceful serenity of soul succeeded, such as ever attends the gift of lively faith in the all-sufficient atonement, and the sense of mercy and pardon, purchased by the blood of Christ. Thus did he break me, and bind me up. Thus did he wound me; and his hands made me whole." Such was Cowper, while religion held its original and unmingled influence upon his mind. The clouds and darkness, which afterwards settled upon it, and made it

ultimately as gloomy as the night of Egypt, may probably be traced to causes already mentioned, in connexion with some others, which it may be desirable to notice, as data, upon which our readers may form their own opinions.

Even during the best and happiest hours of Cowper's life, (those which embraced the first years of his residence at Olney,) he was perhaps injured by the want of stated employment, to occupy, without burthening his mind. Had a volume of poetry, like those, which he afterwards published, employed that portion of time, which was not spent in devotional exercises or visits of charity among the poor, it might have served to confirm and perpetuate that habit of cheerful piety, into which he seemed at one time to have fallen. That some such measure was not recommended, and, if possible, urged with successful mildness upon him, affords a subject of deep regret to the lovers of sacred poetry and of the memory of the poet.

If ever there existed an individual, whose heart was sensibly alive to the charm of friendship, and derived solace and delight from the intercourse of a kindred and congenial mind, that individual was Cowper. The amiable family of the Throckmortons, who regarded him with feelings, which did them honour, and whom he loved, as they deserved, Lady Hesketh, Lady Austin, Dr. Johnson, Mr. Rose, his biographer Hayley, his invaluable benefactress Mrs. Unwin, and though last, not least, his venerable Mentor, the Rev. John Newton, all appear to have domesticated themselves in his affections. If they announce their intended approach, he seems to count the days and hours, till they arrive; and, when they draw nigh, they come, as welcome as the ruddy drops, that warm his heart. A friend therefore of his own sex, with the same taste and intellectual bias as his own, and with views of religion, at once spiritual and animating, would have been to him invaluable. Such a friend he never appears to have found: for, much and deservedly as Mr. Newton might claim his regard, their habits of thought and reflection were cast in different moulds; and there needed some connecting link between the imagination and fancy of the one, and the experimental wisdom of the other. Had the brother of Cowper, gifted as the poet describes him, possessed those religious sentiments earlier, which formed his solace in a dying hour, he seems to have been of all men the best calculated to obtain and preserve a salutary influence over the mind and happiness of this sufferer. His other friends, Mrs. Unwin excepted, with a kindness which knew no bounds, seem earnestly to have kept all religious conversation out of sight, as though it

were a minister of woe, and could never become a messenger of peace. The effect of their well-meant kindness was probably "to lower the tone of his piety, and to deaden the warmth of his spiritual affections."

The translation of Homer, which occupied above five years of his life, was an employment unfriendly to his religion and happiness. His letters, published by Dr. Johnson, bear ample evidence to this mournful fact. They descend in the scale and tone of religious feeling, the more he becomes absorbed by this exclusive labour. And although he endeavors eagerly and anxiously to plead, not only the innocence of his work, but its salutary effect upon his mind, as one that is absolutely excluded from all spiritual communion with heaven, he argues like one who wishes to persuade himself, and is not satisfied. It is not a little remarkable, that this translation, which engaged him in a labour so entirely secular, and banished religion from his daily employment, though confessedly exact in rendering the sense of the original, is feeble, and forms a striking contrast with the fervour and grandeur of his own poetry, which glowed with beauty, sublimity, and truth, because the fire which lighted up the writer's mind, was enkindled by a living coal from the altar of the temple. As his reputation extended, that indifference to human applause, with which he commenced his career, gave way to a solicitude for fame and praise. He, who at one period seems truly to say—"God knows, that I speak my present sense of the matter at least most truly, when I say, that the admiration of creatures, like myself, seems to me a weapon the least dangerous, that my worst enemy could employ against me"—becomes in after-years tremblingly alive to the breath of human applause. The reason is evident. His own poetry was meant to instruct, to amend mankind; and he had reason to hope, that a blessing from God would repay him. The translation of Homer had no such purpose; and therefore he rests upon the hope of public approbation, as his only reward for the immense labour bestowed upon it.

We would not in these remarks be understood to censure the employment, in which Cowper was engaged. We are only describing the effect, which the exclusive attention he paid to it produced upon his mind and character: and on this subject it cannot escape the observation of every serious reflecting reader of Cowper's life and correspondence, that his earliest days, in which his walk was close with God, were his best days. As the society of secular friends, and the preponderance of secular studies united with his distempered judgment to detach him more and more from spiritual pursuits,

we find him thinking, that the heaven above him was brass, so that his prayer could not pierce it; and that the face of God was darkened with a relentless frown, whenever it was turned towards him.

"Thus, in respect of peace of mind, such as it is, that I enjoy, I subsist, as the poor are vulgarly said to do, from hand to mouth; and, of a Christian, such as you once knew me, am, by a strange transformation, became an epicurean philosopher, bearing this motto on my mind,—*Quid sit futurum cras, fuge querere.*" (Vol. II. p. 212.)

We will now present our readers with a few further extracts from the work, which gave occasion to the preceding discussion.

The auto-biography of Cowper is a work of deep and powerful interest. Mr. Hayley, in his life of the poet, threw a veil over those melancholy subjects of mental depression, to which we listen with a kind of shuddering sympathy. While the nearest friends and connexions of Cowper were living, and the painful recollections of the departed sufferer were fresh and sore, there might have been an impropriety in publishing many of the letters which enter into the present collection. They extend, however, over nearly the same period of time, and give us the key to a variety of circumstances connected with his religious character, which must otherwise have remained locked from our view in impenetrable mystery. This fact indeed Dr. Johnson has assigned, as an ample apology for the present publication.

"There are many letters, addressed to Mr. Newton, with two or three to Mr. Bull upon the subject of religion; which, though not of general application, but confined to its aspect on the mind of the writer, were decidedly worthy of Mr. Hayley's insertion; and the more so indeed on that very account, his concern, as biographer, being rather with the individual than the community. But these out of tenderness to the feelings of the reader, I am persuaded, and for the gloominess they attach to the writer's mind, he has utterly excluded. In doing this, however, amiable and considerate as his caution must appear, the gloominess, which he has taken from the mind of Cowper, has the effect of involving his character in obscurity. People read 'the Letters' with 'the Task' in their recollection, (and vice versâ,) and are perplexed. They look for the Cowper of each in the other, and find him not. The correspondence is destroyed. Hence the character of Cowper is undetermined; mystery hangs over it; and the opinions formed of him are as various as the minds of the inquirers." (Pp. x. xi.)

The exquisite suggestions of a sportive fancy, which are preserved in this volume, are in themselves delightful. But, that they should have proceeded from a mind, wrapped in the deepest shades of melancholy and despair, is an anomaly,

to which the history of the human intellect can scarcely find a parallel. The singularity is alluded to by himself in a passage of the most vivid moral painting.

"I wonder that a sportive thought should ever knock at the door of my intellects, and still more that it should gain admittance. It is, as if Harlequin should intrude into the gloomy chamber, where a corpse is deposited in state. His antic gesticulations would be unseasonable at any rate, but more especially so, if they should distort the features of the mournful attendants into laughter. But the mind, long wearied with the sameness of a dull, dreary prospect, will gladly fix its eyes on any thing that may make a little variety in its contemplations, though it were but a kitten playing with her tail." (Vol. I. pp. 60, 61.)

Another instance of that wit,

Playing, like lightning on a summer's eve,
Yet nothing hurtful,

which is only the more vivid from the surrounding gloom, appears in the following commencement of a letter to Mrs. Newton, written with that arch and comic simplicity, which is exclusively his own.

"Dear Madam—When I write to Mr. Newton, he answers me by letter; when I write to you, you answer me in fish. I return you many thanks for the mackarel and lobster. They assured me in terms as intelligible as pen and ink could have spoken, that you still remember *Orchard Side*; and though they never spoke in their lives, and it was still less to be expected from them that they should speak, being dead, they gave us an assurance of your affection that corresponds exactly with that which Mr. Newton expresses towards us in all his letters." (Vol. I. pp. 53, 54.)

The following is of the same character.

"Two pair of soles with shrimps, which arrived last night, demand my acknowledgements. You have heard, that, when Arion performed upon the harp, the fish followed him. I really have no design to fiddle you out of more fish: but, if you should esteem my verses worthy of such a price, though I shall never be so renowned as he was, I shall think myself equally indebted to the muse that helps me." (Vol. I. p. 45.)

A similar specimen upon another subject is too characteristic to be omitted.

"You will wonder, no doubt, when I tell you that I write upon a card-table; and will be still more surprised, when I add, that we breakfast, dine, sup, upon a card-table. In short, it serves all purposes, except the only one for which it was originally designed. The solution of this mystery shall follow, lest it should run in your head at a wrong time, and should puzzle you, perhaps, when you are on the point of ascending your pulpit: for I have heard you say, that at such seasons your mind is often troubled with impertinent intrusions. The round table, which we formerly had in use, was unequal to the pres-

sure of my superincumbent breast and elbows. When I wrote upon it, it creaked and tilted, and, by a variety of inconvenient tricks, disturbed the process. The fly-table was too slight and too small; the square dining-table too heavy and too large, occupying, when its leaves were spread, almost the whole parlour, and the side-board table, having its station at too great a distance from the fire, and not being easily shifted out of its place and into it again, by reason of its size, was equally unfit for my purpose. The card-table, therefore, which had for sixteen years been banished as mere lumber, the card-table, which is covered with green baize, and is, therefore, preferable to any other that has a slippery surface; the card-table, that stands firm and never totters, is advanced to the honour of assisting me upon my scribbling occasions; and, because we choose to avoid the trouble of making frequent changes in the position of our household furniture, proves equally serviceable upon all others. It has cost us now and then the downfall of a glass: for, when covered with a table-cloth, the fish-ponds are not easily discerned; and, not being seen, are sometimes as little thought of. But, having numerous good qualities, which abundantly compensate that single inconvenience, we spill upon it our coffee, our wine, and our ale, without murmuring, and resolve that it shall be our table still, to the exclusion of all others. Not to be tedious, I will add but one more circumstance upon the subject, and that only because it will impress upon you, as much as any thing that I have said, a sense of the value we set upon its escritorial capacity. Parched and penetrated on one side by the heat of the fire, it has opened into a large fissure, which pervades not the moulding of it only, but the very substance of the plank. At the mouth of this aperture, a sharp splinter presents itself, which, as sure as it comes in contact with a gown or an apron, tears it. It happens, unfortunately, to be on that side of this excellent and never to be forgotten table, which Mrs. Unwin sweeps with her apparel, almost as often as she rises from her chair. The consequences need not, to use the fashionable phrase, be given in detail: but the needle sets all to rights; and the card-table still holds possession of its functions without a rival." (Vol. I. Pp. 349—352.)

Perhaps it would be difficult to exhibit a more powerful, or more melancholy contrast to the preceding quotations, than is furnished by those which follow, and which develop, in some degree, the form and pressure of that wretchedness, which even in its gloomiest hour could still allow him to amuse and delight; and which, to use his own inimitable language, "made his mind like some pools, which, though filled with a black and putrid water, will nevertheless, in a bright day, reflect the sunbeams from their surface." We commence this mournful selection with the poet's reason for undertaking the gigantic task of translating the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

"For some weeks after I had finished the Task, and sent away the last sheet corrected, I was through necessity idle, and suffered not a little in my spirits for being so. One day, being in such distress of

mind as was hardly supportable, I took up the *Iliad*; and, merely to divert attention, and with no more preconception of what I was then entering upon, than I have at this moment of what I shall be doing this day twenty years hence, translated the twelve first lines of it. The same necessity pressing me again, I had recourse to the same expedient, and translated more. Every day bringing its occasion for employment with it, every day consequently added something to the work, till at last I began to reflect thus:—The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* together consist of about forty thousand verses. To translate these forty thousand verses will furnish me with occupation for a considerable time. I have already made some progress, and I find it a most agreeable amusement. Homer, in point of purity, is a most blameless writer; and, though he was not an enlightened man, has interspersed many great and valuable truths throughout both his poems. In short, he is in all respects a most venerable old gentleman, by an acquaintance with whom no man can disgrace himself. The literati are all agreed to a man, that, although Pope has given us two pretty poems under Homer's titles, there is not found in them the least portion of Homer's spirit, nor the least resemblance of his manner. I will try, therefore, whether I cannot copy him somewhat more happily myself. I have at least the advantage of Pope's faults and failings, which, like so many buoys upon a dangerous coast, will serve me to steer by, and will make my chance for success more probable. These, and many other considerations, but especially a mind, that abhorred a vacuum, as its chief bane, impelled me so effectually to the work, that ere long I mean to publish proposals for a subscription. (Vol. II. Pp. 46—48.)

It would be difficult, in the whole range of recorded suffering, to select an instance of more pitiable distress, than that which must have laid its withering touch upon the heart of Cowper, when he gave the following statement of his spiritual condition, as viewed through the medium of his own mistaken belief and apprehensions.

Adam's approach to the tree of life, after he had sinned, was not more effectually prohibited by the flaming sword that turned every way, than mine to its great Antitype has been now almost these thirteen years, a short interval of three or four days, which passed about this time twelvemonth, alone excepted. For what reason it is, that I am thus long excluded, if I am ever again to be admitted, is known to God only. I can say but this, that, if he is still my Father, this paternal severity has, towards me, been such, that I have reason to account it unexampled. For though others have suffered desertion, yet few, I believe, for so long a time, and perhaps none a desertion accompanied with such experiences. But they have this belonging to them, that, as they are not fit for recital, being made up merely of infernal ingredients, neither are they susceptible of it; for I know no language in which they could be expressed. They are as truly things which it is not possible for man to utter, as those were which Paul heard and saw in the third heaven. If the ladder of Christian ex-

perience reaches, as I suppose it does, to the very presence of God, it has nevertheless its foot in the abyss. And if Paul stood, as no doubt he did, in that experience of his to which I have just alluded, on the topmost round of it, I have been standing, and still stand on the lowest, in this thirteenth year, that has passed, since I descended. In such a situation of mind, encompassed by the midnight of absolute despair, and a thousand times filled with unspeakable horror, I first comenced an author. Distress drove me to it; and the impossibility of subsisting without some employment, still recommends it. I am not, indeed, so perfectly hopeless as I was; but I am equally in need of an occupation, being often as much, and sometimes even more, worried than ever. I cannot amuse myself, as I once could, with carpenters' or with gardeners' tools, or with squirrels and guinea-pigs. At that time I was a child. But, since it has pleased God, whatever else he withholds, to restore to me a man's mind, I have put away childish things. Thus far, therefore, it is plain, that I have not chosen or prescribed to myself my own way, but have been providentially led to it—perhaps I might say with equal propriety, compelled and scourged into it: for certainly, could I have made my choice, or were I permitted to make it even now, those hours, which I spend in poetry I would spend with God. But it is evidently his will that I should spend them as I do, because every other way of employing them he himself continues to make impossible. If in the course of such an occupation, or by inevitable consequence of it, either my former connexions are revived, or new ones occur, these things are as much a part of the dispensation as the leading points of it themselves; the effect, as much as the cause. If his purposes in thus directing me are gracious, he will take care to prove them such in the issue; and, in the mean time, will preserve me (for he is able to do that in one condition of life, as in another) from all mistakes in conduct, that might prove pernicious to myself, or give reasonable offence to others. I can say it as truly as it was ever spoken,—Here I am; let him do with me as seemeth him good." Vol. II. P. 65—69.)

A reflecting reader of these volumes will hardly acquiesce at all times in the propriety of the methods, adopted by Mr. Newton in the warmth of his friendly zeal, to disabuse the enthralled mind of Cowper, and lead it out of its darkness into the marvellous light and peace, which it had lost. It is for instance, difficult to admit the wisdom of instituting a comparison between the case of his friend and that of the Rev. Simon Browne, (for he, we presume, is the individual referred to,) a learned minister among the protestant dissenters, who, under the influence of a most extraordinary mental aberration, imagined, that Almighty God had gradually annihilated in him the thinking principle, and divested him of all consciousness. Under the influence of this delusion Mr. Browne addressed a most remarkable letter to Queen Caroline, the wife of George II., which may be found in No. 88 of the Ad-

venturer. But no successful result was to be expected from this benevolent effort to enlighten and rectify the erring judgment of Cowper, by producing this history of another sufferer who was daily exercising that rationality, of which he supposed himself deprived. The answer of Cowper exhibits a very striking instance of that power to reason sagaciously from principles utterly erroneous, which marks those gifted, but unhappy few, whose minds are "like archangel ruined."

"I was not unacquainted with Mr. B.—'s extraordinary case, before you favored me with his letter, and his intended dedication to the Queen; though I am obliged to you for a sight of those two curiosities, which I do not recollect to have ever seen till you sent them. I could, however, were it not a subject that would make us all melancholy, point out to you some essential differences between his state of mind and my own, which would prove mine to be by far the most deplorable of the two. I suppose no man would despair, if he did not apprehend something singular in the circumstances of his own story, something that discriminates it from that of every other man, and that induces despair as an inevitable consequence. You may encounter his unhappy persuasion with as many instances as you please, of persons who, like him, having renounced all hope, were yet restored; and may thence infer that he, like them, shall meet with a season of restoration—but it is in vain. Every such individual accounts himself an exception to all rules: and therefore the blessed reverse, that others have experienced, affords no ground of comfortable expectation to *him*. But you will say, it is reasonable to conclude, that as all your predecessors in this vale of misery and horror have found themselves delightfully disappointed at last, so will you.—I grant the reasonableness of it; it would be sinful, perhaps, because uncharitable, to reason otherwise; but an argument, hypothetical in its nature, however rationally conducted, may lead to a false conclusion: and in this instance, so will yours. But I forbear. For the cause above-mentioned, I will say no more, though it is a subject on which I could write more than the mail would carry. I must deal with you, as I deal with poor Mrs. Unwin, in all our disputes about it, cutting all controversy short by an appeal to the event." (Vol. I. pp. 212—214.)

A similar objection may be made with considerable show of reason against the prudence of Mr. Newton's procedure in charging Cowper with entangling himself in connexions and employments, unfavorable to the influence of religion upon his heart and life. The charge might have been founded in justice: but this excellent man is not the first mental surgeon who "has rubbed the sore, when he should find the plaister." The answer of Cowper, though evidently written under the influence of strong and wounded feeling, is yet marked by a kindly respectful forbearance, which could not fail of increasing the love and pity of his faithful and venerable monitor. We must not transcribe it; and indeed after giving one more

selection from these darker tints in the picture of Cowper's mind, we must quit a subject, over which we linger with an interest, that fascinates, while it distresses. Its own melancholy beauty will be a sufficient apology to justify our choice.

"The weather is an exact emblem of my mind in its present state. A thick fog envelops every thing, and at the same time it freezes intensely. You will tell me that this cold gloom will be succeeded by a cheerful spring, and endeavor to encourage me to hope for a spiritual change resembling it; but it will be lost labour. Nature revives again; but a soul once slain lives no more. The hedge, that has been apparently dead, is not so; it will burst into leaf and blossom at the appointed time; but no such time is appointed for the stake that stands in it. It is as dead as it seems, and will prove itself no dissembler. The latter end of next month will compleat a period of eleven years in which I have spoken no other language. It is a long time for a man, whose eyes were once opened, to spend in darkness; long enough to make despair an inveterate habit: and such it is in me. My friends, I know, expect that I shall see yet again. They think it necessary to the existence of divine truth, that He who once had possession of it should never finally lose it. I admit the solidity of this reasoning in every case but my own. And why not in my own? For causes which to them it appears madness to allege, but which rest upon my mind with a weight of immoveable conviction. If I am recoverable, why am I thus? why crippled and made useless in the church, just at the time of life, when, my judgment and experience being matured, I might be most useful? why cashiered and turned out of service, till, according to the course of nature, there is not life enough left in me to make amends for the years I have lost; till there is no reasonable hope left that the fruit can ever pay the expence of the fallow? I forestal the answer:—God's ways are mysterious, and he giveth no account of his matters; an answer, that would serve my purpose as well as theirs that use it. There is a mystery in my destruction: and in time it shall be explained." (Vol. I. Pp. 309, 310.)

The strength of Cowper's delusions and the acuteness of his sufferings more than outweigh the splendour of his talents and the vigour of his genius. They shew, how easily he, who bestows the highest endowments, can touch a secret spring, that shall take away all their value; and they lead us irresistibly to the conviction, that peace of mind and a hope full of immortality, which may be the portion of the humblest Christian, are after all the best and most truly desirable of all the gifts of God to man.

ART. XIX.—*The Religious World Displayed*: or a View of the four grand systems of Religion, namely, Christianity, Judaism, Paganism, and Mohammedism; and of the various existing denominations, sects, and parties, in the Christian world. To which is subjoined, a View of Materialism, Necessitarianism, Deism, and Atheism. By the Rev. Robert Adam, M.A., late minister of St. John's Church, Christianstædt, St. Croix, and chaplain to the Right Hon. the Earl of Kellie. London: Seeleys. 1823. 8vo. 2 vols. pp. xxxv. and 976.

"It behoves us," says Archbishop Drummond, in his letter on Theological Study, "to look impartially into the different controversies, and opinions, and confessions of faith."

The first, who opened the way to this particular branch of study, was a theologian, whose name is now better known than his work. Every one is aware of his existence, who has smiled at the queer couplet, with which Butler opens the second canto of his *Hudibras*, or has joined in the censure of Addison on its doggerel rhyme:

"There was an ancient sage philosopher,
That had read Alexander Ross over."

This worthy divine was a native of Scotland, and chaplain to King Charles I. He published "A View of all religions in the world; with the several church governments, from the creation, to these times; also, a discovery of all known heresies in all ages and places: and choice observations and reflections throughout the whole." It went through many editions, and was wont to be purchased by the reading cavaliers "at the sign of the Greyhound in Little Britain, and at the Pile of Bibles in the Stocks Fish-market." Its contents were sufficiently copious, as the title-page indicates. Its divisions were geographical; commencing with the religions of Asia, as the cradle of the human race, to which two sections were devoted, and noticing church-discipline, and other recondite particulars, before the time of Moses. Those of Africa and America constitute the matter of a third section, in which are some curious accounts of rites and ceremonies in countries at that time little known. The ten succeeding sections are occupied with the religions of Europe; and the last, after treating of religion in general, concludes with a recommendation of true Christianity. Its form is catechetical, and, though abounding with information, valuable at that period, is filled with odd conceits and semi-

popish sentiments, while the mode of division, adopted by the author for such a subject, is manifestly open to objection.

The Rev. Thomas Broughton, a writer of acute genius and considerable erudition, an original contributor to the *Biographia Britannica*, issued in 1756 a work, called "*Bibliotheca Historico-sacra*, an historical dictionary of all religions," in two folio volumes. The character of its author, and the research, displayed in its compilation, could not fail of procuring it due celebrity; but it afforded little opportunity for critical talent or profitable remark, and could only be regarded, as a theological lexicon, useful for occasional reference. In 1764, an anonymous author sent out in four volumes, 8vo., "*The History of Religion: particularly of the principal denominations of christians, viz. of the church of Rome, England, Scotland, Nonjurors, Lutherans, Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists in general, Quakers, Antinomians, Moravians, and Methodists in general.*" The writer piqued himself on his impartiality. "I write," (he said) "for no party: my aim is to recommend a free and impartial inquiry into the genuine principles of christianity, which is the just foundation of truth and virtue, liberty and charity." It is however a heavy compilation of moderate talent, and its impartiality too nearly allied to doctrinal indifference and latitudinarian sentiment.

We now come down to our own contemporaries, Hannah Adams, and the Abbé Gregoire. The former, a pious and intelligent American lady, is entitled to grateful and respectful notice, for an able "*View of all Religions.*" A dictionary, compiled from this work, and enriched with 150 additional articles, by Thomas Williams, made its appearance in 1815, to which was prefixed a sensible "*Essay on Truth,*" by the late Rev. Andrew Fuller. This was a seasonable undertaking, and, being published in a popular form, was intended as an antidote to "*A Sketch of Religious Denominations,*" by Evans, an unitarian, not (we trust) without effect. M. Gregoire is an author of very different character. He is ex-bishop of Blois, member of the institute, and figured in the French revolution. To his credit he is a Roman catholic without bigotry, though not without prejudice, and was a most active opponent of Negro slavery. His production, entitled "*Histoire des Sectes Religieuses,*" is not destitute of merit, but it has the common errors of the French press. With all the vivacity of his nation, he quotes from authorities, good, bad, and indifferent, blunders over names, credits odd stories, and misrepresents some worthy countrymen and parties of our own at home, to such a degree, that, while we

are happy in being able to confute him, we certainly could not recommend his history, as a text-book, to any candidate for theological information.

In this state of things it is evident, that such a work as that before us, was not only not superfluous, but very much needed. The best of the preceding publications were of limited value. In fact, their character does not rise above the level of a dictionary. The work of Mr. Adam is of superior quality, and distinguished by a classic arrangement, which at any rate is better than the geographical or alphabetical system of his predecessors.

The author's division is fourfold : Christianity, Judaism, Paganism, and Mahometanism. In his first publication of the work the arrangement was different. He placed the four grand systems in the order of their appearance, Judaism, Paganism, Christianity, and Mahometanism. The alteration is an improvement. Christianity should clearly stand first in order of position : it is as old as the creation ; and Judaism is but the scaffolding to the gospel. But why should paganism occupy the third place ? The order would have been more natural, if, notwithstanding its seniority, it had been made the last in the series : for, bad as Mahometanism is, it acknowledges the unity of the Supreme, and honors Christ, as a prophet. This however is of subordinate consequence. The account of each sect is generally clear, and sufficiently full for the purpose of conveying accurate information for general purposes.

The arrangement of parts in each division does not appear to admit of improvement. We quote his distribution of the divisions of christendom, as a specimen.

"The three grand divisions of the Christian Religion, as now professed, are, according to the order of their first appearance. 1. The Greek and Eastern churches ; 2. The church of Rome ; 3. The Protestant churches, sects, and denominations.

"1. As to the object of divine worship, the various hypotheses will be treated of in the following order.—1. That of the Trinitarians and Athanasians ; who maintain that the divine nature, or a divine person, was so united to the human body and soul of Jesus, as to form one person, who is both truly God and truly man.—2. That of the Sabellians ; who hold that Christ is in all respects the same as the Father, under a different name ; or that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are different names for the same Being, the only living and true God.—3. That of the Arians ; who suppose that a pre-existent created spirit, of a higher or lower degree in the celestial hierarchy, animated the body of Jesus.—4. That of the Modern Socinians, or Socinian Unitarians ; who assert that Jesus of Nazareth is a proper human being, but the greatest of all the prophets of God.

"2. The various opinions as to the extent of the blessings derived through the gospel, and the means of obtaining the divine favour, will follow, under the titles, 1. Of Calvinism and Calvinists; 2. Of Arminianism and Arminians; and 3. Of Antinomianism and Antinomians.

"3. And the different modes of church government will be described in the articles immediately succeeding in the following order: 1. That of the Episcopalians; 2. That of the Presbyterians; and 3. that of the Independents and Congregationalists." (Vol. I. pp. 36, 37.)

The author then proceeds to notice the several churches, sects, and denominations, in the proposed order, beginning with the Greek and eastern churches. This department comprehends, 1. The orthodox Greek oriental church, divided into the provinces of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, under as many Patriarchs, whose primate is the Patriarch of the first division. 2. The Russians, Georgians, and Mingrelians, who are independent of all foreign authority. 3. The Greek dissenters, subdivided into Jacobites, Armenians, Copts, Abyssinians, Nestorians, and Syrian Christians. 4. Eastern Christians, subject to the See of Rome, generally called Greek Catholics.

This portion of the work is remarkably well executed. It is clear, concise, discriminative, and substantial. The author has availed himself of the different sources of information afforded in our day, from the communications of the agents of the Bible Society, the observations of intelligent travellers, and remarks of foreign divines, in addition to the standard authorities of Smith, Covel, King, Du Pin, and Mosheim. In former periods of our history, the ardour of curiosity, with respect to this important and extensive division of the Christian world, seems to have been damped by the hopelessness of authentic information. The controversy between Messieurs de Port Royal and the celebrated Claude, was the first occasion of making the religious tenets of the Greeks more generally known among reading men in France, Holland, and England; while papists were gratified, and protestants grieved, at finding so near a resemblance between the Romish and Greek communions. The doctrine of the trinity, and the articles of the Nicene and Athanasian creeds, are received by the Greeks in common with other Christians, with the single exception of holding the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father alone: and they agree with Rome in the number of sacraments, the invocation of saints, the belief of the real presence, the practice of auricular confession, and services for the dead. They agree with the reformed church, however, in disowning the pretended supremacy and infallibility of the Pope, and the claim of the church of Rome to be

the only true church; and in rejecting purgatory by fire, graven images, and the celibacy of the secular clergy, as well as in administering the elements in both kinds. It may be, moreover, observed, that individuals have been found among them who have taught or patronized doctrines much more conformable to those of genuine protestantism, particularly the famous Cyril Lucar, Patriarch of Constantinople, in 1630: and the observance of their numerous festivals and fasts, has, under divine providence, greatly conduced to preserve the members of the Greek church, though deplorably ignorant and very scantily supplied with the scriptures, from apostasy to the Romanists or Mahometans.

Meanwhile it is affecting to consider the state of both Greeks and Romanists, under Mussulman tyranny. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Jesuits at Pera were so successful in converting some of the principal Armenians, that the bishops of the latter were fain to apply to the Porte to procure their suppression or restraint. One of them, complaining to the Visier of these encroachments of the catholics, received for answer; "And what are catholics but infidels? If the hog be white, red, or black, it is a hog still. I shall not interfere."

Who can look on the map of Greece, the shores of Asia Minor, and the intervening Archipelago, without heaving a sigh over the state of the professors of the Christian name, attended by a fervent aspiration that the time may not be far distant, when the exertions of Bible or Missionary Societies, and the endeavours of pious individuals, shall be crowned with such happy results, that not only the Greeks shall entertain a purer faith, and have free access to the scriptures of truth, but that even their ferocious oppressors shall become partakers of the same faith, and possessors of the same scriptures? Endeared as Greece is to every cultivated mind, as the cradle of arts, the nurse of heroes, the abode of minstrels, the school of sages, we love to trace the spots, where Phidias wrought, Leonidas fell, Pindar sung, and Plato lectured: but, when we think of her with her surrounding family of islets, as the cradle of the gospel, the nurse of saints, the abode of martyrs, the school of christians—when we hear her acknowledged by 150 fathers, as "the mother of all the churches," in a Byzantine council of the fourth century—when we call to remembrance, that her very language is hallowed, as the earliest dispenser of evangelical intelligence,—who does not feel a melancholy pleasure, that we gave her back her own scriptures, before the recent outrages of her Turkish oppressors had caused the shriek of horror to ascend from her

matrons and virgins, and had stained her soil with the blood of her choicest sons?

Their rites and ceremonies are numerous and burdensome, beyond those of any other communion; and in their worship there is so much repetition, that after a short prayer by the officiating minister, the choir will chant—"Lord have mercy upon us!"—fifty times successively. The book, containing the services for the festivals, is divided into twelve volumes folio, and the lives of saints occupy four more: besides which, every day in the week having an appropriate character of sanctity, two other volumes are filled with suitable hymns and services; and there are yet two more, containing the psalter, the canonical hours, and the four gospels.

The permission of marriage to the seculars forms an important feature of distinction between the Greek and Romish clergy. The first order in the Greek church is that of reader; the next is that of chanter, leading to those of subdeacon and deacon: the candidate for the latter is expected to marry, and is directed, as a minister of the altar, and a companion of angels, to choose a chaste and beautiful virgin. He must then bring the object of his choice to the bishop, and humbly inquire, whether she meet his approbation. If the prelate be satisfied, he smiles, kisses her cheek, and gives her his blessing; but if he be not pleased with her, he says to the candidate, "Return to the Holy Ghost, and pray that he would enlighten thee." (See Abbé Mariti's travels, 1791.)—The married *papas* are distinguished by a fillet of white muslin round their bonnet of black felt, and are never promoted to a higher dignity than that of *proto-papas* of the church in which they serve. The bishops are always chosen from among the monks; and though these latter by their situation are shut out from some of the tender charities of life, yet they are not idle and useless, like Romish friars; for they cultivate their own lands, and work at some handicraft business.

Our author proceeds to an account of the Russian Greek church, adding to the copious work of Dr. King some valuable information from Pinkerton, Chantreau, a Russian tourist, and Platon, Archbishop of Moscow. This imperial daughter agrees in doctrine with her aged and depressed mother, but has very rarely referred to her for advice, though acknowledging the relation. From this religious connexion, it is no wonder that the Porte should feel peculiar jealousy of the court of Petersburg. What strikes us, as most lamentable in the Russian church, is her excessive veneration for pictured representations of the trinity, saints, &c. Peter

the Great, and the more enlightened ecclesiastical dignitaries, would have reformed this propensity, but were afraid of the disgust it would have excited among all orders. From the noble to the peasant, most men have their patron saints, stamped on copper, or painted on wood, and carried in their pockets, or placéd in an apartment, into which, a Russian, entering, does not salute the family, till he has made three signs of the cross before it. Some nobles spend much money in decorating a little chapel for this household god. M. Scheremetoff, a member of the directing senate, has a cabinet of these saints worth more than a million of rubles, or £222,222 4s. sterling."—M. Chantreau's travels in Russia, vol. I. pp. 143, 144.

The Abyssinians also venerate holy pictures, and abhor every image except that of the cross. A good account is given of their religious tenets and ceremonies. These people circumcise their children on the eighth day, not however from religious obligation, but national custom. They boast of Jewish extraction; build their churches in imitation of the temple of Jerusalem; reckon time by the era of the creation, and in computing from Christ differ from us eight years; and call their sovereigns kings of Israel, pretending that they descend from Queen Sheba, and King Solomon. See Ludolf's History, b. 2. c. 3. sect. 34. The Lion of Judah is therefore the armorial bearing of the Emperor; and Bruce, the traveller, was indebted to the accident of a representation of this animal on his seal for an interview with that august personage, who esteemed him a distant branch of the same family.

In entering on that portion of his work, which is entitled "Church of Rome, and Roman Catholics," the author has made some prefatory remarks, which may be singled out, as a fair sample of the style, and general composition of the production itself.

"In the ideas of a Roman Catholic, it must be obviously out of the question to give any account of the rise and progress of his church different from that of the Christian religion in general. The Apostles of Jesus Christ he considers as its founders, or rather as the ministers employed by its Divine founder, Jesus Christ. Its origin, he tells us, is written in the New Testament, and its progress stands recorded in the annals of the Church. St. Peter, he adds, was the first bishop of Rome, and the Popes were his immediate successors.

"That the Church of Rome is apostolical, and was for some centuries a pure as well as a true church, we readily admit: but that St. Peter was her first bishop is not so evident; and that she is the mother and mistress of all churches, or that she was at any time the only true church, we positively deny. She claims the honour of great exertions in extending the knowledge of Christianity throughout the world, and

ranks almost all the nations of Europe in the list of her converts. The honour of such exertions cannot be denied her; and indeed, to have been less zealous in the cause, would have been inconsistent with her doctrine, that there is no salvation (*nemo salvus esse potest*) out of her pale. At the same time, it must not be granted without some limitations as to her motives, her objects, and her mode. As she herself became less pure, her motives plainly partook of her impurity; her objects of conversion were often, not heathens or infidels, but Christians; and her mode too often savored more of Mahometanism than Christianity: as in the case of the Livonians in the twelfth century, against whom Urban the Third declared a crusade, and compelled them to receive baptism, and so come into the church. The quantum of honour connected with such conversions will not weigh heavy in the minds of most readers of the present day. But such as it is, and whatever shall be allowed to the invention, the whole may be said to belong to this church; though it was not encouraged by some of Urban's predecessors, with the remark of one of whom, Gregory the Great, I dismiss it for the present: '*Nova et inaudita prædicatio, quæ baculo adigit fidem.*'

"In this way, and by other ways more or less honorable, the Church of Rome was established, during the middle ages, throughout the whole of the western world, with the exception of that part of Spain which was in the possession of the Moors.

Some of the peculiar doctrines of this Church had made their appearance before the establishment of the papal power, which is generally dated in 606, when Pope Boniface the Third assumed the title of Universal Bishop; though some fix it in 756, when Pepin, king of France, invested Pope Stephen the Second with the temporal dominion of Rome, and the neighbouring territories, upon the ceasing of the exarchate of Ravenna. I have said the establishment, and not the rise of the Papal power; for these were only the progressive steps in the advancement of that dominion which began with the establishment of the Christian Religion under Constantine the Great. Rome had so long been the seat of empire and the mistress of the world, that it was an easy matter for its bishops to gain an ascendancy, and to conceive themselves entitled to superior respect. From these humble beginnings they advanced with such an adventurous and well-directed ambition, that they established a spiritual dominion over the minds and consciences of men, to which all Europe submitted with implicit obedience; till at length their formidable power was weakened, and their horns shortened, by the Reformation, for which *we* heartily bless God, but which *they* loudly condemn.

"This power shewed itself first in ambition; then in contention; next in imposition; and after these symptoms it broke out, like a sore plague, in open persecution: and appears to have long triumphed in doing what God hath not enjoined, and in abstaining from what he hath not forbidden. Its establishment and long uninterrupted continuance may justly be considered, as among the most extraordinary circumstances in the history of mankind. To the Roman Catholic this is indeed the great evidence of the truth of his religion; the per-

petual miracle, which proves a constant extension of the divine favour to that church, against which they believe 'the gates of hell shall not prevail.' Others, who consider, that this phænomenon may be accounted for from second causes, will perhaps be inclined to attribute it to the ductility and habitual subservience of the human mind, which, when awed by superstition, and subdued by hereditary prejudices, can not only assent to the most incredible propositions, but can act, in consequence of these convictions, with as much energy and perseverance, as if they were the clearest deductions of enlightened reason, or the most evident dictates of religious truth." (Vol. I. pp. 267—270.)

Next to the promulgation of Christianity itself, the *Reformation* must ever challenge the peculiar investigation of the student of religious history.

Were we to speak of the controversy between the Romanists and the Reformed, merely as a literary question, we should scarcely exceed the bound of sober criticism in asserting, that due attention to the laws of evidence, impartial views of antiquity, and worthy ideas of the connexion of the Supreme with his creatures marked the one side, while subtle evasion, gross prevarication, illogical deduction, and slavish regard to authority, characterized the other. But with all the abstract advantage of argument, and with all the security of a protestant code and reformed establishment, we can never be sufficiently on our guard against those moral evils of popery, which render it acceptable to the corrupt nature of man; we mean its influence on the senses, its easy commutation for sin, its lowered standard of holiness, and its substitution of profession for vitality, or ecclesiastical privilege for real dedication of heart and life to the service of the Redeemer.

Our youth should be taught to take a comprehensive view of the Reformation. To regard it in the technical and scholastic light of a grand emancipation from the preposterous claims and usurped domination of an ecclesiastical tyrant, affords but a narrow and partial conception of its advantages. Its distinguishing features are purely theological. The reformers gave due prominence to the Bible, and were thus enabled to maintain the scriptural notions of atonement, mediation, justification, regeneration, repentance, and obedience, on all which topics popery had inundated the world with a flood of dangerous errors. Led on by a superintending spirit, themselves unconscious of the length to which they would be carried by the force of their own speculations, the changes which they were the means of introducing in a large portion of the family of civilized man, were of the very last importance both in a *political* and in a *literary* point of view.

If protestant princes have accorded to their people certain rights, which grew out of religious changes; if the principle

of toleration has been admitted, the claims of private judgment allowed, and the rule of hierarchies and power of establishments fixed on just and tenable foundations; all these concessions and consequences grew out of the appeal, perpetually made under the Reformation, to the understandings as well as the consciences of individuals. The same cause led to the expulsion of the absurdities of old systems in philosophy. It prepared men to value the lucubrations of a Bacon, a Locke, and a Newton. It opened the interdicted stores of learning in every department, and invited discussion on subjects, which refined, while they invigorated the human intellect; giving a taste for genuine history instead of legendary tradition, and classical poetry instead of monkish versification. In fine, to the influence of protestantism may be traced the advantages of a *free press*. Delivered from the trammels of an *index expurgatorius*, the reformed governments have permitted their theologians, their scholars, and their œconomists, to circulate their respective opinions.

One consequence of this general freedom of inquiry has been the multiplication of religious sects; an evil effect indeed, but one, which will probably in the event, by the blessing of God, work its own cure. In the mean time this consequence has been foretold, as incident to our present condition, and permitted for wise ends. "There must be heresies amongst you, that those which are approved might be made manifest:"—and religious differences will not be without good effect, if, while they sharpen our wits to maintain what we ourselves hold to be important truth, they teach us the important lessons of humility and charity. Of the variety of sects, into which protestantism is divided, a respectable and impartial exposition is afforded in the publication before us, accompanied in common with the rest of the work with distinct and copious references to the best original sources of information.

This is followed by a general view of modern Judaism, and a very sufficient description of their existing sects, the Samaritans, the Rabbinites, the Karaites, and the Reformed.

Of the pagan superstitions and Mahometan sects it will not be expected that we should enter into particulars, though this is precisely that part of the subject, of which a compendious epitome, made from correct and original authorities, is most desirable, few persons caring to acquaint themselves minutely with exploded notions, on which no Christian can set a value, except with the view of correcting them. A short sketch is given of their origin and progress, and the distinguishing sentiments of each are faithfully displayed.

ART. XX.—*Original Memorials; or Brief Sketches of Real Characters.* By a Clergyman of the Church of England. 2d Edition. London: Seeleys. 12mo. 1823. Pp. vii and 194.

IN a former article we took occasion to introduce to our readers the observations of a travelling hermit, whose eye seems to have wandered at will over the world of taste and fancy. The author of the present work is a traveller also, within humbler limits indeed, but with a higher purpose; and in some respects, chiefly however with reference to the spirit which has animated the writers in their varied researches and directed them to the different objects on which they dwell, the two works may be advantageously contrasted.

The author of the *Original Memorials* has evidently gone forth to collect his materials, in the spirit of a man deeply persuaded of the truth and importance of religion. He does not leave his study or his home to amuse himself with the succession of vanities that are every moment flitting beside him. His walks are limited within a narrow round; but they are taken as becomes one who seeks not his own pleasure, but the profit of many, that they may be saved. In the same spirit also he comes to his reader, and lays before him the result of his personal research among the plain men, who live, like Jacob, almost unmarked of any eye, save that which is over the righteous, almost unheard of any ear, save that which is open to their prayer. His mode of writing is simple and unpretending, as becomes the subject of which he treats. His papers chiefly describe

“ persons who lived and died in the privacy of domestic scenes, or in indigent obscurity: but in whose short history may be read some instructive pages from the book of divine providence, and many illustrations of the power of religion in life and death.” (P. vi.)

Names are withheld, but with an assurance, that the friend to whom the book is dedicated, and, by necessary inference, the reader, may fully rely upon the authenticity of the narratives.

The book bears testimony to the truth of the declaration. The stamp of authenticity is very plainly impressed upon it; although we are prepared to think that the author has introduced occasional graces of drawing and coloring, which a glowing imagination, evidently conversant with forms of beauty, might add for the ornament, and perhaps for the completion of the portraits, which memory would only im-

perfectly bring before the mind. Such liberties are by no means uncommon; too frequently indeed they are taken by biographers to an extent much more unwarrantable than our author has used. The filling up of a character from the imperfect outline of recollection, is like the finishing of a drawing from a hasty sketch, after some interval of time. In the former case, imagination supplies the place of reality. Harsh points are softened down, or tame features brought forward and lighted up with an intelligence or beauty which the original never possessed; until the description becomes rather that of a beau idéal, than of truth and resemblance. In the latter case, the artist, from whose mind the scene has in a considerable degree passed away, has recourse to invention not less than to memory:—a group of trees is introduced where none could be found in nature; the stream takes a greater breadth; the rocks assume a bolder contour, the architecture forms more picturesque; the figures are more romantically grouped; the light is thrown into masses more vivid or more chastened than in nature, until at length the picture is finished, and, between the prose of the first, and the poetry of the final touches, is found to bear the same resemblance to the original, which the magnificent etchings of Piranesi bear to the dilapidated palaces and temples of ancient Rome.

It will admit a doubt whether the biography of anonymous individuals, by an anonymous author, be upon the whole advantageous to the interests of truth. We merely throw out the hint, without any intention of pursuing the inquiry. At the same time, we have no doubt of the instruction that may properly be derived from such lessons as that which we proceed to convey, in the following only extract we can afford.

“ Shortly after I took up my abode under the roof of my tutor, he said to me, ‘Remind me of it, and I will seize an early opportunity of taking you with me to visit a valuable old friend of mine, who lives at the distance of a pleasant walk.’ Something in his manner excited my curiosity, and induced me very speedily to put him in remembrance of his promise, and to obtain its fulfilment. It was on a bright day in the month of March when we started for our walk. I surveyed with an inquiring and expectant eye each decent habitation on our route; but we passed by every dwelling which I could suppose to be the residence of my tutor’s friend. Instructive conversation rendered us unconscious of the distance, and we were several miles from the town before we deviated from the high road to C—, and turned off up a path, that seemed to be but little trodden by the feet of man. We made our way through a thicket, whose feathered inhabitants, by their number and the freedom of their song, bespoke its remoteness from the busy haunts of human kind. At

last I saw before me a lonely cottage, more than half of which was a mass of ruins; and the other half did not promise to make long resistance to the hand of time. 'There lives my friend,' said my tutor, as we entered the wicket gate of the desolate garden. I silently followed him into the wretched hovel, admiring those holy principles, which led him to regard as a friend, its humble tenant. A ragged boy was sitting within by the dying embers of a scanty fire. 'Is your mother at home?' inquired my tutor. 'No: there is nobody but I, and the baby, and grandmother.' We proceeded up the tottering and broken staircase into a room, which in many parts gave ready admittance to the wind and rain. Two or three stump bedsteads, with a few rags for covering, furnished the comfortless apartment. Yet, perhaps, its nightly occupants reposed there in sleep more sound and refreshing, than that enjoyed by the children of fortune on costlier couches. We looked around and saw only the child, presenting in its unbroken slumber a lovely instance of the truth of this remark. A small closet, at the side of the chamber, with a broken casement, and without a door, drew our attention. There lay an object, the first sight of which made me shudder, and the impression of which years have not blotted out. It was a woman, laden with years, and consuming away under a loathsome disease. She was lying upon a heap of rags on the floor, half covered with some tattered linen, her head supported by a bolster of straw, and her principal coverlet was a piece of the rough outside packing-cloth used by clothiers in the West of England. So contracted was her body by disease, that she occupied but a corner of the closet. Her deeply-sunk eyes, and haggard countenance, silently told of misery of no ordinary description. But on that face of misery a complacent smile kindled, as her pastor approached her side. The conversation which followed, unfolded the mystery of his calling her his *friend*. The light of divine truth had visited her understanding, and the Spirit of truth had impressed her heart. She expressed her cheerful resignation to the will of God, in whose name and character of a Father she greatly delighted; and, though in answer to our inquiry, she spoke of her bodily sufferings, no murmur nor complaint escaped her lips. In lowly dependence on the Saviour of sinners, she was patiently awaiting her change of worlds—'looking for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ unto eternal life.' Her knowledge, indeed, appeared confined to the leading facts and principles of the gospel; but these had evidently served the great purpose of bringing home her soul to God. These supplied her with consolation equal to her sorrows, and with strength equal to her day. She knew but little, but she knew her God. Deplorable and destitute as were her outward circumstances, a calm and settled peace filled her mind, and a hope full of immortality lighted up her faded eye.

"Natural benevolence may prompt a man to visit the habitations of the miserable, and hold forth a liberal and welcome relief to their temporal wants; but it is only the 'heaven-born charity,' inspired by the gospel, which can bring him to acknowledge, as a friend, and love, as a member of the same redeemed and adopted family, the pious child of squalid poverty, and the subject of loathsome disease.

ART. XXI.—1. *An Appeal to the Members of the British and Foreign Bible Society, on the subject of the Turkish New Testament, printed at Paris in 1819*: containing a view of its history, an exposure of its errors, and palpable proofs of the necessity of its suppression. By Ebenezer Henderson, Author of "Journal of a residence in Iceland." London: Holdsworth. 1824. 8vo. pp. viii. and 70.

2. *Remarks on Dr. Henderson's Appeal to the Bible Society, on the subject of the Turkish Version of the New Testament, printed at Paris, in 1819*. To which is added, an Appendix, containing certain documents on the character of that Version. By the Rev. S. Lee, A. M., D. D. of the University of Halle, Honorary Member of the Asiatic Society of Paris, F. R. S. L., F. R. A. S., &c. and Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge. Cambridge: Deightons. 1824. 8vo. pp. viii. and 200.

WE had thought that the day of Bible-Society controversies was past: and indeed so far as such controversies concern the constitution of the Society, and its general plans of operation, this seems to be the case. That the public at least have not much taste for the farther discussion of the subject, appears pretty evident from the fact, of which we are assured, that of one of the last pamphlets of the class referred to, only *thirteen* copies sold. Charges, however, of a different nature have frequently been advanced of late, respecting the character of certain versions of the Scriptures, which the Bible Society has circulated. The accusation, in the present instance, has assumed a tangible shape; and we congratulate ourselves on the opportunity thus afforded us, of bringing the subject, as far as one version is concerned, fairly before our readers.

Before entering on the examination of the two works before us, it is necessary that we should say a few words respecting the circumstances under which they appear. It sometimes happens in a court of law, that questions wear an aspect different from that which they bear out of doors. It is so in the present instance. Dr. Henderson publishes his Appeal: from which it would appear, that it is in consequence of defects in the Turkish New Testament, in this Appeal alleged, that he has felt it his duty to abandon the Society's service; or, more correctly speaking, to abandon the parent institution, and transfer his services to the Russian Bible Society. But the truth is, other causes of dissatisfaction, of a private

nature, have had their effect in influencing Dr. Henderson's decision : and the Turkish New Testament is the plea, on which he is willing to rest his determination before the public, rather than the solitary motive of his conduct.

Herein we are far from imputing to Dr. Henderson any intent to deceive. On the contrary, he himself, towards the close of his Appeal, plainly refers to those other causes of dissatisfaction which we have intimated. But from his case being grounded upon considerations which, in point of fact, are not those by which he has been solely influenced, the whole comes to bear an overstrained, an artificial, and, if we may so say, a forensic character ; while in establishing that, which it undertakes to prove, it fails. We will not class the esteemed author of the Journal of a residence in Iceland, with the throng, who have come forward in succession, to strike their blow at the Bible Society, and to disappear. At the same time, we cannot but lament this forensic character which his work maintains, and the serious faults, with which it in consequence abounds. Thus after asserting, that

“ there is not a page, nor scarcely a verse in the volume, that does not contain something or other of an objectionable nature,” (P. 57.)

The Doctor, only seven pages further on, says :

“ Some of the books of the New Testament, as contained in this translation, I have never read, nor is it likely I ever shall.” (P. 64.)

Now in what temper, and with what preparation, must that man have sat down, to criticize a version of the New Testament, who can at one moment assure us, that he has never read, and never intends to read, some whole books of it ; and at another, make a declaration to its disadvantage, extending to every chapter, and almost every verse ?

To some further tokens, however, of that forensic or disputatious spirit, in which he appears to have taken up the present question, it may be proper that we should advert. Ali Bey's version of Luke xxii. 32, he renders, “ *one day* when thou art converted ;” and alleges that it inculcates a delusive doctrine. Professor Lee has shewn that this is not the fairest way of rendering the passage. But even supposing it to be correct, we may be allowed to question whether it inculcates any delusive doctrine whatever. For first, it is generally agreed that the words do not refer to the primary conversion of a sinner from the power of Satan unto God, being addressed by our Lord to Peter : and secondly, if we place together the translation as given by Dr. Henderson, and the correct translation from the Greek, as it stands in our authorized version, we shall find that much the same doctrine is inculcated by each. The former is, “ One day when thou art

converted, strengthen thy brethren ;” the latter, “When thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren.” We ask, Where is the difference ? Yet Ali Bey’s version, Dr. Henderson says, inculcates a delusive doctrine. The expression, “one day,” is indeed the precise equivalent in English to the Greek *πότε*.

The same spirit appears, when Dr. Henderson intimates, concerning a passage from Ali Bey’s version, in page 32 of his Appeal, that it inculcates faith as a principle which God will accept in lieu of obedience ; and yet he quotes the same passage again, immediately after, as inculcating with others the doctrine of works to the exclusion of grace.

Another circumstance, unfavorable to Dr. Henderson’s plea, and deserving a due degree of consideration, is this, that the unhappy circumstances of a private nature, which in reality had so large a share in influencing his determination, particularly respected Dr. Pinkerton ; and it was Dr. Pinkerton who recommended the manuscript, containing the version, which forms the subject of the Appeal. Without any impeachment of Dr. Henderson’s integrity, it is clear, that this is a circumstance to which some consideration is due.

We proceed to the charges, which his appeal exhibits. It is disadvantageous to these, that, when Dr. Henderson’s objections first struck him, as he tells us at p. 13, 14, he was only a learner of the Turkish language. We have a very unfavorable opinion of early discoveries in Biblical criticism. Many such discoveries, probably, have been made by those of our readers who are adepts in this line of study ; and afterwards discovered to be imaginary. Dr. Henderson’s disposition in this way may be judged of by a circumstance observable in his pamphlet ; namely, that he has more than once offered us an altered English version of passages from the Scriptures which he has taken occasion to quote. It is true, with regard to the Turkish New Testament, that Dr. Henderson tells us he suspected his discoveries in the first instance, but was confirmed in them as he advanced. But, whether he ever advanced so far as to be more than a learner, is a question which remains to be decided. Professor Lee seems to think it no question whatever.

In respect to Professor Lee’s “Remarks,” they are a full, sufficient, and satisfactory refutation of the allegations contained in the Appeal. Yet we do not entirely approve of every expression, or of every sentiment, which the work contains. Dr. Henderson, (we think), might have been treated somewhat less unceremoniously. His use of the term “sacred taste,” needed not such frequent animadversion. The Professor, having so much the advantage in point of fact and argument,

was under no necessity to descend to these minutiae. Perhaps also we have a higher sense than Professor Lee, of the propriety of following the letter of the original in all instances, as far as circumstances admit, in translations of the Sacred Volume. Even where it is usual to resolve the sense into metaphor or idiom, the words employed (we apprehend) have often a real meaning in their strictest sense, and may best be rendered word for word; and cannot indeed be rendered in any other way, without a departure from the mind of the Spirit. At the same time we are aware that this close mode of rendering is not always practicable; and that an adherence to verbal exactness is often a real deviation from fidelity. Still, when the question is about the language of the Holy Ghost, we are, in every instance, for the most literal rendering which circumstances admit. Then again, as to uniformity of translation, to this also, where practicable, we are inclined to attach more importance than Professor Lee. On the whole, the Professor does not (we think) entirely do away the charge of needlessly various renderings in the Turkish version; though he shows very satisfactorily, in most instances, that no rendering has been used but such as is either perfectly admissible in itself, or the best that can be selected from the nature of the case. Some minor defects of the translation, he is disposed perhaps to view too slightly. But he has kept in mind, and he constantly calls on his readers to keep in mind, what is the true state of the question throughout: namely, that it is a question respecting the *suppression* of the Turkish version; for Dr. Henderson undertakes, in his title-page, to give “palpable proofs of the necessity of its *suppression*.” Here we conceive, is the ground, on which the stand was to be made: and here it is that Professor Lee has completely succeeded. Faults there are in the version, he allows: but he shews that they have been prodigiously exaggerated. The Turkish New Testament is unquestionably open to objections; but other New Testaments, as he justly urges, are more or less open to the same. As to want of uniformity in the translation of particular words, it is an accusation to which our English Bible is very extensively liable: * so that if, for such a fault,

* For instance:—כרב is rendered, Is. xix. 5, to be *wasted*; 6, to be *dried up*: יבש, 5, shall be *dried up*; 7, shall *wither*:—אנבים 10, *ponds*: xiv. 23, xlii. 15, *pools*:—δικαιωμα, Rom. v. 16, *justification*; 18, *righteousness*:—απωλεια, Heb. x. 39, *perdition*; 2 Pet. ii. 1, *destruction*; απωλειαι, 2, *pernicious ways*:—σκανδαλιζω, Matt. v. 30, to *offend*; 1 Cor. viii. 13, to *make to offend*.

Many more instances might be given, but these will suffice. We trust our readers will perceive our motive in offering them: namely, not to depreciate our excellent version, which has few, if, any equals, but to shew, that occasional varieties of rendering occur in this, as well as in the Turkish version, against which this objection has been alleged with so much vehemence.

the Turkish New Testament must be suppressed, our authorized version must be suppressed for the same.

We will only further premise, that while Professor Lee's work bears marks of haste, which are excused on the plea of indisposition, Dr. Henderson is entitled to our indulgence on the ground of absence. Indeed it is on this ground, that his general conduct may be best accounted for; as we cannot help hoping, that, if he had been in England, and had heard in private the arguments, and seen the testimonies, adduced by Professor Lee, he would not have formed so rash a determination as that of quitting the service of the Society; or at least would have seen the necessity of vindicating his secession, if it was to be vindicated, upon some other plea.

Before proceeding to particular objections, Dr. Henderson advances some general accusations of a very serious kind; intimating that the version in question contains a "mass of unholy matter;" and alleging, that the Bible Society ought "to flap its powerful and widely extended pinions, in order to sweep it back into the regions of darkness, from which it proceeded." (P. 8.)

He calls the version in the same paragraph, "a corrupt and infidel version of the Holy Scriptures;" and afterwards speaks of

"the meretricious pages of this desecrated volume." (P. 15.)

We can but lament that Dr. Henderson should have been led to use expressions like these of a volume, which, as we shall presently show, fully merits a respectable place among versions of the Holy Scriptures.

Dr. Henderson also throws out some insinuations, towards the beginning of his Appeal, affecting the character of Ali Bey, or Albertus Bobovius, the person employed by Levin Warner, a Dutch ambassador at the Ottoman court in the seventeenth century, to make the translation in question. This subject Professor Lee places in a fairer light, by a quotation from the "*Biographie Universelle*." Doubts have been raised respecting Ali Bey's religious principles. It appears, however, that besides the Scriptures, he translated the English Catechism into Turkish: and he is supposed to have been the person principally concerned in translating Grotius's well known treatise on the truth of Christianity, into the same language. On the whole, we must say that Dr. Henderson, in his anxiety to strengthen his cause, has adopted sentiments respecting the character of the translator, which can scarcely be reconciled with any principles of Christian charity, or indeed of candour and fairness. He is continually imputing to him wilful perversions and misrepresentations of the sense of Scripture, some-

times even with ludicrous ingenuity. In Rev. xix. 9. Ali Bey has—"The sayings of God are true,"—instead of—"These are the true sayings of God." As Professor Lee remarks, this rendering "is certainly defective," but "the only effect occasioned by the omission is, that what is said of a part of revelation in the original, is here said of the whole." Now Dr. Henderson actually insinuates that this translation of the passage was intended by Ali Bey to make it refer to the Koran, and that a Mahometan would so understand it! And he adds, "These are the true sayings of God," as applied to the Christian Scriptures, is a declaration which even Ali Bey would not pollute his pen to write." (P. 38.)

Yet it turns out, on examination, that Ali Bey did write it: for the word omitted is found in the M. S., so that the omission is not Ali Bey's, but the copyist's. Other translators receive more lenient treatment. In the remarks on the text, Rom. ix. 5. "who is over all, God, blessed for ever"—the Ethiopic version is quoted, in which the words "over all" are omitted. What, if Ali Bey had been guilty of such an omission? But the Ethiopic translator, according to Dr. Henderson, is quite justifiable. He had exhausted the powers of language, it seems, in the word which he had used to express "God;" and

"he did not consider it necessary to substitute any thing for ἐπὶ πάντων. (P. 41.)

And then after all, most unfortunately for Dr. Henderson, it turns out, that this word, by which "God" is rendered, is so far from "exhausting" all the meaning of the passage, that it is not even a term peculiar to the true God, but an inferior appellation, attributed also to imaginary deities.

Dr. Henderson's charges against the version in question are contained, for the most part, in some remarks which he tells us were forwarded to the Committee of the Bible Society; and in some accompanying notes of additional matter. Towards the beginning of these remarks, he attempts to lay down certain principles of sacred criticism, which are controverted by Professor Lee. He then proceeds—

"Though I have only had time to go through a small portion of Ali Bey's translation of the New Testament, yet such parts of it as I have perused, convince me that if the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society had been previously made acquainted with its character, they would never have published it without subjecting it to the strictest scrutiny, according to the acknowledged rules of biblical criticism. It is not only of a totally different stamp, in point of freedom, from all the versions printed by the Society that I have any knowledge of, but exhibits passages with which even the overstrained

nicety and bold liberties of a Castalio would sink in the comparison ; and, as will appear from the sequel, renderings are to be met with completely subversive of the Christian Faith, and which seem to have been purposely introduced, with a view to meet the prejudices of Mohammedans. Tell it not in Gath ; publish it not in the streets of Askelon, lest the enemy should rejoice, that the British and Foreign Bible Society has given its high sanction to a version in which the worship of the Lamb who sitteth in the midst of the throne, is not only prohibited, but prohibited by the Lamb himself!!! I sincerely hope this is an anomaly in the history of biblical translations, and have no manner of doubt, that, as soon as the Committee are made acquainted with it, they will immediately pass a resolution for calling in all the copies that have been issued for circulation, and put a stop in the mean time to the printing of the Old Testament, in the prophetic parts of which, especially, there is every reason to fear greater faults will be found, than any I have met with in the New Testament.

That the Committee may be able the more easily to judge of the force of my objections, I beg leave to arrange them under the following heads: the mistranslation of proper names; the unnecessary use of synonymes; the want of consistency and uniformity; false renderings; omissions; and additions." (Appeal, p. 17—19.)

We give the picture in all the glare and breadth of Dr. Henderson's coloring; and the reader will, hereafter, be the better able to estimate the accuracy of his representations. The specific *fact* alleged in the above extract, if offered in reference to the present conduct of the Bible Society, would be false. This circumstance the Doctor does allow to transpire towards the end of his volume: but in the mean time he leaves the charge to exert its full effect upon the reader's mind, through the whole of the interval; and even repeats it, without contradiction or qualification, in another place.—“Tell it not in Gath,” says the Doctor; “publish it not in the streets of Askelon, lest the enemy should rejoice!” Yet the Doctor does tell it, and does publish it in the streets of London; and that, long after measures had been taken for the correction of the error. The case is this. In Rev. xxii. 8, 9, the copy of Ali Bey's version, lent to the Bible Society by the Curators of the University of Leyden, had “Lamb,” instead of “angel.” The error found its way into the printed work; and the consequence was, that the Lamb, and not, as in the original, the angel, was made to prohibit St. John's falling down at his feet to worship. This was indeed a serious error; but it has been corrected. The Committee of the Bible Society, when informed of it, did not indeed, as Dr. Henderson advised, send off to Paris to stop the printing of another book, but they gave directions that the offending pages should be cancelled and

replaced. Nay, they actually determined to send sheets with the corrected passage, to be substituted for the erroneous ones, to the only place except the depository of the Parent Society, namely Malta, where there was a stock of the Turkish New Testament in hand. What more could be asked or done? Yet Dr. Henderson brings forward this error as "sealing the death-warrant" of the translation, leaving his readers, throughout the greater part of his work, to believe, that the Bible Society is actually to this day doing the work of Antichrist, by sanctioning the deadly error, that we are not to worship the Son of God. In an edition of our English Bible, the printers omitted the word "not" in the seventh commandment. But we never heard that the sheet was cancelled and replaced, though even this would be no more than the Committee have done in the present instance.

Dr. Henderson, we have seen, begins by arranging his charges under six heads. Of the particular objections which he urges under each of these, we can only give a specimen. But those friends of the Bible Society, who have seen Dr. Henderson's appeal, ought, in justice, to procure Professor Lee's reply: and we doubt not that in the main they will find it satisfactory upon all the points, which we omit.

The first head relates to *the mistranslation of proper names*. In support of this charge, Dr. Henderson gives us, in the first place, several English renderings of the Turkish terms, employed by Ali Bey to express the Greek $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$; which renderings themselves, Professor Lee intimates, are most of them mistranslations. As to the word *Tengri*, of Tartar derivation, which the Doctor complains of, as sometimes used in the Turkish version instead of the Arabic, Allah, the Tartar word, says Professor Lee,

"is equally unobjectionable, because it also means God, and is equally intelligible to every Turk." (Lee p. 19.)

With the same reason it might have been urged as an objection, that Allah is sometimes used instead of *Tengri*.—One of the terms objected to, Dr. Henderson renders "*The Glorious Majesty*." But the true import of it, says the Professor, is "*The Mighty God*," a phrase well known to every reader of the English Bible. He adds:

"Dr. Henderson has, indeed, truly remarked, that a translator would not be allowed, in this country, to use such words as *Deity*, *Supreme Being*, and the like, as substitutes for the word $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$. I grant it; but I must be allowed to observe, that no such words as these have been introduced into the translation of Ali Bey. They are found in the appeal, it is true, but there they are erroneous translations of the phrases in question." (Remarks, p. 25.)

Another phrase is rendered by Dr. Henderson
 “ ‘The true Majesty’—But ‘The true God’ ὁ ἀληθινὸς Θεός, and nothing more or less, is conveyed by this expression.” (Remarks, p. 26.)

Another he translates, “The illustrious God,” on which the Professor remarks, that Dr. Henderson
 “has not told us, how it comes to pass, that *Hazrat* means *illustrious*.” (P. 27.)

The Doctor subsequently expresses great dissatisfaction, that this same word, *Hazrat*, should be applied to our Saviour, being a title by which kings and great men are addressed. The fact is, the word is much in the predicament of the Greek *Κυριος*, and the Hebrew *אֲדֹנָי*, which are sometimes applied to men, sometimes to God. Therefore there is no impropriety in using the word in its higher signification. Nay, we have an instance of a Persian of rank, who declined it in its application to himself.

“With regard to the epithet *Hazrèt*, (says M. Langlès,) a Persian ambassador or envoy, to whom I applied it, said, “On n’emploie ce mot-là que pour Jésus.” (Remarks, p. (22).)

And M. Bianchi says,
 “I can assure you that the Christians of the East, never utter the name of Jesus without introducing it by the word *Hazrat*.” (P. (27).)

To us it appears, then, that Dr. Henderson has been unwittingly attacking, and holding up to ridicule, the ordinary title of honour and veneration applied by the Turks to our Saviour. Even the Christian authority for the terms employed by Ali Bey is often very satisfactory; eastern Christians being in the constant habit of using in their religious writings, and versions of the scriptures, many of the words with which the Doctor is offended.

In the next place it is objected, that in the phrase *Κυριος ὁ Θεός ὁ Παντοκράτωρ*, Ali Bey has in one instance rendered *Κυριος* by *Effendi*. Of the propriety of thus applying *Effendi* Dr. Henderson entertains very strong doubts, and cites the authority of a Persian for this criticism on a Turkish expression: to which Professor Lee answers, that, whatever the Persian might think, the word *Effendi* is certainly applied to God by the Turks.

“In the three first Psalms of the Psalter, which has been translated into the Turkish language, and recommended to the Christians of Turkey by the metropolitan of Angouri, ‘*Ραββι Εφεντη, Rabb El Effendi, The Lord, Effendi*, occurs not fewer than eight times; where *Effendi* is manifestly intended to express the sense of Θεός, the true God.” (Lee, p. 48.)

Another complaint of Dr. Henderson’s is, that Jerusalem is rendered *Kudsi sheriff*, the *Noble Holy Place*: on which he observes, that Jerusalem is not more holy than any other place; and that an illiterate Mahometan will not know, whe-

ther the expression signifies Jerusalem, Mecca, or Medina. To this the answer is, that although the term, recommended by Dr. Henderson, and, as he observes, used by Ali Bey in another place, may be in some respects more proper, yet to the illiterate Mahometan, probably it would convey no idea whatever. The question is one of opposite disadvantages; and it is difficult which to choose, the Turkish language offering no term, that is not liable to some objection. Jerusalem is called the Holy City by St. Matthew, (iv. 5.) though he wrote after the death of Christ, when, according to Dr. Henderson, the place lost all claim to that title. We are moreover informed, that in the Turkish Psalter, above quoted, this very appellation for Jerusalem, occurs two or three times. It is written *κοῦτοι σεῖριφ*.

On the whole, the Professor observes, "that of the instances here adduced, not one merits the character of *mistranslation*. The utmost that can be said is, that other words might have been substituted for them, of the propriety of which a difference of opinion might, after all, exist." (Remarks, p. 53.)

It is clear that Ali Bey might have been more simple and uniform in the translation of proper names; and in some instances we could wish he had been: but it is not clear that he would then have been writing so good Turkish. He has employed a variety of terms; but it may be questioned if he has employed so much as one, that can be strictly called improper. The different phrases used to express the divine names, are merely the ordinary expressions of religious veneration; and the expediency of their introduction is maintained by all the oriental scholars who have been consulted on the point: and, after all, notwithstanding the display of diversified epithets, adduced from some particular passages, *in general* nothing is added but *Táála*, "the Most High."

The following observation is from the Rev. G. C. Renouard, late Arabic reader in the University of Cambridge.

"It is true that *Allah Táála* and *Hazreti Isa* are always substituted for *Allah* and *Isa*, but as the first signifies only 'The Most High God,' and the other 'the Lord Jesus,' there surely can be nothing very objectionable in such substitutions: and if the omission of such terms of respect should appear harsh or offensive to any serious Mussulman, (which I believe to be the case,) there surely is a strong ground for introducing them." (Lee, p. (30).)

Dr. Henderson's second head relates to "the useless employment of synonymes, where one word sufficiently expresses the force of the original." (Appeal, p. 28.) Whether the employment of synonymes, however, be *useless* in the examples given, is a question: and to assert it, is a *petitio principii*.

"Every one, who has made any progress in the oriental languages,

very well knows, that words are frequently reduplicated for the sole purpose of giving emphasis to the thing related; that others, having precisely or nearly the same import, are added for the same reason; that wherever letters are doubled or repeated in any word, such word is then termed *a noun of excess*." (Remarks, p. 56.)

"The best books to be found in the East, whether written in the Arabic, Persian, or Turkish language, are all composed in this style." (P. 57.)

Under this head, Professor Lee has again occasion to question the accuracy of Dr. Henderson's English renderings. The Doctor represents Ali Bey, as translating δικαιοσυνη, "righteousness," by terms, signifying "*righteousness and piety*:" but, in fact, the latter of the two terms has no other effect, in Turkish, than that of defining the expression, and rendering it more clearly intelligible. It is scarcely credible that any one should have raised an outcry against this representation in Turkish of an idea with which the minds of the Turkish people must obviously be entirely unacquainted. The futility of the objection is manifest from the impossibility of finding any terms that will answer the purpose better. Dr. Henderson has proposed one which, Professor Lee well observes, signifies "*justice as administered in a court of law*;" and when our readers hear that the term is *adawlut*, many of them will be ready to support his statement, from their recollection of its use in the forensic proceedings of our Indian empire. Another word, which he offers, signifies "*straightness, perpendicularity*," and hence "*rectitude of conduct*." In fact it is obvious, that the word δικαιοσυνη itself could not have had generally the sense which we now attach to it, when it was first used by the apostle. The idea must first be explained, and some word appropriated to it, and then to that word the signification will gradually be attached.

Under the third head, Dr. Henderson charges Ali Bey with "want of uniformity and consistency, and a solicitude to vary as much as possible the mode of expression." (Appeal, p. 29.)

This practice, says the Doctor,

"not only manifests the absence of a conviction that the writers were directed to the choice of the most suitable words, but is a daring attempt to improve on the language of the Holy Spirit."

To this the Professor replies:

"What will Dr. Henderson say, when I tell him, that, upon his principle, the sacred writers themselves are chargeable with all the iniquity which he has here heaped upon Ali Bey? that the Evangelists and Apostles, in making citations from the Old Testament, have never observed any thing like the uniformity which this new canon of his would make universal? What must be his surprise to find, that Luke and Paul and

others have made this daring attempt to improve on the language of the Holy Spirit; and that no translation has hitherto been made, not chargeable with this crime?" (Remarks, p. 59, 60.)

Dr. Henderson refers, as an example, to Rom. iv. 3, and Gal. iii. 6; and states that, in Ali Bey's version of the two, the words are not alike. But the fact is, the two passages are not exactly alike in the Greek: neither are they alike in our authorized version. Indeed, the doctor could not have pitched upon a more disastrous instance to support his plea. The same passage in the Old Testament, namely, Gen. xv. 6, is thrice referred to in the New, in the two texts just cited, and in James ii. 23; and herein there are three things particularly worthy of our attention. First, our authorized version of all the three passages differs: secondly, with respect to the Greek of the New Testament, two of the passages, but two only, are alike: thirdly, the original Hebrew is exactly followed by neither. Will it be said the apostles quoted from the Septuagint? True: and it proves that they did not, in every case, think it necessary to give the letter of the Hebrew. Yet neither have they *literally* followed the Septuagint. And, what surpasses every thing, Dr. Henderson himself twice gives an English rendering of one of the passages in question, (Gal. iii. 6,) as it stands in Ali Bey's version, (Appeal, p. 32, 33,) and gives it differently! What possible degree, or kind of authority is now wanted for Ali Bey?—not to mention that the testimonies to the character of the translation, in Professor Lee's appendix, which we shall presently notice, are most decisive with respect to the clearness and simplicity of its style. The translator, it is observed, so far from using undue embellishments, has sometimes even departed from the idiom of the language, rather than sacrifice the fidelity and perspicuity of his version.

The fourth objection relates to false renderings. Under this head it is objected, that Ali Bey renders "the day of preparation," (Matt. xxvii. 62,) by a word signifying "the day of assembly:" that is, Friday, the Mahometan sabbath. But then it ought to be remembered, that the day meant by the Evangelist, is a Friday, and that the word used by the translator is the Turkish for Friday. The term certainly does mean and signify the Mahometan sabbath, which falls on a Friday; but how is that to be avoided? Oriental Christians use the same word as Ali Bey in this passage. It occurs in the Arabic Testament, printed by Espenius, in that edited by Walton, and in that of the Propaganda edition, superintended by an Archbishop of Damascus. In the same way, when it is stated that, Rev. i. 10, "I was in the

Spirit on the *Lord's day*," is rendered by Ali Bey, "On a market day," it should be borne in mind, that the first day of the week, here supposed to be signified by St. John, and called by us the Lord's day, is the day on which they hold their markets in Turkey, and bears a name to that effect. Hence the word used by Ali Bey is the Turkish for *Sunday*. A more literal translation of the original phrase, Τῇ κυριακῇ ἡμέρᾳ, is also given; and its being more literal is an advantage: but on the other hand it will of necessity be less intelligible to a Turk.

We will only produce one more of the objections under this head. In Rom. ix. 5, where Christ is stated to be "over all, God blessed for ever," Ali Bey has used the word *Ilah* for God, instead of *Allah*. On this Dr. Henderson remarks, that Allah means the true God, Ilah any god; and adds, that the object of Ali Bey in using Ilah evidently was to shake the doctrine of our Lord's divinity. But what becomes of this objection, when it is shewn, that Ilah is often used for the true God, in the Koran, as well as Allah, as for instance three times in the following sentence—"We will worship thy God, and the God of thy fathers, one God?"—And, although it is true, that Ilah may be used generally to denote any object of worship, we confess we feel no difficulty about Ali Bey's use of it, when we find that the very same is adopted in all the Arabic Christian translations. But, to put an end to the whole question, the leaf in which this passage occurs has been cancelled. We think, with Professor Lee, that such a proceeding was in this case hardly necessary; but it serves at least to shew that the Bible Society are ready and anxious to satisfy every scruple that has the shadow of reason.

Under the head of omissions, the first is that of Τὰ παραπτώματα ὑμῶν, "your trespasses," in Matt. vi. 15. The passage, when these words are omitted, stands thus:—"If ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive you." It is evident that the omission of the words, "your trespasses," at the end of the clause, does not seriously injure its sense: and Griesbach finds the preceding words, "their trespasses," omitted in so many copies, (including the Syriac version, the Arabic, the Anglosaxon, and the Vulgate,) that he marks them as "probabiliter delenda." It is very possible that "your trespasses" did not appear in the copies used by Ali Bey. Another omission is that of Ἰησοῦ, "Jesus," in Matt. viii. 5: but this word also is omitted in so many copies, that Griesbach withdraws it from the text, substituting αὐτῷ, upon good authority. According as it is retained or omitted, the passage will be "When *Jesus* was entered into Capernaum," or, "When *he* was entered into Capernaum." The

difference is not of prime importance; and, from the authorities given by Griesbach, it is probable, that the alternative, chosen by him and Ali Bey, of omitting the word in question, is the right one. Again in Mat. viii. 19, Προσελθὼν, "coming," is omitted. Without that word the passage is, "And a certain scribe said unto him;" with it, "And a certain scribe came and said unto him." No doctrine of the Christian religion suffers by the omission, which the table of errata will supply.

For the list of additions the following example must serve. Rom. xiv. 1. is rendered "Receive *courteously*." But here the word *courteously* is not an addition, but is necessary to the proper rendering of the passage: for προσλαμβανέσθε, as Schleusner observes, implies "*Benigne et humaniter tractate.*" Doddridge expounds the passage, "Receive and converse with him *in a friendly and respectful manner.*" What is this but "Receive *courteously*"—?

This apposition of objections and answers says so much for itself, that it may be thought needless for us to make any farther observations respecting them. There are, however, one or two particulars, which deserve to be placed in a prominent point of view.

First, the reader will have observed that many alleged errors do not exist. We speak not merely of those cases where the charge is totally groundless, and may be met by the Lexicon. We refer also to those points, in which there is some room for difference of opinion. One mode of rendering is adopted by Ali Bey in preference to others, and Dr. Henderson objects to it. But had he adopted any other mode, there might be room for stronger objections. In such cases, it is wrong to allege an *error*. They are at the utmost only contested points; and it turns out after all, that the best selection has been made. Sometimes the case is one of various readings in the original: and that reading has been followed by Ali Bey which is preferred by Griesbach. Often, where the translator is attacked, we find that he has respectable commentators on his side: so that if he cannot in every instance have seen those very commentators, it is highly probable that he had access to others. And, further, the reader will have observed, that even where something like an error has been made out, it has commonly arisen from the nature, perhaps from the necessity of the case. Ali Bey is blamed for using Mahometan words, conveying Mahometan ideas. Professor Lee very justly replies, he wrote in a Mahometan tongue. If then the translator is to blame for using such words, it comes to this, that the Turks must not have the Scriptures in Turkish.

Our view of the necessity of the case with regard to these

alleged errors, is further confirmed by Dr. Henderson's attempts at substitution. We have already noticed his new rendering of the word "righteousness," and we shall find others not more felicitous. He objects to a term used for Paradise, because it conveys an idea of the Mahometan Paradise, but recommends in its place another word, which is exactly in the same predicament: for it is found occurring in the Koran, as Professor Lee observes, "with no unintelligible description of the place." He objects to the word used for manna, but recommends another, which may mean manna, a medicine; so that, though the terms employed may in some cases appear open to censure, it is not always easy to find others, which admit of no objection. Yet be it remembered, these terms, though called Mahometan, are not so exclusively. On the contrary, the Christians of the East have used them; and used them in their religious writings, and in their versions of the Scriptures. Even the word, Allah, God, might be objected to on the same grounds; for surely a Mahometan entertains very different ideas of the Divine Being from those which we should wish a translation of the Scriptures to convey to him.

Strong objections are urged by Dr. Henderson to the insertion of a table of errata in the Turkish Testament. As the table, which has been prepared, was compiled almost entirely from his own criticisms, we should be disposed to advise the Committee to listen to this suggestion.

We now proceed to the Appendix of Professor Lee's work, which is intended to meet the Appeal of Dr. Henderson, in its bearing upon the character and proceedings of the Committee of the Bible Society. The two first parts of the appendix exhibit a brief statement of the proceedings of the General Committee and Sub-Committee, with reference to the Turkish Testament, from May, 1820, to December, 1823. By these documents it appears, that during three years and a half of the above period, (from the time when the strictures on the Turkish Testament were first referred to Professor Kieffer, to the time when the unanimous resolution of the Sub-Committee, no longer to suspend its circulation, was confirmed,) the subject was formally brought under consideration, no less than thirty times. These documents, though merely short abstracts of the proceedings at the different Committee-meetings, afford, by the particulars which they incidentally mention, a satisfactory evidence of the caution, the deliberation, and the anxious care, with which the Committee proceeded in determining the question so long before them.

The remainder of the Appendix consists chiefly of testi-

monials from various quarters, to the goodness of the Turkish version. These testimonials are perfectly satisfactory, whether we consider the number and the character of the persons from whom they come, or the unqualified and decisive tone of the language which they contain.

No doubt there is always an appeal from human authority in matters of opinion. But it is necessary to refer to the evidence of orientalists on the present occasion, inasmuch as something like an attempt has been made, to produce evidence on the other side ; not indeed Turkish evidence, (and this is a remarkable defect in Dr. Henderson's case) ; to allege, however, the evidence of a Persian, who made frightful contortions, at the application of the word Effendi to the deity, though it has the authority of a Turkish psalter ; of a Georgian, who was afraid that Martyn's Testament with a table of errata was a false gospel ; of Dr. Henderson's colleague, who has ingenuously confessed his ignorance of the Turkish language ; of his Excellency, Mr. Popoff, Secretary of the Russian Bible Society, who is merely stated to have brought the subject before the President on Dr. Henderson's submitting his remarks to his consideration ; and of the Missionaries at Astrachan, who, appear to have tendered a testimony on both sides, probably at different times, and certainly under circumstances, that remain yet to be explained. But even in their less favorable testimony, published by Dr. Henderson, how do they speak ? They say not a word upon the point at issue, the *suppression* of the Turkish version. They talk only of correcting. "The *correcting* of which," they say, "will cost considerable labour and care." (Appeal, p. 52.) The inference then is, not that the missionaries are *for* the suppression of the volume, but that they would be against it. They speak of revising the work, with a view to its circulation ; not of suppressing it. No—they are living among Mahometans and Heathens ; and the suppression of a version of the New Testament is not a thing that they would be so eager to recommend. As far, then, as suppression is concerned, theirs is in fact rather a favorable, than an unfavorable testimony.

From the evidence against the version let us now proceed to the evidence in its favour.

This, as produced in the Professor's Appendix, consists first of an extract of a letter with enclosures from Mr. Kieffer, Interpreting Secretary to the King of France, Professor of the Turkish language, and editor of the New Testament in question, dated Paris, 30 Aug. 1823. This extract announces the written opinions of several learned orientalists of Paris, upon Ali Bey's version ; extracts from which opinions are annexed

We must content ourselves with such passages in each, as are most to the purpose. The first is from Baron Silvester de Sacy.

“I am by no means of opinion that the translator has sacrificed fidelity to elegance: neither do I think, that he has made too frequent use of Arabic terms. The version appears to me as literal as possible, at least if it be meant that the Turks should understand it. The original expressions sometimes admit of various renderings, and when this is the case, the translator can but give the preference somewhere. A translation, to be intelligible, must be in some measure a commentary. Consequently, it is unjust to blame the Turkish translator, for having sometimes employed two words to express one in the original. I observe that he has taken some liberties which I do not myself condemn, but which might afford room for a difference of opinion. I do not think that they alter the sense. On the whole, I am of opinion that it will be as well to make a few alterations in a new edition, but that the version in its present state contains no serious imperfection, and that there is not the least reason for withdrawing it from circulation.” (Pp. (14)—(16).)

M. Jaubert comes next. This gentleman has held various situations in Turkey, Egypt, and Persia; and is now Second Interpreting Secretary for the oriental tongues to the King of France, and Turkish Professor at the Royal Library. He begins by intimating that there are two sorts of Turkish, and commends Ali Bey as having chosen the more proper on the present occasion. He then institutes a comparison, to the advantage of Ali Bey, between the versions of the Lord’s prayer contained in his translation, and that published at Astrachan. M. Jaubert then refers to the objection respecting the modes of rendering the divine names in Turkish, and says,

“these expressions by no means give a Mahometan character to the work.” (P. (16).)

He concludes by saying,

“I am of opinion, then, even if we admit the existence of some of the faults imputed to the Turkish New Testament, that these faults are not of sufficient importance to render it unfit for circulation.”

The next witness is M. Garcin de Tassy; who is well known, says Professor Kieffer, by his various works in the department of Oriental literature; and who, for some years, has paid particular attention to the Turkish language. He says—

“One cannot but applaud the pains which he has taken, that nothing might be lost to the clearness of the Word of God, in translating it into a language so different from the original. As far as I am acquainted with this version, it has struck me as being remarkably accurate. And, in fact, Ali Bey has often departed from the Turkish idiom and the usual style of Turkish authors, rather than abandon the letter of the text. (P. (19).)

We confess, even with our strict notions on the subject, we hardly know what more we could require.

On the objection that the same word of the original is not always rendered by the same word in Turkish, he says—
 “The Turkish language differs from most others in this respect; that it contains words which are, strictly speaking, synonymous: it being one which employs Arabic and Persian words, in common with those which properly belong to it. Hence, the various modes of rendering the same word of the original are not attended with the slightest impropriety. This is only a less monotonous way of expressing the same idea, and one which the genius of the language renders necessary. Hence, Ali Bey has acted quite right in rendering Θεός, sometimes by Arabic words, sometimes by a Persian, sometimes by a Tartar word.”

With respect to the charge of having occasionally employed obsolete terms, M. Garcin de Tassy observes:

“Perhaps the version contains some words that do not often occur in common conversation. But it is not strange that the written language, even in its simplest form, should differ from the language spoken. The English Bible contains some words not in common use; but ought it on that account to be withdrawn from circulation?” (P (2).)

The next testimony, which is quite as favorable as the rest, is from M. Langlès, whose name is not unknown in England. This is followed by that of M. Andréa de Nerciat; who was for a long time an interpreter at Constantinople, in Syria, and in Persia; and is at present occupied in compiling a Persian lexicon. He says:

“I have attentively perused nearly the whole of the four gospels in the Turkish version. It would be hard indeed to suppress it. The translator cannot fairly be charged with having sacrificed simplicity to embellishment. His style is so literal, as constantly to remind you that you are reading a translation: and it may be confidently asserted that the language, though Turkish, is as plain as the Latin and the French of the gospels in common use among ourselves.”

We should only fatigue our readers by citing at length the equally explicit commendations, bestowed upon this version by M. Caussin de Perceval the younger, who has paid particular attention to the study of the Turkish language, and who is now Professor of vernacular Arabic at the royal library, but formerly passed several years of his life at Constantinople and in Syria, as interpreter, in the service of the French government; by M. Bianchi, who studied the Turkish language at Constantinople, has held the situation of interpreter at Smyrna, and is now one of the under-interpreting secretaries for the oriental tongues to the King of France; and by M. Desgranges, the other under-interpreting secretary for the oriental tongues. These are all of the most satisfactory description, and may be found at full length in Professor Lee's Appendix.

Such is the evidence from Paris. Should it be urged, that the Parisian orientalists, however learned in languages, may not be equally skilled in theology, we have in another part of the appendix two well-qualified clergymen of the church of England, fully coinciding with and confirming all the authorities, previously adduced. One of them in particular distinctly states, that those passages, wherein the divinity of our Saviour is proved, are translated in the sense of the orthodox church, and not according to their acceptance among the Unitarians and Mahometans.

Towards the close of the Appeal, Dr. Henderson says :
 " It now remains for those who are duly qualified for the task, to pronounce whether my censures are founded in truth." (P. 64.)

If Dr. Henderson, then, asks for men duly qualified, we have them here; and if he calls upon them to pronounce whether his censures are founded in truth, they unanimously answer, no. The duty of suppression lies, in this case, not on the side of the appellees, but of the appellant. Not the Turkish version, but the appeal on the subject of the Turkish version, ought to be withdrawn.

Indeed, as to suppressing the Turkish New Testament, we have every proof before us that it would be improper. From one quarter, indeed, the Bible Society is regularly assailed, and the motto of the assailants seems to be, Whatever is, is wrong. But if the society were to follow the advice of Dr. Henderson, and suppress the Turkish version, this would afford *just* grounds of censure, and even more moderate opponents might blame the determination. It might be justly complained that they were, for no good reason, keeping back a version of the Holy Scriptures from those who needed it. For this would not be merely a disappointment in a first attempt to produce a Turkish version. There had been previous trials. Previous measures had been taken by the Bible Society. A portion of the old testament in Turkish, after being printed, being deemed unfit for circulation, was suppressed. A new attempt at publication was then made. Such is the true history of the Turkish New Testament under consideration. Other hands were employed, and another place of printing chosen; various deliberations took place, and the best authorities were consulted; and under such circumstances, after such precautions, the Turkish New Testament at length appears. The time of deliberation therefore is past; the time for action is come. Every post, we are informed, brings fresh accounts from the Society's agents at Constantinople and in the Levant, of the call there is for such a work, and the prospects of its being gratefully and eagerly received.

It appears then, upon the whole, that on the subject of the Turkish New Testament, Dr. Henderson has both felt and communicated a groundless alarm. With regard to his objections, some of them will demand consideration in a future edition; but to the greater part, we are persuaded, it would be wrong to pay attention. It is vain for him to say, that he can bring many such examples. He must be able to bring examples of a different sort, or he says nothing.

As to the particular causes and character of the private feelings, which may have influenced the Doctor's conduct on the present occasion, the subject is one on which we wish to say little. It is clear that those who are employed ought also to be trusted: and it was right and proper that the Committee of the Bible Society should vest liberal powers in so zealous and confidential a servant as Dr. Henderson, and should pay a due regard to any representations coming to them from him. Still the management of the Society's affairs rested not with him, but with them: when any difference arose, they were to decide, not he: it was not for him to dictate, what editions they should suppress, and what they should circulate; and, their decision once fixed, it became his part to acquiesce. What has happened to him on the present occasion, may happen to him again. He has transferred himself, from the British and Foreign, to the Russian Bible Society; but he has not transferred himself from the necessary condition of all human services, that those who are employed must submit to be directed by those who employ them: and we question, whether he can have exchanged his original engagement for one, in which he will find the due measure of control more temperately, considerately, or kindly exercised. We apprehend, therefore, that if he has felt aggrieved before, circumstances may arise in his new connexion, under which he will feel so again. If he could not brook the necessity of occasionally sacrificing his own preferences, whether of judgment or of inclination, before, he will now feel it equally disagreeable: and, if we do not hear of some manifestation of a wish to return, and of some overture of reconciliation, on his part, to the Society which he has left, an event, which, for his sake, but (we will honestly confess it) not for his sake alone, we shall most cordially hail, we should not be surprised at hearing of his adopting a farther measure of secession at some future period, in leaving the Russian Society, as he has already left the parent institution.

ART. XXII.—*The Book of the Church.* By Robert Southey, Esq. L.L.D. Poet Laureate, Honorary Member of the Royal Spanish Academy, &c. &c. &c. London: Murray. 1824. 8vo. 2 vols. Pp. xxix. and 922.

THE term "Church" is employed in various senses. Some understand by it only true believers. Others apply it to their own communion; as when we say, the Church of England. Others again give it a more extended sense, including the whole body of nominal Christians. Mr. Southey, however, appears to extend the meaning of the word still further, and to understand by it the established religion of a country, Christian or not, whatever it may be. Accordingly, his present work, "*The Book of the Church*," relates not solely to the Roman Catholic and the Protestant religions, successively prevailing in these realms; but offers us, towards its commencement, notices of the Druidical, Roman, Saxon and Scaldic superstitions: each of which, in its turn, gained a footing in our island, and therefore claims, as having been in its day, more or less, the established religion of the country, its due share of attention in a *Book of the Church*.

Mr. Southey informs us, in an advertisement at the beginning of his first volume, that
"references have not been given, because the scale is not one which would require or justify a display of research."

We confess, that, in an historical work, we are great advocates for references. The writing of history, even history of that kind which may comparatively be called modern, is by no means a plain, straight-forward work. Many matters of fact, even in the records of our own country, may almost be denominated matters of opinion. The writer has not merely to extract, abridge, and compile. He has to doubt, to weigh, to examine, to compare opposite testimonies. He cannot take certain records and go to work upon them, assuming that they are in all points correct. He must ascertain the point, as far as possible, from collateral testimonies, and from the due consideration of every circumstance of the case. This is especially true of ecclesiastical history; and the remark applies with singular force to the ecclesiastical history of our own country. Here the testimonies are often inconsistent, as far at least as relates to the *coloring* of facts. Where Mr. Southey has given one coloring to an historical fact, we might have preferred another: and we have occasionally felt a wish that he had informed us, what are the sources from which his

representations are derived. Let him, if it must be so, give his own statements ! But let him, at the same time, give us the authorities from which they are drawn ; that we may have the means of following and tracing him, and of forming our own conclusions !

Thus, in one place, Mr. Southey is pleased to state that William Tindal, the translator of the New Testament, encouraged John Frith the martyr, when a prisoner in the Tower, not long before he was put to death, “ by the doctrine of fatalism.” At this assertion we were rather startled : and we determined, for once, to verify Mr. Southey’s statement ; which is contained in a kind of abstract, given by the Author, of a letter from Tindal to Frith. In this Letter (our Author informs us), Tindal encouraged Frith,

“ by the doctrine of fatalism, which Tindal had adopted, and upon which More had victoriously attacked him.” (Vol. II. p. 33.)

Now in an old edition of Fox’s Book of Martyrs, after the account of Tindal’s execution in Flanders, we have found the letter in question. We have, moreover, attentively examined it ; and not one word can we find, which in any way authorizes Mr. Southey’s representation, that Tindal encouraged Frith by the doctrine of fatalism. There are, indeed, the following words : “ The will of God be fulfilled, and *that which he hath ordained to be ere the world was made, that come*, and his glory reign over all !” And again :

“ Una salus victis nullam sperare salutem.

To look for no man’s help, bringeth the help of God to them that seem to be overcome in the eyes of the hypocrites. Yea, it shall make God to carry you through thick and thin for his truth’s sake, in spite of all the enemies of his truth. *There falleth not a hair till his hour be come ; and when his hour is come, necessity carrieth us hence though we be not willing.* But if we be willing, then have we a reward and thank.”—The words in Italics, we presume, are those on which Mr. Southey grounds his assertion : but they are so strictly scriptural, that one can scarcely charge them with fatalism, without extending the same injustice to the Bible itself. Fatalism is the term to be employed, in speaking of the Mahometan’s, or Hindoo’s belief. The stoics were fatalists, as they made the Deity dependent on necessity, thus putting the effect before the cause. Perhaps we should be correct in calling Buonaparte a fatalist. Some atheists also are fatalists. Those we mean, who hold the doctrine of a blind necessity, uncontrolled by the influence of an intelligent and all-powerful Agent. But fatalism, in this case, is predestination without a God ; and Tindal, it will be observed, keeps in view the agency and

the sovereignty of God throughout the whole of the above extracts. He speaks to Frith of the *will* of God, the *glory* of God, and the *preordination* of God. He speaks to him of the *help* of God, and of God's *carrying him through*; reminds him that not a hair can fall *till God's hour be come*: and when it is come, he says, necessity carries us hence; so that the necessity, of which he speaks, is not fatalism, but that real necessity, the only necessity which the Christian recognises, namely, the will of God: and as to More's having victoriously attacked Tindal upon such a tenet, we apprehend his only way to victory was by a previous conquest of Paul the Apostle.

We lament the want, then, in the present work, of references. In the instance now before us, no reference is given us to any publication containing Tindal's letters. Yet to Fox's history, we suspect, Mr. Southey is very largely indebted for materials; as well as to its usual appellation for the hint of a title.

The Book of the Church begins by exhibiting the earlier superstitions, which prevailed in our island, and the subsequent introduction of Christianity. The national benefits, with which this change was attended, are thus set forth:—

“To the servile part of the community the gospel was indeed tidings of great joy: frequently they were emancipated, either in the first fervour of their owner's conversion, or as an act of atonement and meritorious charity at death. The people in the north of England are described as going out in joyful procession to meet the itinerant priest when they knew of his approach, bending to receive his blessing, and crowding to hear his instructions. The churches were frequented; he who preached at a cross in the open air never wanted an attentive congregation; and the zeal of the clergy, for as yet they were neither corrupted by wealth, nor tainted by ambition, was rewarded by general respect and love.

“They well deserved their popularity. Wherever monasteries were founded, marshes were drained, or woods cleared, and wastes brought into cultivation; the means of subsistence were increased by improved agriculture, and by improved horticulture new comforts were added to life. The humblest as well as the highest pursuits were followed in these great and most beneficial establishments. (Vol. I. pp. 61, 62.)

In reading this account, we should bear in mind from what condition society was often delivered by the change.

“The nations by which the kingdoms of the Heptarchy were founded, were not more cruel in war than the Greeks and Romans in their best ages; but the Danes equalled in cruelty the worst barbarians of Asia or Africa. It was their custom, that, on the death of a king, one of his sons should be chosen to succeed him, and the rest provided with ships, that they might assume the title of Sea-Kings, and conquer a territory for themselves, or live as freebooters upon

the ocean. The Land-Kings themselves made piracy their sport during the summer; and all persons who were able to fit out ships, carried it on under the inferior title of Vikingr. It was their boast that they never slept under a smoky roof, nor drank over a hearth; and they who had accumulated wealth in this course of life, ordered it to be buried with them, that their sons might not be tempted to desist from the only pursuit that was accounted honourable.

“ These habits of piracy were rendered more ferocious by the character of their dreadful superstition. To a people, who were taught, that all who died of age or sickness were doomed to an abode of misery in the world to come, the greatest of all calamities was to die in peace. Men threw themselves from precipices to avoid this evil. A bay in Sweden, surrounded with high rocks, which was one of the places frequented for this purpose, is still called the Hall of Odin, that name having been given it when it was believed to be the entrance to his palace, for those who sought it by a voluntary death. And as their notions of future reward were not less preposterous than those which they entertained of future punishment, they were even more injurious in effect. When the Vikingr spent the day in carnage, and refreshed themselves by drinking ale and mead out of human skulls, they fancied that they were establishing their claim to the joys of Valhalla, by taking this foretaste of its happiness on earth.

“ But among men, as among wild beasts, the taste of blood creates the appetite for it, and the appetite for it is strengthened by indulgence. Men who had learnt to delight in the death of their enemies, were not contented with inflicting mere death; they craved for the sight of torments. The Spread Eagle of heraldry is derived from one of their inhuman practices toward their prisoners.

“ It may well be supposed that the rites of such a people partook the character of their ferocious faith. Some of their ceremonies were obscene, others were bloody. They sacrificed human victims, whose bodies were suspended in the sacred groves. (Vol. I. pp. 73—76.)

In ecclesiastical history, as it is generally written, we find but few records of the sincere and humble followers of Jesus, who constitute his true Church. The contests between kings and princes on the one hand, and popes and prelates on the other, the frauds of superstition and the atrocities of fanaticism, too generally occupy and darken the scene. Yet, in the following narrative, we have a picture that commands our respect and excites our interest.

“ The primate, Lanfranc, proceeded to deprive Wulstan, Bishop of Worcester, for insufficiency in learning, and for his ignorance of the French tongue; for even this, in the insolence of iniquitous power, was deemed a sufficient cause. Wulstan was a man who had escaped the contagion of those dissolute times. His habits were simple, his life exemplary, his character decided; and on this urgent occasion he was not wanting to himself. The synod, before which he was summoned, was held in Westminster Abbey; and Lanfranc there called upon him to deliver up his pastoral staff. Upon

this the old man rose, and holding the crosier firmly in his hand, replied, "I know, my Lord Archbishop, that of a truth I am not worthy of this dignity, nor sufficient for its duties. I knew it, when the clergy elected, when the Prelates compelled, when my master summoned me to the office. He, by authority of the apostolic see, laid this burthen upon my shoulders, and with this staff ordered me to be invested with the episcopal degree. You now require from me the pastoral staff which you did not deliver, and take from me the office which you did not confer: and I, who am not ignorant of my own insufficiency, obeying the decree of this holy Synod, resign them, not to you, but to him by whose authority I received them!" So saying, he advanced to the tomb of King Edward the Confessor, and addressed himself to the dead: "Master," said he, "thou knowest how unwillingly I took upon myself this charge, forced to it by thee: for although neither the choice of the brethren, nor the desire of the people, nor the consent of the prelates, nor the favour of the nobles, was wanting; thy pleasure predominated more than all, and especially compelled me. Behold a new King, a new law, a new Primate! they decree new rights, and promulgate new statutes. Thee they accuse of error in having so commanded; me of presumption in having obeyed. Then indeed thou wert liable to error, being mortal; but now, being with God, thou canst not err! Not therefore to these, who require what they did not give, and who, as men, may deceive and be deceived, but to thee, who hast given, and who art beyond the reach of error or ignorance, I render up my staff. To thee I resign the care of those whom thou hast committed to my charge!" With that he laid his crosier upon the tomb, and took his seat as simple monk among the monks.

"The solemnity of such an appeal, from a venerable old man, might well induce the Synod to desist from its injurious purpose: but it is affirmed, that, where he deposited the crosier, there it remained, fast imbedded in the stone, and that in deference to this miraculous manifestation, he was permitted to retain his see. (Vol. I. pp. 118—120.)

Want of space obliges us to pass by the contest between Henry II. and Becket, which is detailed by Mr. Southey with great spirit and interest. We are inclined to think, that he has placed the moderation of the king and the insolence of his opponent in a somewhat truer and fuller light, than they commonly occupy in the page of modern history.

The complete triumph of the papal power, especially under John, leads us on to three chapters, containing three general sketches executed with considerable power and skill. The tenth offers us a view of the papal system; the eleventh describes the rise of the reformation; and the twelfth relates to the overthrow of the papal power in England. It strikes us, however, that these chapters cannot strictly be said to afford us a distinct view, either of the evil or of the remedy. The grand evil of the papal

system we do not conceive to be either ecclesiastical abuses, or encroachments on the civil power, (though serious evils these;) but *false doctrine*. False doctrine, we say, lies at the root of popery: and true doctrine is the axe at the root, which has already lopped some of the stoutest branches of the tree, and will one day bring it down. In the tenth chapter, which relates to the abuses of popery, we have the following heads distinctly specified; Tradition substituted for Scripture; Relics; Saint-worship; Assimilation of popery to paganism; Self-tormenting; Works of supererogation: Indulgences; Confession; Transubstantiation; Power of the pope. But, with them, we should like to have seen False doctrine. All these indeed are distinct heads of false doctrine; but the root or element of them all is omitted in the catalogue, namely defective views on the subject of justification, or the manner of a sinner's acceptance with God. Again, in the eleventh chapter, which treats of the rise of the reformation, we should have been glad to find some account (though, as it will be seen hereafter, we question, how far Mr. Southey is prepared by his present qualifications to afford it,) of the growth of the true doctrine, salvation by grace through faith.

We cannot indeed commend those writers, however excellent, who speak of Luther, as if he had *discovered* the doctrine of justification by faith. He did indeed, by the help of God, discover it for himself, in the diligent study of the Holy Scriptures. But the church always possessed this doctrine, in possessing the Bible: and even to Luther himself it had been suggested in sickness by a monk. In shutting the book, however, the church had shut it up; and possessed it at length only as a treasure in a casket, of which the contents were unknown. If there is any *difference* between Luther and the early fathers upon the subject of justification, it is only, that they, speaking of a doctrine, generally understood in the church, were under less anxiety to guard themselves from misconception, whereas Luther, speaking of the same doctrine, obscured, curtailed, proscribed, marred by superstitious notions of merit, penance, and works of supererogation, writes concerning it controversially, as having to deal, not with friends, but with opponents: and hence arises that discrepancy of tone, which it has occasionally been attempted to account for by supposing, that the early fathers had but obscure views of the doctrine of justification.

The true history of the reformation, then, is the history of the decline of religious error, and of the revival of religious truth. And this, it appears to us, is a fact of which Mr. Southey is

not sufficiently aware. His opinion seems to be, that, stripped of its ecclesiastical abuses and superstitious practices, stripped of its despotic power over the consciences of men, and its claims of interference with the rights of princes, popery would no longer be an evil. We on the contrary allege, that, if there were no change in regard to the doctrine of justification, the evil would still continue essentially the same. Where indeed there are not just views of the evils of popish doctrine, it is possible for a man, while he calls himself a Protestant, to view the whole system of popery with very mitigated feelings. The Author for instance, professes an opinion, that had Sir Thomas More lived one generation earlier, he might, "by procuring the correction of grosser abuses," have rendered the necessity for the reformation "less urgent." (Vol. II. 25.) Now we maintain, that, all abuses corrected, as long as there was no correction of doctrine, the urgency would have been the same.

Mr. Southey further intimates that, in some of these abuses there was no great harm in the early ages, but rather benefit; remarking, concerning the practice of *worshipping God in an unknown tongue*, (so explicitly condemned in the twenty-fourth article of the Church of England, as "a thing plainly repugnant to the Word of God, and the custom of the primitive church,") that if, on one plea, which he urges for the papists with great ingenuity, "there was no real disadvantage in the use of a foreign tongue, in other respects many and most important advantages arose from it." (Vol. I. Pp. 58, 59.)

The *worship of images*, also, seems to be regarded with a very tolerant feeling by Mr. Southey; when he observes, that "of the ceremonies which the church borrowed from Paganism, some were spiritualized, and others ennobled by the adoption; and that even idolatry was, in some degree, purified; and gained in sentiment more than it lost in the degradation of the arts." (Vol. I. p. 303.)

The *claims of temporal power*, again, which constitute another feature of popery, and which are condemned in our church's thirty-seventh article, are regarded by Mr. Southey with extraordinary candour and indulgence. Concerning Pope Hildebrand, the Author observes, that the use he made of his power, when obtained, "was to throw off all dependence upon the temporal authority, and establish a system, whereby Rome should again become the mistress of the world. A grander scheme never was devised by human ambition; and, wild as it may appear, it was, at that time, in many points so beneficial, that the most upright men might conscientiously have labored to advance it." (Vol. I. pp. 127, 128.)

Such being the indulgent feelings of Mr. Southey, with regard to some of the leading abuses of popery, our readers will be less surprised, when they become acquainted with his amicable dispositions towards popery itself, which he thus communicates :

"If, indeed, the papal chair could always have been occupied by such men as S. Carlo Borromeo, or Fenelon, and the ranks of the hierarchy throughout all Christian kingdoms always have been filled, as they ought to have been, by subjects, chosen for their wisdom and piety, such a scheme would have produced as much benefit to the world as has ever been imagined in Utopian romance, and more than it has ever yet enjoyed under any of its revolutions." (Vol. I. 287.)

Highly as we respect both the Archbishop and the Cardinal, we had much rather the experiment should be tried in Utopia than in Christendom. It would be little gratification to us, protestant heretics, to be burned alive, even under the peaceful and paternal sway of the author of *Telemachus*. "His mild, uniform piety," though of that kind, which "troubled no one," would have been utterly insufficient to give a new direction to the machine, which he would seem to govern. When therefore Mr. Southey informs us on another occasion, that,

"had it been possible to bring about a reunion with the Romish church, preserving the principles and the independence of the church of England, Charles I would gladly have cooperated *in a measure so devoutly to be wished,*" (Vol. II. p. 357.)

we are bound to say, that the principles of the church of England would be compromised by such an union, almost as much as its independence would be jeoparded. Never can the matron, preserving her principles, countenance and associate with the harlot. The sentiments, thus expressed by Mr. Southey on the subject of popery, may serve to teach us, that though a man may suppose himself a decided enemy to the papal system, yet, if his views on the subject of doctrine are not fixed, the real amount of his hostility in other respects is far less than he imagines.

This is the more remarkable in the present instance, because in other parts of the work (we might rather say, throughout almost the whole of it) Mr. Southey has exhibited some of the worst features of the papal system in all their deformity. The claims of Pope Hildebrand to civil authority are thus stated.

"His language was, that if Kings presumed to disobey the edicts of the apostolic See, they were cut off from participating in the body and blood of Christ, and forfeited their dignities. For if that See had power to determine and judge in things celestial and spiritual, how much more in things earthly and secular ! The church (he affirmed,)

had power to give or take away all empires, kingdoms, duchies, principalities, marquisates, counties, and possessions of all men whatsoever." (Vol. I. p. 129.)

Similar abuses are set forth at greater length in a subsequent chapter.

"If such then were the power of the clergy, even of the meanest priest, what must be attributed to their earthly head, the successor of St. Peter? They claimed for him a plenitude of power; and it has been seen that he exercised it over the Princes of Christendom in its fullest meaning. According to the Canons, the Pope was as far above all Kings, as the sun is greater than the moon. He was King of kings, and Lord of lords, though he subscribed himself the Servant of servants. His power it was which was intended, when it was said to the prophet Jeremiah, 'Behold, I have this day set thee over the nations and the kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down, to build, and to plant.' It was an incomprehensible and infinite power, because, 'great is the Lord, and great is his power, and of his greatness there is no end.' The immediate and sole rule of the whole world belonged to him by natural, moral, and divine right; all authority depending upon him. As supreme King, he might impose taxes upon all Christians; and the Popes declared it was to be held as a point necessary to salvation, that every human creature is subject to the Roman Pontiff. That he might lawfully depose Kings, was averred to be so certain a doctrine, that it could only be denied by madmen, or through the instigation of the Devil; it was more pernicious and intolerable to deny it, than to err concerning the Sacraments. And indeed, God would not have sufficiently provided for the preservation of his church, and the safety of souls, if he had not appointed this power of depriving or restraining apostate princes. All nations and kingdoms were under the Pope's jurisdiction, for to him God had delivered over the power and dominion in heaven and earth. Nay, he might take away kingdoms and empires, with or without cause, and give them to whom he pleased, though the sovereign, whom he should depose, were in every respect not merely blameless, but meritorious: it was reason enough for the change that the Pope deemed it convenient. The spouse of the church was Vice-God: men were commanded to bow at his name, as at the name of Christ; the proudest sovereigns waited upon him like menials, led his horse by the bridle, and held his stirrup while he alighted; and there were ambassadors, who prostrated themselves before him, saying, O thou, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us!

"The advocates of the papal power proclaimed, that any secular laws which might be passed against a decree of the Roman Pontiff, were in themselves null and void; and that all pontifical decrees ought for ever to be observed by all men, like the word of God, to be received as if they came from the mouth of St. Peter himself, and held like canonical scripture. Neither the catholic faith, nor the four Evangelists, could avail those who rejected them, this being a sin

which was never to be remitted. Christ had bestowed upon the Pope, when he spake as such, the same infallibility which resided in himself. And were he utterly to neglect his duty, and by his misconduct drag down innumerable souls to hell with him, there to be eternally tormented, no mortal man might presume to reprove him for his faults. Even this monstrous proposition has been advanced, that although the catholic faith teaches all virtue to be good, and all vice evil; nevertheless, if the Pope, through error, should injoin vices to be committed, and prohibit virtues, the church would be bound to believe that vices were good, and virtues evil, and would sin in conscience were it to believe otherwise. He could change the nature of things, and make injustice justice. Nor was it possible that he should be amenable to any secular power, for he had been called God by Constantine, and God was not to be judged by man: under God, the salvation of all the faithful depended on him, and the commentators even gave him the blasphemous appellation of our Lord God the Pope! It was disputed in the schools, whether he could not abrogate what the Apostles had enjoined, determine an opinion contrary to theirs, and add a new article to the creed; whether he did not, as God, participate both natures with Christ; and whether he were not more merciful than Christ, inasmuch as he delivered souls from the pains of purgatory, whereas we did not read that this had ever been done by our Saviour." (Vol. I. pp. 316—320.)

The papal system, however, extended not only to claims, but to actual interference. When Becket produced the constitutions of Clarendon,

"the Pope, tolerating six of them, not, he said, as good, but as less evil than the rest, condemned the other ten; thus sitting in judgment upon the acts of an English parliament, and the laws of England." (Vol. I. p. 179.)

Shortly after, we have the sentence of excommunication, "with which Becket threatened the King, and which he actually pronounced against persons who had acted in obedience to the King and to the laws of their country." (Vol. I. pp. 191, 192.)

The same spirit, but in a worse form, appeared under Elizabeth, and was thus exhibited by

"Campian, the Jesuit, in an oration delivered at Douay—'We all, dispersed in great numbers through the world, have made a league and holy oath, that as long as any of us are alive, all our care and industry, all our deliberations and councils, shall never cease to trouble your calm and safety.'" (Vol. II. p. 287, 288.)

With regard to the gunpowder-plot Mr. Southey observes, "The English Catholics, as a body, were innocent of it: but the opprobrium which it brought upon their Church was not unjust, because Guy Fawkes and his associates acted upon the same principles as the head of that church, when, in his arrogated infallibility, he fulminated his bulls against Elizabeth, struck medals in honour of the Bartholomew massacre, and pronounced, that the friar, who assassinated Henry IV., had performed 'a famous and memorable

act, not without the special providence of God, and the suggestion and assistance of his Holy Spirit!" When one of their confessors, the Jesuit Garnet, suffered for his share in the treason, it was pretended that a portrait of the sufferer was miraculously formed by his blood, upon the straw with which the scaffold was strewn; the likeness was miraculously multiplied, a print of the wonder with suitable accompaniments was published at Rome; Garnet in consequence received the honour of beatification from the Pope, and the society to which he belonged enrolled him in their books as a martyr." (Vol. II. p. 341, 342.)

Such are some of the evils of the papal system. But the root of them lies in the apostasy of the papal church from the doctrines of pure and primitive Christianity, in itself a greater evil than all the rest together.

The overthrow of the papal power in England was not effected without a struggle; and the second volume proceeds with the records of the martyrs. These are deeply interesting: but there are few parts of English history better known; and it would be needless to offer many extracts here. From the history of Philpot, however, we quote the leading particulars.

"After Ridley and Latimer had suffered, he was brought before the Commissioners at Newgate, one of whom, Dr. Story, remarked to him, "that he was well fed." He replied, "If I be fat and in good liking, Mr. Doctor, it is no marvel, since I have been stalled up in prison this twelvemonth and a half, in a close corner." Saying then that he had broken no law in delivering his mind freely, when and where he was called upon and authorized so to do: he expressed a hope that Story, for old acquaintance in Oxford, would shew him some friendship, and not extremity. Story answered, "If thou wouldest be a good Catholic, I would be thy friend, and spend my gown to do thee good; but I will be no friend to an heretic as thou art, but spend both gown and coat, but I will burn thee." And, declaring that he would sweep the prisons of these heretics, he ordered him to the Bishop's coal-house.

"In a little dark prison, adjoining this coal-house, Philpot found two persons in the stocks; one of them, Whittle by name, was a married priest, who, after a painful imprisonment, had consented to sign a recantation in Bonner's register. Unable to rest after having done this, he presented himself again, desired to see the bill, and tore it in pieces, for which Bonner beat him violently, plucked out part of his beard, and set him in the stocks; till he could be sent in due form to the stake, where, with six companions in martyrdom, two of whom were women, he afterwards suffered bravely. Bonner put on an appearance of unusual courtesy towards Philpot; he sent food to him and his fellows, and affected displeasure that he should be troubled with persons who did not belong to his diocese. And when Philpot was brought before him, he accosted him with apparent good-

will, and said, "Give me your hand," which Philpot kissed and presented. The Bishop soon came to the point, and demanded what was his judgment concerning the Sacrament? Philpot answered in the words of St. Ambrose to Valentinian, *Tolle legem et fiet certamen*, 'Take away the law, and I shall reason with you—I cannot shew you my mind, but I must run upon the pikes in danger of my life therefore. And yet, if I come in open judgement, where I am bound by the law to answer, I trust I shall utter my conscience as freely as any that hath come before you.' Bonner ended the examination, by saying he should be glad to do him any good if he could; and, ordering him to the cellar, to drink a cup of wine, he was then remanded to the coal-house, 'Where,' said he, 'I with my six fellows, do rouse together in straw, as cheerfully, we thank God, as others do on their beds of down.'

"In a subsequent examination, at which several Bishops were present, Story reviled him for an ignorant, fantastical, and beastly heretic, who purposed to be a stinking martyr. 'These heretics,' said he, 'be worse than brute beasts; for they will, upon a vain singularity, take upon them to be wiser than all men, being, indeed, very fools and ass-heads, not able to maintain that which of an arrogant obstinacy they do stand in.—Well, Sir, you are like to go after your father Latimer, the sophister, and Ridley, who had nothing to allege for himself, but that he had learned his heresy of Cranmer. When I came to him, he trembled, as though he had the palsy. These heretics have always some token of fear, whereby a man may know them, as you may see this man's eyes do tremble in his head.' But I dispatched them: and I tell thee, that there hath been yet never a one burnt, but I have spoken with him, and have been a cause of his dispatch.' Philpot replied, 'You have the more to answer for, Mr. Doctor!' Story then departed, saying, his coming was to signify to the Bishop, that he must out of hand rid this heretic out of the way; and, turning to Philpot, he added, 'I certify thee that thou mayest thank no other man but me.' As the prisoner was on the way back to his miserable lodging, Bonner said to him, 'Philpot, if there be any pleasure I may shew you in my house, I pray you to require it, and you shall have it.' 'My Lord,' he replied, 'the pleasure, that I will require of your Lordship, is to hasten my judgement which is committed unto you, and to dispatch me forth of this miserable world, unto my eternal rest.' Notwithstanding these fair words on Bonner's part, the prisoner was left to lie upon straw in his coal-house, without fire or candle, in the month of November.

"After this, Bonner displayed himself in his natural character. When he summoned him again, he addressed him with—'Sirrah, come hither!'—called him a fool, and a very ignorant fool, and said, 'By my faith, thou art too well handled; thou shalt be worse handled hereafter, I warrant thee!' 'If to be in a blind coal-house, both without fire and candle, may be counted good handling,' replied Philpot, 'then may it be said I am well handled. Your Lordship hath power to entreat my body as you list.' 'You think,' quoth Bonner, 'because my Lord Chancellor is gone, that we will burn no more;

yet, I warrant thee, I will dispatch you shortly, unless you do recant.' Philpot coolly replied 'My Lord, I had not thought that I should have been alive now, neither so raw as I am, but well roasted to ashes!' Bonner then read the libel against him, to which Philpot, in the first instance, objected upon legal grounds, as stating falsely that he was of Bonner's diocese. 'What,' said Bonner, 'art thou not of my diocese? Where are ye now, I pray you?' Philpot answered, 'I cannot deny but I am in your coal-house; yet I am not of your diocese. I was brought hither by violence; and therefore my being here is not sufficient to abridge me of mine own ordinary's jurisdiction.' But in these iniquitous proceedings it availed the martyr as little to plead law as gospel.

"The libel charged him with denying baptism to be necessary; denying fasting, prayer, and all good works; teaching that faith was sufficient, whatever a man's actions might be; and that God was the author of all sin and wickedness. 'Is not your Lordship ashamed,' said Philpot, 'to say that I maintain these abominable blasphemies? which if I did maintain, I were well worthy to be counted an heretic, and to be burnt an hundred times, if it were possible!' He was now frequently set in the stocks at night, and being more narrowly watched and searched, was prevented at length from recording the proceedings. They ended, as usual, in delivering him over to the secular arm; and he suffered in Smithfield, manifesting to the last the same brave heart, collected mind, and firm faith, which he had shewn in all his trials." (Vol. II. Pp. 216—223.)

We pass by the narrative of Cranmer's martyrdom, to insert Mr. Southey's reflections on it.

"Of all the martyrdoms during this great persecution, this was in all its circumstances the most injurious to the Romish cause. It was a manifestation of inveterate and deadly malice toward one who had borne his elevation with almost unexampled meekness. It effectually disproved the argument on which the Romanists rested, that the constancy of our martyrs proceeded not from confidence in their faith, and the strength which they derived therefrom; but from vain glory, the pride of consistency, and the shame of retracting what they had so long professed. Such deceitful reasoning could have no place here: Cranmer had retracted; and the sincerity of his contrition for that sin was too plain to be denied, too public to be concealed, too memorable ever to be forgotten. The agony of his repentance had been seen by thousands; and tens of thousands had witnessed, how, when that agony was past, he stood, calm and immoveable, amid the flames, a patient and willing holocaust, triumphant, not over his persecutors alone, but over himself, over the mind as well as the body, over fear, and weakness, and death." (Vol. II. Pp. 241, 242.)

The narrative of the atrocities of the "Marian persecution," is immediately followed in the fifteenth chapter, by the opening of Elizabeth's reign: and the beginning of this chapter is among the parts of the work which most interested us. The moderate conduct of the new government affords a

pleasing contrast to the preceding excesses and still aspiring insolence of the Catholics. Flushed with the recent work of blood, they found it, apparently, difficult to repress the thirst for more, and could hardly bring themselves at once to that temperate and subdued demeanour, which, *in partibus infidelium*, when need so requires, the principles of their church permit.

The moderation of the English government, however, soon became severity : and it has been alleged, that, if the Catholics persecuted before, the Protestants did so now : nor can it be denied, that fire and faggots were employed on both sides. The fact is, however, (and, though we strongly object to burning under any circumstances, we urge the distinction as important,) that the Catholics, who suffered, suffered not for their religious opinions, but for their political designs or acts. They were burnt as traitors, not as heretics ; though it is quite consistent in their own church, for the sake of not entirely abandoning the principle of political interference, to regard them as martyrs. The light, in which Mr. Southey has placed this subject, is, we think, the true one.

“ The principle of assassination was sanctioned by the two most powerful of the Catholic kings, and by the head of the Catholic Church. It was acted upon in France and in Holland : rewards were publicly offered for the murder of the Prince of Orange ; and the fanatics, who undertook to murder Elizabeth, were encouraged by a plenary remission of sins, granted for this special service. They were sought for and executed, not for believing in transubstantiation, nor for performing mass, but for teaching that the Queen of England ought to be deposed ; that it was lawful to kill her ; and that all Catholic subjects, who obeyed her commands, were cut off from the communion of their church. Their sufferings belong to the history of papal politics, rather than of religious persecution. Repeated conspiracies against the life of the Queen were detected ; and such were the avowed principles and intentions of the Papists, wherever they dared to avow them, that Walsingham expressed his fears of a Bartholomew breakfast, or a Florence banquet. The object of all these conspiracies was to set the Queen of Scots upon the throne.” (Vol. II. Pp. 286—289.)

We indeed much question, whether, under Elizabeth, one papist was burnt purely for religion ; whereas it was expressly for religion that Cranmer suffered under Mary ; the charge of treason being remitted, in order that he might be proceeded against as a heretic, and burnt. (P. 225.)

Be it moreover remembered, that, even granting Protestants, as well as Catholics, to have been occasionally guilty of burning men as heretics, (and they were so under Elizabeth in some instances, though the sufferers were not papists,) there is still this distinction ; that the practice is in confor-

mity with the precepts of the popish, but in opposition to the principles of the Protestant faith. If Protestants have persecuted, Protestants may abjure the practice, and renounce all participation in it. The principles of our church admit the fallibility of her actions and decisions. She is at liberty to abandon her own deeds, when evil; and the children are in no instance obliged, by the nature of their creed, to adopt the errors of their fathers. But with an infallible Church, the case is different. Whatever have been her past decrees, her faithful children are bound to defend them. The principle of persecution, once admitted, must be maintained: and whatever be the acts of atrocity, perpetrated upon that principle, they are bequeathed by the perpetrators, as part of the system, to be acknowledged and vindicated by their successors to the end of time. A Catholic may now adopt the language of liberality, upon this, as upon other topics. He may say, that times have changed; that he reprobates the enormities which Catholics of former ages perpetrated: and we believe many are sincere in using such language. But then *we* say to him, 'You hold with us the fallibility of the Church.'

The chapter, in which some of the above topics are discussed, introduces to our attention the rising denomination of the Puritans.

"But against the conciliatory system, which the Church and State pursued, a fiercer opposition was made by fanatical Protestants, than by the Papists themselves.

"The founders of the English church were not hasty reformers, who did their work in the heat of enthusiasm; they were men of mature judgment and consummate prudence, as well as of sound learning, and sincere piety; their aim was, in the form and constitution of the Church, never to depart unnecessarily from what had been long established, that thus the great body of the Romanists might more easily be reconciled to the transition; and in their articles to use such comprehensive words, as might leave a latitude for different opinions upon contentious points. There had been a dispute among the emigrants at Frankfort, during Mary's reign; it had been mischievously begun, and unwarrantably prosecuted, and its consequences were lamentably felt in England; whither some of the parties brought back with them a predilection for the discipline of the Calvinists, and a rooted aversion for whatever Catholic forms were retained in the English Church. In this, indeed, they went beyond Calvin himself; refusing to tolerate what he had pronounced to be 'tolerable fooleries.' The objects of their abhorrence were the square cap, the tippet, and the surplice, which they called conjuring garments of popery. (Vol. II. pp. 298—300.)

We are of opinion, however, that upon this subject the general representations of Mr. Southey are partial; and that while

he has exposed the errors, he has not done justice to the good qualities, of the various classes of protestants, who stood more or less opposed, in the reign of Elizabeth and those which succeeded it, to the established Church. Some of them were guilty of gross extravagance; and others, when they had the power, of scandalous excess. Their hostility to the Church began in over-nicety, and ended in unbridled iniquity. Others, we believe, were sincere and good men. This is a fact, indeed, which we can hardly fail of discovering, when we examine the records of English history. But it is not to be discovered from Mr. Southey: and the defect of his book, in this point of view, is so great, that in our opinion it takes from the character of the publication as an historical work, and obliges us to regard it, as written merely to support a cause, an honorable cause indeed, that of the Church of England, but one, which needs not support of such a kind. In the character of the puritans and nonconformists, as it has come down to us in history, there are redeeming features, which ought not to have been concealed. These features may be in some measure discerned, even in the memoirs of one, not guiltless of his sovereign's blood. But, to say nothing of works of this description, we turn with pleasure to an anonymous writer, better known, perhaps, to the Poet Laureate, than to ourselves. We allude to an article in the *Quarterly Review*, referred to in the work before us, (Vol. II. p. 452. note,) in the style and matter of which we fancied a resemblance, though this may be mere fancy, to the *Book of the Church*. The anonymous writer, be he who he may, gives us the following account of John Howe.

"Howe was an excellent man. At Cambridge he was the friend of Cudworth and Henry More. . . . He owed his preferment under the Protector to his physiognomy; for Cromwell, seeing him among the congregation at Whitehall, saw that his countenance was not that of an ordinary man, and ordered him to preach on the following Sunday; and after a second and third trial, made him, not without reluctance, remove his family to Whitehall, and reside there as his domestic chaplain. In that situation he made use of his influence to befriend all whom he thought deserving of it, but never to enrich himself, or his family. Many of the royalists and of the established clergy in their distress were indebted to his good offices; and how innocent he was of all unworthy means either for gaining or keeping the favour, which he enjoyed, appeared by his preaching against the notion of a particular faith in prayer, a notion, which Cromwell patronized, more probably for political purposes, than that he really en-

certained it. During the sermon, the Protector listened with deep attention, frowning at times, and discovering great uneasiness, so that one, who observed him, told the preacher it would be difficult for him ever to make his peace. Mr. Howe answered, that he had discharged his conscience, and left the event with God. But Cromwell never manifested any displeasure, except, that he seemed cooler towards him ever afterwards. Mr. Howe continued after his death to reside, as chaplain, with Richard, and, when Richard was set aside, returned to his Devonshire living : from which he was ejected by the Act of Uniformity. He lived to a good old age, and suffered less than most of his nonconforming brethren, because he submitted to be silent, and because in those days of bitter animosity, he had made many men his friends and none his enemies. Sherlock and Tillotson knew and loved him." (Quarterly Review, Oct. 1813, p. 114, 115.)

Many such characters there doubtless were among the class of whom we are speaking. The charges against them, indeed, in the Book of the Church, are, in many respects, exaggerated or unjust. Thus, with regard to the *sabbatarian* notions, with which, Mr. Southey informs us, the puritans were possessed, he says—

"These factious people, although impatient of any observances which the institutions of their country enjoined, were willing to have imposed upon themselves and others obligations far more burthensome : they would have taken Moses for their lawgiver, so ill did they understand the spirit of the Gospel ; and they adopted the rabbinical superstitions concerning the sabbath, overlooking or being ignorant that the sabbath was intended to be not less a day of recreation than of rest." (Vol. II. p. 361.)

Perhaps it would be difficult to find a passage, that so completely confounds the limits of law, gospel, and rabbinism. Does Mr. Southey mean to say, that they, who took Moses for their lawgiver, adopted the rabbinical superstitions ? We had always thought them as opposite as light and darkness : the latter, as our Saviour teaches, making the precepts of the former of none effect. (Matt. xv. 3—6.) Does he mean, that those, who took Moses for their lawgiver, understood not the spirit of the Gospel ? This may be true, as far as the ceremonial law is concerned. But the commandment, relating to the sabbath, is generally regarded by Christians, as a *moral* law, such being the other nine, with which it stands. *Antinomians* is the theological name of those, who regard the spirit of the gospel as opposed to the moral law : and *antinomian* is the term which, in the present instance, we should apply to Mr. Southey's sentiments ; except, that we are dis-

posed to think that he writes loosely, and has not been led, in the course of his literary pursuits, into any very profound researches in the department of theology. But be that as it may, let the puritans speak for themselves! They are charged with sabbatarian notions (we thought the term had belonged only to those, who keep the sabbath on the seventh day); with Mosaico-rabbinical superstitions; and with proving their ignorance of the gospel by their regard for the moral law. Now in the Directory, published as a substitute for the Liturgy, there are regulations as to the manner in which the sabbath was to be observed. Of these regulations the following account is given by Mr. Southey.

“It was declared requisite, that on the sabbath there should be a holy cessation all the day from all unnecessary labours, and an abstaining not only from all sports and pastimes, but also from all worldly words and thoughts; that the diet on that day should be so ordered, as that neither servants should be unnecessarily detained from public worship, nor any other persons hindered from sanctifying the day; that the time between and after service be spent in reading, meditation, repetition of sermons, (and especially by calling their families to an account of what they had heard,) and catechizing; holy conferences, prayer for a blessing upon the public ordinances, psalm-singing, visiting the sick, relieving the poor, and such-like duties of piety, charity, and mercy.” (Vol. II. pp. 454, 455)

The Directory (we allow) was a poor substitute for the Liturgy of the Church of England. But a more sound, judicious summary than the above, of the duties of the sabbath, we do not remember to have met with, in any uninspired production. With regard to the puritans, in which term we include some classes of individuals to whom the title does not strictly belong, perhaps the truest statement which can be made is this, that the denomination, like many others, comprehended a better description of persons, and a worse. In the troubles, which agitated our country, and in which no party concerned was blameless, the better fell into the back ground. The worse got head, and thus, becoming the most conspicuous, gave a character to the whole body.

To us also it appears, that Mr. Southey betrays the same partiality with regard to Laud, as in the case of the puritans. As the puritans, with many faults, had some good qualities; so in the character of Laud, with much to respect, the impartial inquirer must observe various questionable points. His temper with regard to popery has not been set by Mr. Southey in the most satisfactory light. As to any design, on the part of this prelate, to establish the pope of Rome as the head of the English Church, we are persuaded that it has not been made out. Indeed, it would be the height of injus-

tice to charge him with a wish to establish that Church, from which his correspondence and arguments were the main instruments of bringing back his godson Chillingworth, after he had entered the Jesuits' college at Douay. Still we have a suspicion, that there was an amicable feeling in the mind of the archbishop towards some errors, both in opinion and practice, of the popish Church; which it is very possible for a reputed member of our own Church, or of any other, to cherish in secret, without wishing to subject either his king, his country, or his own personal liberty, to the papal tyranny. We will not dwell upon trifles, such as his care, in the arrangements with which he was charged for the coronation of Charles I, to place upon the altar an old crucifix, which he found among the regalia; neither will we insist upon the offer made him from Rome, of a cardinal's hat, as here the error appears to have been on the part of the pope, in supposing that Laud would accept the offer. Yet his manner of consecrating the church of St. Catherine-creed, has certainly something of a very popish character. "On this occasion," Rapin observes, "he used some formalities which he might have foreborne, as being too like what is practised in the Church of Rome on such solemnities." One leading error also of the Church of Rome was decidedly favored by Laud, namely, the celibacy of the clergy: which, though he did not decidedly injoin it, he openly encouraged, as Mr. Southey himself admits.

"He publicly declared that in the disposal of ecclesiastical preferments, he would, when their merits were equal, prefer the single to the married man." (Vol. II. P. 362.)

Clarendon ingeniously observes, with reference to the charge of popery, brought against the Archbishop, that he "had, all his life, eminently opposed Calvin's doctrine, before the name of Arminius was taken notice of, or his opinions heard of; and thereupon for want of another name, they had called him a Papist." (Vol. I. P. 93, Oxford Ed. 1705.) This, we say, is an ingenious way of accounting for the charge: and, although the opinions of Arminius were the subject of public discussion long before Charles I. came to the throne, and his name must have been known in England as early as the year 1611, (for in that year we find James I. interfering in the disputes of the Remonstrants and Contra-Remonstrants of Holland,) yet the statement of Clarendon, being that of a contemporary of Laud, is probably in some respects, or in some way or other, correct. But surely there was nothing peculiar to Arminianism, either in Laud's discountenancing the marriage of the clergy, or in his mode of consecration. Clarendon's observation, then,

does not entirely clear the Archbishop's character. And though Laud began to lecture at the university as early as 1601 or 1602, it appears, that he offended the Puritans there not merely by his Anti-Calvinistic sentiments, but by his views respecting the perpetual visibility of the Church of Rome; so that the name of papist, though not fully merited, does not appear to have been solely given him for want of a better.

From these considerations we are of opinion, that in speaking of Archbishop Laud, Mr. Southey has not maintained the character of an impartial historian, while on the other hand he says of those, who differ from him in their conclusions respecting the primate's character, that they repeat to this day, "with unabashed effrontery, the imputations against him; as if they had succeeded to the implacable temper of the Puritans, and their hardihood of slander also." (Vol. II. P. 452.)

The reviewer, whom we have already quoted, makes larger admissions. "We are not," he observes, "the apologists of Laud; in some things he was erroneous, in some imprudent, in others culpable." (Quarterly Review, Oct. 1813, P. 101.) The variety of opposing testimonies in the case of Laud is very great: and accordingly Rapin introduces the character of the Archbishop in the following terms. "To make known his genius, his character, his religion, to me seems impracticable, considering what opposite opinions there are concerning him, it being almost impossible to affirm any thing of him, good or bad, upon the testimony of some, but what is contradicted and rejected as false by others." (Rapin, Vol. II. P. 278.)

The struggle between James II. and the bishops, so honorable to the latter, is faithfully detailed; and it very happily illustrates the benefits which the state has derived from the church.

Before we conclude, we must offer certain remarks on a very observable fault in the work before us. We allude to some passages in which Mr. Southey has touched, directly or indirectly, upon doctrines of the Christian religion. We would venture to suggest to all writers, to men of talent and general information among the rest, the propriety of not attempting to enter on such topics, without having given them at least a fair portion of that study and investigation, which they are in the habit of bestowing upon others. On other subjects men read, deliberate, and methodize their ideas, so as to be able to draw a line, and say what they know, and of what they are ignorant. On the subject of religion, unhappily, the same men too often receive, with indifference, the first impressions that present

themselves in their progress through life; never once perhaps giving it the tribute of their undivided attention, and at best devoting to it only the wanderings of their thoughts and the remnants of their time; accepting perhaps what accords with their previous notions, and rejecting all besides.

We had not proceeded many pages in the work before us, when we were somewhat startled by an observation respecting the superstitious of the ancient Britons.

"Good men," says Mr. Southey, "may have mingled these fancies with the truth; bad ones feigned that there were other gods besides Him in whom we live and move and have our being." (Vol. I. P. 5.)

We confess we feel some difficulty, in allowing the former member of this antithesis. That those were good men, who mingled their own fancies with the truths of religion, is equally questionable, whether we refer the proposition to heathenism or to popery. The Bible holds a different language; and proclaims a warning, which it might be thought presumptuous in us to offer, except in the language of the Bible itself. "If any man shall add unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this book." (Rev. xxii. 18.) Such is not the language which the Scriptures hold in speaking of good men. Neither can we recommend the style, though popular, of Mr. Southey's allusions to the mysteries of Christianity.

"The Christian world," he says, "was disturbed with acrimonious disputes concerning high mysteries, and abstruse points, which the limited intellect of man cannot comprehend, which have been left indefinite by the revealed word of God, and which for us to attempt to define is equally presumptuous and vain." (Vol. I. P. 15.)

We cannot commend this representation, as a general one, of the disputes, which agitated the Christian world in former ages, though we allow that it may correctly apply in some instances. The disputes which have agitated the Christian world, or rather those in which the Church of Christ has had to contend with unbelievers, may be regarded as "acrimonious." But we owe to them, under God, the preservation of the Christian faith. To what would Christianity now be reduced, had there been no Augustine to oppose Pelagius, no Bernard to oppose Abelard, no Athanasius to oppose Arius? The Lord raised up judges unto Israel; and the Lord was with the judge, and delivered them out of the hand of their enemies and those that spoiled them. The deliverance, indeed, was not unattended by a conflict. But, without the deliverance, the Philistines would have prevailed, and the name of Israel been blotted out. What is called "acrimony," may be easily accounted for. In those who attack the doctrines of religion, we look for acrimony, of

course. If those who defend them, want an equal, though a better regulated zeal, they are unworthy of the cause. As little can we expect a conflict for religious truth, in the present state of the world, without what Mr. Southey calls "acrimony," as the defence of a fortress, or the repulse of an invading foe, without bloodshed.

In the second volume, Mr. Southey again touches upon the subject of Christian faith. The impelling motive of More's conduct, he tells us,

"was his assent to the tenet, that belief in the doctrines of the Church was essential to salvation. For upon that tenet, whether it be held by papist or protestant, toleration becomes, what it has so often been called, soul-murder: persecution is, in the strictest sense, a duty." (Vol. II. p. 27.)

We hold, according to our eighteenth article, that belief in the doctrines of Christianity is essential to salvation: and therefore, whatever church, either wholly or in part, maintains such doctrines, we hold, in the same degree, belief in the doctrines of that church to be essential to salvation. This belief, however, in the case of the protestant, does not necessarily make persecution, "in the strictest sense," or in any sense, "a duty:" because, as a protestant, he is at liberty to believe, that persecution is not only unavailing, but unlawful. Protestants have persecuted, we allow: but there is no necessary connexion between their persecutions and their creed; since there are other protestants, who hold the same creed, but deprecate persecution in every form and degree. The preceding quotation, however, should be taken in connexion with what follows it.

"Upon that tenet, whether it be held by papist or protestant, persecution is, in the strictest sense, a duty: and it is an act of religious charity to burn heretics alive, for the purpose of deterring others from damnation."

The only thing, that we understand from this kind of reasoning, is, that if Mr. Southey held the tenet, that belief in the doctrines of the church is essential to salvation, then he would also hold it an act of religious charity to burn heretics alive. We hope that, with respect to the doctrines of the church of England, he may some day be led to hold the tenet: but we trust that he will never be brought to draw the inference.

In the fifteenth volume of our Review, there is an article on the life of Wesley; wherein notice is taken of another fault of Mr. Southey, some specimens of which, we are sorry to say, occur in the *Book of the Church*. We refer to what, in that article, is called being "severe upon the scriptures" (P. 490.): and the expression admits of application, in the case

of the work now before us. Possibly Mr. Southey may read the scriptures principally in the original. So slight is his acquaintance with the English Bible, that he has inadvertently employed the language, in which it promulgates religious truth, as exhibiting the supposed errors of those, whose opinions he condemns. Some years have passed over his head, since the life of Wesley appeared: and both he and his readers are so much nearer their latter end. Yet do we find fresh instances of this highly offensive practice in his present work.

“Ridley, (says Mr. Southey,) was chosen to argue with Hooper, and convince him of the unreasonableness of his scruples. But he had taken up the notion, that whatever is not of faith, is sin.” (Vol. II. p. 115, 116.)

The notion, here stigmatized, is a doctrine of Paul the Apostle.—“Whatsoever is not of faith is sin.” Rom. xiv. 23.

In the first volume we have a passage, in which a similar offence is committed.

“Britain has the credit or discredit (whichever it may be deemed) of having given birth to Pelagius, the most remarkable man of whom Wales can boast, and the most reasonable of all those men whom the ancient church has branded with the note of heresy. He erred, indeed, in denying that there is an original taint in human nature, . . . a radical infirmity, . . . an innate and congenital disease, . . . to the existence whereof the heart of every one, who dares look into his own, bears unwilling but unerring testimony; a perilous error this, and the less venial, because it implies a want of that humility which is the foundation of wisdom, as well as of Christian virtue. But he vindicated the goodness of God, by asserting the free-will of man; and he judged more sanely of the Creator than his triumphant antagonist, St. Augustine, who, retaining too much of the philosophy which he had learnt in the Manichean school, infected with it the whole church during many centuries, and afterwards divided both the Protestant and the Catholic world. Augustine is too eminent a man to be named without respect; but of all those ambitious spirits, who have adulterated the pure doctrines of revelation with their own opinions, he, perhaps, is the one who has produced the widest and the most injurious effects.

“Augustine was victorious in the controversy: his indeed was the commanding intellect of that age. . . . The opinions of Pelagius were condemned, but it was not possible to suppress them; and the errors of both soon became so curiously blended, that it would be difficult to say which predominated in the preposterous consequences to which their union led. From the African theologue, more than from any other teacher, the notion of the absolute wickedness of human nature was derived; and the tenet of two hostile principles in man, which had led to such extravagancies among the Eastern Christians, was established in the Western church. Through the British heresiarch, the more reasonable opinion, that the actions of good men were

meritorious in themselves, obtained. Cassian, whose collations were the great fount of monastic legislation in Europe, held that modified scheme, which has been called the Semi-Pelagian. But with him, and with the Monks, the opinion ceased to be reasonable: the extremes were made to meet; and the practical consequences, deduced from the monkish doctrine of merits, coalesced perfectly with the Manichean principle, which had now taken root in the corruptions of Christianity. (Vol. I. pp. 301—303.)

Mr. Southey then proceeds to enumerate what he styles “the consequences of this persuasion.” If he means the consequences of the Manichean doctrine, we doubt whether it was ever very generally held, or produced any very durable effects, in the church. The author himself, in speaking of a woman who was burnt for holding one of the opinions of Manes, very justly calls it

“a fantastic and long-forgotten notion.” (Vol. II. p. 136.)

Manicheism indeed may have prevailed, in different parts of the world, and under different names, as a *heresy*. But it was a heresy which the church ever repressed with the most uncompromising severity. However, we deem it quite unnecessary to dwell upon the consequences alleged by Mr. Southey; because the representation, quoted above, and continued through some pages, is such a strange jumble of truth and error, that it affords not grounds for any legitimate deduction of consequences.

First, with regard to Augustine and Manes, Mr. Southey is pleased to assert, that Augustine,

“retaining too much of the philosophy, which he had learnt in the Manichean school, infected with it the whole church.”

Now the fact is, that Augustine totally renounced the Manichean heresy, as may be seen by a reference to his confessions, or to Henry's history, (Book xviii. ch. 50.) or to Mosheim, (Cent. iv. part iii. ch. 5.)—The mistake of Mr. Southey appears to have arisen from his confounding two doctrines; that of Manes, the offspring of fancy; and that of the general church, propounded in the word of God. The latter doctrine, the doctrine of the Bible, Mr. Southey has brought forward, with some slight modifications, but almost in the words of scripture; holding it up to obloquy as the doctrine of Manes. The *doctrine of Manes* was, that every person was born into the world with two natures. The only persons, to the best of our knowledge, who at present hold any thing at all approaching to this opinion, are those, who imagine, that, mingled with the depravity of the human heart, such as it is by nature, there is some degree of innate excellence, and intrinsic merit; of whom Mr. Southey seems to be one, as he condemns, apparently, in the passage under consideration, the canonical doctrine of “the absolute wick-

edness of human nature." The *opinion of the church* is that which Mr. Southey mistakes for the former; that man comes into the world with but one nature, human nature, as it is called, which nature is evil; but that, when the human heart is renewed by divine grace, it is made partaker of another, namely the divine nature; (2 Pet. i. 4:); of its influence—say some—of its qualities—say others—of its essence, again—say others; (this is where the only difference lies *within* the church, and for our own part we think it not so important as it is sometimes considered:) yet that after the heart is thus renewed and changed, by the accession of that which formerly it had not, it still retains more or less of that nature which it had originally, (Art. ix.) and which it now becomes necessary to war against and to subdue. And from these circumstances it is, that Mr. Southey seems to have derived the notion, that the Manichean doctrine of two adverse principles in human nature has widely infected, and even divided the church of Christ. The view of the church's doctrine, given by Mr. Southey, he introduces to our attention under the character of "a system as terrible in practice, as it was monstrous in theory." He then cites it in the following terms.

"They believed that the war of the Two Principles existed in every individual, manifesting itself in the struggle between the flesh and the spirit. The flesh, therefore, was a mortal enemy, whom it behoved the spirit, as it valued its own salvation, to curb and subdue by unremitting severity, and to chastise as a vicious and incorrigible slave, always mutinous and ready to rebel." (Vol. I. p. 304.)

Here there is a slight inaccuracy in the first sentence, where it is said, they believed that the war existed in *every individual*; since the struggle between the flesh and the spirit can take place only in those who are spiritually-minded. But with the exception of this one statement, which indeed is not always kept in view, as it ought to be, even by sound theologians, the above statement, barring a spice of profaneness, and somewhat of an unmetaphysical character in the mode of enunciation, may be regarded as a tolerably accurate view of the doctrine of the general church.

Will it be asked, then, whence comes this doctrine? Mr. Southey will answer, from the impostor and enthusiast, Manes; from the dualism of the early Persians; from the philosophy of the orientals: and that, with about as much reason as Socinians have on their side in deriving the doctrine of the Trinity from similar sources. *We* answer, It comes from the Epistles of St. Paul: we do not mean in spirit merely, but partly also in word and letter. In this intended exhibition of error and heresy, we have absolutely the lan-

guage and the terms, the ideas and the doctrines, of Holy Scriptures. Let us place the words of St. Paul, and those of Mr. Southey, opposite to each other, and the correspondence will be evident.

"They believed that the *war* of I find then a law, that, when I the two principles existed (in every would do good, evil is present with individual.) me. For I delight in the law of God after the inward man: but I

see another law in my members, *warring* against the law of my mind. Rom. vii. 21—23.

Now then it is no more I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me. 17

Here we have plainly the two principles, and the *war* existing between them. "I see another law in my members," says the Apostle, "*warring* against the law of my mind." And again, "So then, with the mind I myself serve the law of God; but with the flesh, the law of sin." (v. 25.)

This war, they believed, "mani- For the *flesh* lusteth against the fested itself in the struggle between *spirit*, and the *spirit* against the the *flesh* and the *spirit*." *flesh*. Gal. v. 17.

"The flesh, therefore, was a mortal enemy." For to be carnally minded is death. Rom. viii. 6.

If ye live after the flesh, ye shall die. 13.

"Whom it behoved the spirit, as If ye through the spirit do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall and subdue by unremitting severity live. 13.

Therefore, brethren we are debtors, not to the flesh, to live after the flesh. 12.

"As a vicious and incorrigible slave, always mutinous and ready in my flesh, dwelleth no good to rebel." thing. vii. 18.

I find then a law, that, when I would do good, evil is present with me. For I delight in the law of God, after the inward man: But I see another law in my members, *warring* against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin which is in my members. O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death? I thank God through Jesus Christ our Lord. 21—25.

Our readers will not only observe the general correspond-

ence of the two passages. They will also observe the opposite tendencies of the "flesh" and the "spirit," distinctly marked in each, with the war between the two. Let then the Author of the Book of the Church look here, and seriously consider, whose is that system, which he has been holding up to obloquy and contempt, as "terrible in practice," and "monstrous in theory." It is no matter, what inferences papists or antimonians may be alleged to have gathered from this doctrine. The doctrine itself is from above, and cometh down from the Father of lights: and it is realized upon earth, in the experience of his people.*

So much for Mr. Southey's observations, as they respect Augustine and Manes. We have now to offer some farther remarks upon them, as they respect Augustine and Pelagius. When we find it asserted in the New Testament, in opposition to those who, being ignorant of God's righteousness, and going about to establish their own righteousness, have not submitted themselves unto the righteousness of God," that "Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to every one, that believeth;" when we find the holy apostle anxiously desiring, that he himself "may be found in Christ, not having his own righteousness, but the righteousness which is of God by faith;" we cannot, with Mr. Southey, believe "the more reasonable opinion" to be that of Pelagius, namely, "that the actions of good men are meritorious in themselves." And we feel it impossible to subscribe to the Author's assertion respecting Augustine, that the notion of the absolute wickedness of human nature was derived from him, "more than from any other teacher;" because there is a Teacher who says, "The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked." (Jer. xvii. 9.) It is unfortunate for Mr. Southey that he should fall into such a mistake, as to characterize the man whom our church in its twenty-ninth article expressly quotes and refers to, and who was one of the greatest lights of the Christian world, as the man who,

"of all those ambitious spirits, who have adulterated the pure doctrines of revelation with their own opinions, is perhaps the one who has produced the widest and the most injurious effects."

* It so happens that we have incidentally stated what we conceive to be the doctrine of the general Church upon this subject of the *two principles*, in our last number but one: not indeed with any reference to Mr. Southey, but in an article respecting the Socinian controversy. We have there observed that two perfect natures meet in no one person, except in the person of Christ: and we might have added, that in him the two natures harmonize; whereas in the members of his Church upon earth, they are, as St. Paul says, "contrary the one to the other." (Vol. xxi. pp. 392, 393.)

And it is equally unfortunate for him, that he characterizes,
as

"the most reasonable of all those whom the ancient Church has
branded with the note of heresy,"

that very heresiarch, whom our church has selected, in her
ninth article, to condemn by name.

We should hail with pleasure a "Book of the Church" of
Christ in this kingdom, written by a person thoroughly im-
bued with its doctrines, and formed upon the plan of Milner's
general history of the Church of Christ: a work, which,
passing by the conflicts of civil and ecclesiastical potentates
and proceeding upon a belief that Christ has always had a
true Church upon earth, has endeavored to trace, throughout,
the history of this church; to discover tokens of its exis-
tence even in the darkest ages; and to shew, that at all times,
amidst all the vicissitudes of circumstances, there have been a
people, difficult as it often is to trace their memorial, who
have worshipped God in spirit and in truth; a people active
in propagating the knowledge of the gospel, patient in en-
during for the gospel's sake; but a people of small account
in the eye of the world, and therefore not always very con-
spicuously recorded on the page of history. Some materials
for such a work might be found in the publication now before
us; but it has done very little, upon the whole, towards
superseding the design which we recommend. Much would
be omitted, that is contained in Mr. Southey's publication;
and much would be given, that is not there to be found.

From the materials, which the present publication affords
for such a collection, we could gladly select the description
of the conversion of our Anglosaxon progenitors, not only for
the life and force, with which the picture is drawn, but also as
filling up a part of the outline, sketched in the second article
of our present number. The work however, which we desire
to see, would not content itself with the outward establish-
ment, but would seek to trace the real effect of Christianity
in its influence upon society and upon individuals; and it
would thus lead to the discovery of those excellencies in the
Church, now happily established in these kingdoms, which
justify our most cordial attachment.

Attachment indeed to the Church of England, as at present
constituted, is warmly professed by some of its members; but
we are in some instances induced to question how far that
attachment is of the right kind, or such as the Church
ought, in wisdom and propriety, to entertain with favor-
able acceptance. Our Church contributes to the mainte-
nance of order, and to the stability of the state. But these

are not its only uses. It possesses a higher claim to the attachment of its members than this ; as it holds forth in its doctrines, its services, and its ordinances, the knowledge of salvation and the means of grace : and those who do not value the Church, except for its minor and temporal benefits, bring with them an affection of a very inferior, and (we must add) often of a very ambiguous kind. Great professions of a partiality of this sort we have sometimes observed, where there have been but small tokens of religious principle ; nay, even where there have been strong and decided tokens of irreligion and profaneness. There are men who loudly profess their abhorrence of the real or supposed enemies of our Church, who yet are themselves not only totally ignorant of the Church's doctrines, or decidedly opposed to them, but men of immoral lives. There are friends of the establishment, who live in the weekly violation of the Sabbath : good churchmen, who seldom enter the church's walls. It is not every advocate of the cause who holds himself obliged, for consistency, to abstain even from oaths and indecency in common conversation. And how many are there, who, whatever be the real principle of their attendance on the ministrations of our Church, force us to conclude, by their deportment, that the worship of God is not their object ! It may not be allowable for us to specify the place, where the same lips have, almost in the same breath, advocated the cause of the establishment, and uttered, with approbation uttered, the profane jest, in ridicule of real religion. But we break no privilege in observing, that the same incongruous mixture of apparently good with essentially corrupt and bad feeling, is manifested in some publications also. We could name a weekly journal, published on a day when no journals ought to appear, which, with a tone of decided hostility towards all who are not the, reputed friends of the Establishment, blends the language of scurrility and private calumny. We could name a monthly publication, which, though it makes its appearance in a quarter of the horizon from which such an expression might be less confidently anticipated, often expresses a friendly feeling towards the Church of England ; but yet is occasionally characterized, in some of its contributions, by a tone of levity, to say no more, bordering on decided profaneness. And both of these friends of the Church are hostile to the extinction of slavery. Shall we say that these things are for the church's good ? No. Let it rather be said that the church deprecates the impure alliance ! What ! accept of such support, and acknowledge such defenders ? No. Assailed as she is on all sides, our Church

is not yet driven to accept a polluted offering, and count it for a sacrifice of the temple.

Yet let not the counterfeit attachment of some have the effect of repressing that, which is commendable and sincere ! Let the Churchman never forget, that he is the member of a communion, which, steering a due course between opposite extremes, liberal in things indifferent, but definite in essentials, unites in its constitution and doctrines the excellencies, while it avoids the faults, both of friendly and of hostile systems ; and therefore offers itself as a worthy object to the affection and approval of all its members. If our warmest partialities centre in such a church, they centre where they are most justly due. If our most decided preferences are here, we might challenge the whole Christian world to say where they can be better placed. Its excellencies are intrinsic, its defects are only incidental. Our church advances no claim to absolute infallibility : but it would be difficult to name the communion that comes nearer than our own, if so near, to that perfection which none can boast that they have fully attained ; so that, if, offended by local wants or errors in detail, the churchman should ever conceive for a moment the design of abandoning its communion, there will always arise the question to give him pause—To whom shall he go ? And the way even to higher excellence is specifically left open by its own articles, which provide that every national Church has authority to mend its institutions. The attachment of a faithful son of the Church to such a communion as this, will not be like the idolatrous worship of the Persian, who adores the sun because he hopes to be shone upon ; but it will be the reasonable offering of a convinced but quiet spirit, which looks beyond present considerations, and is influenced by motives which earth cannot yield. In prosperous seasons it will not be noisy or officious, because it is founded in judgment, not in interest. But should a gloomier day succeed, a day of persecution or of blasphemy, sound feeling, we trust, will render many conspicuous then in the Church's cause, whom it rendered humble and unobtrusive before. The straw and the stubble will vanish at the first touch of the flame. The silver and the gold will stand the fire, and come out brighter from the trial.

THE
BRITISH REVIEW,
AND LONDON CRITICAL JOURNAL.

NOVEMBER, 1824.

ART. XXIII.—*Cato to Lord Byron, on the Immorality of his Writings.* London: Wetton. 1824. 8vo. Pp. 128.

THERE is a sacredness in the mansions of the dead, which makes us turn in chastened awe from their chambers of silence and darkness. When the portals of the grave have opened to receive men, whose moral or intellectual career has awakened our critical indignation, a voice seems to come forth from behind them, which says, "Stay now thine hand!" There is a chord in the breast of every kindly-affectioned man, responding to the poet's call, in behalf of that privacy which the dead may usually claim:—

"No longer seek his merits to disclose,
Or draw his frailties from their dread abode!"

There, needless curiosity is unhallowed intrusion; and the universal opinion of mankind has placed a great gulf of separation between the grave and the upper world, which may not be lightly passed, for purposes of praise or censure. But when an author is himself removed, the legacy of his writings is still an object of regard; and, if there be a writer, who has left works behind him, which exercise an ungenial influence upon the principles of the living, in present and remote generations; if the tendency of his labours should be injurious, and the magic of his song, or the subtlety of his sentiment, should be calculated to impart a charm and a grace to that which is erroneous or delusive; the critic is still to animadvert with due severity upon them, as a bequest

of mischief and woe. The grave can claim no privilege of sanctuary for authors, who, with systematic perverseness, have endeavored to diffuse principles and modes of thought utterly subversive of every thing amiable, dignified, and venerable. If they have been employed in spreading a moral taint through the whole social frame in which their writings may have circulated, the individual may be shrouded within the gloom of his sepulchre from the animadversion so justly awakened; but the mischief of his purposes, the reckless scorn of forbearance, with which he has achieved his design, the guilty employment of his genius, and the proud bearing of defiance with which he braved the public opinion, demand to be held up to the notice, and, if possible, to the condemnation of the world. The surgeon is often called in after death to determine the causes and character of a disease, which is no longer susceptible of a remedy. Cases frequently occur, where a minute and judicious examination may determine an important question in pathology; may essentially minister to the advancement of science, and the bodily welfare of future individuals. Hints may thus be obtained for the exhibition of remedies which would not otherwise have been suggested. There is a *moral* inquisition, the same in character, but vastly greater in importance, which circumstances may render imperiously necessary: and the candid critic, who loves virtue more than he fears misapprehension, will not be deterred from performing his duty, as a watchman for the moral weal of the community. He will examine the morbid symptoms of mind, tenderly, but firmly, trace them, if possible, to the causes in which they originated, and communicate the result of his inquiry to those around him, for their instruction and safety.

The death of Lord Byron appears to present an occasion of this sort. Often, while he was alive, have we warned our readers against the tendency of his writings. In the same spirit of uprightness and candour, neither forgetting the respect, due to departed genius of the highest order, on the one hand, nor our solemn obligation to individual and national virtue, on the other, would we now avail ourselves of the vigorous pamphlet before us, to pass our final judgment upon the general character of those fascinating, but dangerous works, which have heretofore passed before our eyes in rapid succession. We cordially acquiesce in the general strain of remonstrance adopted by the Censor in this appeal. It is to the praise of the national feeling, that it has so far acquiesced in the truth and importance of his remarks, as to carry them rapidly into a third edition.

Vainly might the late Lord Byron assert, and imagine (if he did imagine,) that he had drawn a distinction between the author, and the Pilgrim Childe Harold. All, who were in any degree acquainted with the early education, peculiar moral constitution, and besetting difficulties of this most extraordinary man, must have been persuaded that he had sat for the picture; and that, while it was arrayed in a fancy-dress of the most striking and gorgeous character, it was still the portrait of the painter himself. The first eleven stanzas of that singular poem, though strongly and darkly colored, are probably faithful lineaments of one, who, too early emancipated from the wholesome restraints of parental authority, lord of himself, and of the means of indulgence, sought happiness by giving the rein to his inclinations; and who, while he cultivated the rich endowments of his mind with successful zeal, found a more pleasing guide in the allurements of sense than in the decisions of judgment or the directions of religion. One however, so highly gifted, who had yet failed to subdue the senses to the soul, would assuredly and early discover, that a providence, no less wise than righteous, had written vanity and vexation of spirit on every part of such a procedure. Speedy satiety would be the inevitable consequence: and although the force of habit, and an imaginary necessity of excitement might render it difficult to turn away from the track, yet would a better sense of the truth, struggling with the stern and stoic pride, which unquestionably formed a most powerful element in Lord Byron's character, produce that appearance of chilling misanthropy, that scorn and contempt of life and all its blessings, which deform his lay, and make us shudder while we read it. Such an intermixture of feelings could alone account for this mournful confession;

————— I have thought
 Too long and darkly, till my brain became,
 In its own eddy boiling and o'erwrought,
 A whirling gulf of phantasy and flame:
 And thus, *untaught in youth my heart to tame,*
My springs of life were poison'd. 'Tis too late!
 Yet I am chang'd, tho' still enough the same
 In strength to bear what time cannot abate,
 And feed on bitter fruits, without accusing fate.

(Childe Harold. III. 7.)

The character of one, who, having rebelled against the law of Heaven, endures the punishment of his disobedience with unrelenting firmness, and considers himself rather the victim than the offender, has been drawn by him, who, "passing the flaming bounds of time and space," saw

"The living throne, the sapphire blaze
Where angels tremble, while they gaze."

Such a character, at least in its general outline, has Lord Byron too frequently, if not too ostentatiously, drawn of himself to permit a mistake of his intention. He has exhibited himself, as a man, who, having offended against that law of his being, which identifies happiness with moral restraint, was yet under the influence of destiny, the helpless sport of passion, in short,

_____ "a weed,
Flung from the rock on Ocean's foam to sail,

Where'er the surge may sweep, the tempest's breath prevail."

Too proud to retrace his steps, "he mans his spirit to the conflict." At enmity with himself, he seems determined, if possible, to elude the internal strife by declaring war against those principles of society, which his own writings were so forward to injure. Laboring beneath "those fardels of the heart," which he takes gloomy pleasure in recounting, he comes before us with the stern calmness of Prometheus—

τὴν πεπρωμένην δὲ χρῆ
αἴσαν φέρειν ὡς ῥᾶστα, γιγνώσκονθ' ὅτι
το τῆς ἀνάγκης ἔστ' ἀδήριτον σθένος.

(Prom. vinct, 103—105. Ed. Blomefield.)

There is a singular resemblance in some points of view between the character of Rousseau and that of Lord Byron. The cold heartless selfishness, with which the former acted in almost every circumstance of his life, while he wrote and spoke the language of a romantic generosity, is indeed strongly contrasted with the frank, unbounded liberality of the latter, who had "a hand, open, as day, to melting charity." In other particulars, however, there was a close approximation. The manner, in which his earliest work was received, operated upon the mind of Lord Byron, as the condemnation of the "Contrât Social" influenced Rousseau. Each writer immediately afterwards more boldly attacked the prevailing opinions; each excited against himself considerable hostility; each repaid that hostility with interminable warfare; each nourished a continually increasing spirit of contempt for existing institutions; and each resigned himself to a misanthropy, which daily gathered a deeper gloom around him. It is natural to suppose, that similar effects, upon minds so constituted, were produced by kindred causes: and he, who shall read the Confessions of Rousseau, and the other less partial memorials of his life, comparing them with what is known of our more illustrious countryman, will hardly fail to discover, that the root of the

common evil lay in defective education, absence of restraint, and indulgence of the senses.

The spirit, to which we have above alluded, was early produced in Lord Byron. Even at Cambridge he exhibited that disregard of admonition and reproof, and that repugnance to common and established usages, which characterized his later, and perhaps his latest life.

“ Soon he knew himself the most unfit

Of men to herd with man, with whom he held
Little in common. Untaught to submit.

His thoughts to others, though his soul was quell'd

In youth by his own thoughts, still uncompell'd,

He would not yield dominion of his mind

To spirits, against whom his own rebell'd;

Proud, tho' in desolation; which could find

A life within itself, to breathe without mankind.”

(Childe Harold, III. 12.)

This observation, however, is by no means intended to embrace Lord Byron's conduct within the more circumscribed walks of private intercourse and friendship. We have heard the testimony of one long domesticated with him, and admitted to his familiarity, during his sojourn among the oppressed Greeks, who were endeared to him by classical recollections, political opinion, and personal observation, and to whom he freely gave his wealth, his repose, and eventually his life. This gentleman was in every respect a competent judge; and he represented Lord Byron, as a man of the most kindly affections, prompt to oblige, eager to serve, and bearing his high faculties so unostentatiously, as to secure that personal love, which is by no means invariably allied with admiration of talent and genius. We only hint at the causes, which produced in him so mournful an alienation from the general charities of life, the endearments of home, the claims of country, and the mild pleadings of religion.

The work, upon which Lord Byron's fame must ultimately rest, is distinguished chiefly by that repulsiveness, of which we have spoken, and which, taken in connexion with the other lineaments of his character, forms a picture full of strange anomalies, which irresistibly fixes the eye on the canvas, but which the eye cannot contemplate with delight, or even with satisfaction. On this subject, however, Cato shall express our opinion.

“ Taking it through its various Cantoes, it is at once descriptive and immoral; full of beauty and infidelity; occasionally enchanting in its pensiveness, but uniformly repulsive by its philosophy. There is scarcely a solitary recognition of virtue, as virtue, in any part of

it. The Childe himself seems a compound of all the worst passions with which our human nature is afflicted under its warmest climates and its vilest characters. He is bad in his religion, his morals, and his politics. There is about him much of disdain and harsh opinion of mankind; and his feelings, when called forth, are evidently of a mere engraftment, and have nothing to do with the heart. Rich, my Lord, as in these Cantoes are your descriptions of nature in every varied clime, you will yet not, I think, find Childe Harold an enduring performance. In vain is there magic in its beauties, grandeur in its sentiments, strength in its execution, and a restless, ceaseless energy in every part of it. Its magnificence is so overlaid with sins against both morals and genius, that it is impossible to peruse it, as works of immortality are perused, with unmixed and increasing pleasure. There is no enchantment in numbers, that will make up for positive deformity; nor are we willing to be wedded to works that set at defiance all which ought to be held sacred. A sort of ostentation of evil runs through the whole body of the performance. It is written with a wretched felicity to delight and corrupt in the same breath. You raise an Eden amid a perfect wilderness of all the finer feelings of the soul. Every figure on your stained canvas puts forth the head of a Siren and the tail of a scorpion. Beauty is joined with sin, and sin is rendered delightful; nor does the young mind feel its error till it finds its ruin. From this censure, however, I must in justice exempt much of the last Canto that has come under my notice. Verses, like these, are not to be rejected, because joined with strong and lamentable incongruities. They are to be held at their intrinsic value; and a well-regulated judgment will inform us what that value is.—(Pp. 7—9.)

With Lord Byron, the mental grandeur of man, and the elevation of his character, consist, not in the devotedness of heart and soul to every thing laudable and lovely; not in cultivating either the milder or more vigorous graces of his better nature; not in the will to act virtuously, and suffer patiently; but in his power to be greatly evil, and to endure the consequences of his daring in stern obduracy. Victor Alfieri, according to the quotation of his noble admirer, has said, "*La pianta uomo nase più robusta in Italia che in qualunque altra terra—e che gli stessi atroci delitti che vi si commettono ne sono una prova.*" In the latter part of this remark the great dramatist of Italy might have purposely embodied a prevailing sentiment of Lord Byron, that mental vigour and energy may be estimated, even by the extent of crime. True indeed it is, that Alfieri's position is called dangerous, and Lord Byron does not declare his assent to it. But it is added, that the truth of the presumption may be disputed on better grounds, namely, that the Italians are in no respect more ferocious than their neighbours. On better grounds!—as though it were possible to dispute this mon-

strous position upon any more fair arena than its utter repugnance to the first principles of truth and fitness, which natural religion has implanted within the heart of man—as though crime were not, in almost every instance, the consequences of a triumph and dominion, obtained by the animal over the intellectual and moral nature of man! As there is a mode of condemning with faint praise, so there is a method of confirming by faint denial: and, when we read such paragraphs as this, in connexion with various passages in the first three Cantoes, and in the minor poems of Lord Byron, speaking the same language in terms still more unequivocal, we can hardly err in judgment, or offend even against the most enlarged charity, in regarding them as the echoes of his own mind.

The fourth canto of *Childe Harold* is excepted from these remarks, because it possesses beauties of a much higher order than the rest, and deserves a more honorable mention. In this concluding canto, “a change comes o’er the spirit of his dream;” a change no less unexpected than delightful. And although the darker thoughts, to which his mind is familiarized, and which equally blight his own peace and the purity of his readers, will sometimes intrude, yet is there a chastened strain of melancholy, a living spring of poetry, a splendour of description, and a comparative chastity of thought, which awakened, as we well remember, a trembling hope on his behalf in the minds of many, who truly honored his genius, while they mourned over its desecration. He has here mingled less of the bitterness of his own passions in the cup of his poetical enchantment. In the more elevated tone, by which this canto is distinguished, it seemed, as though the better genius were for a while at strife with the worse for the possession of his mind. But the doubt was too soon removed: Manfred, Beppo, Sardanapalus, Cain, and Don Juan, to omit almost every other subsequent effort of his pen, dispelled the illusion, and permitted his well-wishers only to hope against hope.

It will be remembered, that the greater number of Lord Byron’s productions consist, not of regular poems, each having, as Aristotle demanded, a beginning, a middle, and an end, but of extracts and fragments. On this peculiarity Cato comes to the following conclusion.

“Extracts and fragments are, I think, held to be no parts of sound learning, or of true poetry. They rather tend to the depreciation of both. They afford an opportunity of choosing, or rejecting, at pleasure, what we will, and thus break into that regular order and governance of the thoughts which alone can ensure an enduring per-

forfance. We can judge from an arm, or hand, or other costly relic, of the exquisite sculpture of the figure now dilapidated or lost ; but it does not seem so plain that these Parnassian gems are proofs of the capacity of the poet for greater performances. It may rather, perhaps, intimate that he has concentrated his genius, and brought his powers to their apex, and that, were he to proceed further, the ‘ multa et præclara minantis ’ would vanish, his images become stale, and his execution spiritless.” (P. 12.)

Now in this opinion we can partially, but not wholly coincide. The singular incongruities by which Lord Byron’s great work, *Childe Harold*, is distinguished, and the comparatively long intervals of time between the publication of the cantoes would certainly, apart from other considerations, lead us to suppose, that he would have found it difficult to support a long and legitimate poem with unfatigued and equal flight. But the splendour of his genius, the ease with which it soars at his bidding, and the manner in which its excursions into the loftiest realms of thought are maintained, afford practical and undeniable evidence, that versatility of mind, and restlessness of temperament, were the causes why he never attempted a regular poem, and might have been the causes of failure, if he had attempted it. There is nothing in the character of Lord Byron’s mind, beyond its impatience and scorn of opinion, whether real or affected, which should induce us to doubt his success in any department of poetry.

We have no intention to estimate the character and tendency of his Lordship’s works in detail : that office has been so well performed, and the result so well stated in this truly eloquent pamphlet, that we are called upon, rather to admire, than to cooperate. It comes from a mind, honorably alive to the sins, which Lord Byron has committed against good feeling, and the reckless wantonness, with which he has attacked every thing decorous in the morality, and venerable in the religion of mankind. It is decidedly the most able, because it is the most honest, of all the estimates, which have been made of Lord Byron’s poetical character. Utterly and irreconcilably estranged from that servile adulation, with which he has been pursued, it speaks the truth and the whole truth, possibly not always endeavoring to restore, while restoration was possible, so entirely in the spirit of meekness as could be wished ; nor perhaps dwelling with sufficient explicitness upon the wrong, done by Lord Byron to the whole scheme of revelation, but still just, manly, honorable, and candid, though sometimes indulging in a coarseness of expression, which we should gladly prune ; for a reprover, like Juvenal, may remonstrate with an indignant plainness which makes us too familiar with the vice which he denounces.

A lesson of no ordinary profit may be drawn from an attentive examination of Lord Byron's poetical career. Very early indeed were discovered the seeds of that harvest of evil, which flourished with such dreadful maturity and vigour in Cain, and Don Juan. The innate power of genius, clogged, as it was, bore him for a while strongly up; but, the more familiar his muse became with vice and licentiousness, the more irresistibly is his genius impeded in its progress toward excellence and immortality. Not only is its application dishonored; its worth and power are also diminished. We see in its fate and failure the operation of that eternal law of our nature, which exclusively allies the dread sublimities of song to virtue. The more determinately Lord Byron estranges himself from all converse with the skies, the more perversely he lights the torch of his fancy at the flame of infidelity or sensuality, the more sickly and flickering is its flame. Had the future race of poets no other beacon than Lord Byron's example and success in his earlier and later poems to warn them of the shoals, on which his pretensions to lasting fame have suffered shipwreck, they should contemplate it with emotions of deep and awful interest.

When Milton was about to sing

"Of man's first disobedience, and the fruit
Of that forbidden tree, whose mortal taste
Brought death into the world, and all our woe,"

he employed his muse in her seraphic labour, with no unblest aim of arraigning the order of providence, and charging the evils, committed and endured by men, upon him, who cannot himself be either the tempter or the tempted, but expressly with a view to defend the Moral Governor of the world from the slanders which a daring infidelity had devised, that so

"He might assert Eternal Providence,
And justify the ways of God to men."

His success corresponded with the grandeur of his imagination, and the hallowed theme to which its energies were devoted; thence

"————— his ample mind
Each vary'd charm receiv'd, retain'd, combin'd;
And thence the nightly visitant, that came
To touch his bosom with her sacred flame."

Let the purposes and the execution of Milton and Lord Byron be compared! Bring the *Paradise Lost* and *Cain* into contact with each other! Milton makes the enemy of man always speak daringly and impiously indeed, for he could speak no otherwise; but always with a hardihood of impiety

which could no more be defended against the opposite reasoning and the truths of those scriptures, which the poet might be supposed to anticipate, when he ventured to put words into the mouth of the Deity and of his angelic ministers, than his form could be concealed, when it was touched by the spear of Ithuriel. Lord Byron, however, has chosen the opposite course. His Lucifer, indeed, argues with Cain; but his sophistries are put in a manner, which makes it evident they were never meant to be refuted; and the relative situation of the interlocutors perhaps makes it impossible that they should be refuted. The whole work, from the preface to the postscript, is a deep, malignant attack upon that truth, which is the ground-work of revelation, and without reference to which, all its pages are a sealed book. Lord Byron had the dark and gloomy satisfaction, if he did not loathe his own success, of producing a work which shocked and outraged the feelings of every man to whom the Bible was dear, and which, being considered too disgraceful for the protection of law, is now, from its very infamy, printed and diffused throughout the land in the cheapest form, to spread its poison among a class of people, who, however eager and depraved their appetite, could not afford to purchase so much blasphemy at the price of its original publication.

It is impossible not to be struck with the mannerism, both in subject and composition, which pervades the writings of Lord Byron. All his personages are of one family; all his sentiments referable to a very few classes. They come before us indeed arrayed in different garbs, but their identity is indisputable. On this subject, the pamphlet under notice has ably dilated, and satisfactorily shewn the fallacy of any defence which Lord Byron might have made against the charge. We extract the following passage upon the subject, as part of the author's reasoning; pointing out to our readers the reference to Spenser, as one of the most beautiful instances of allusion by which we ever remember to have been delighted.

“A great defect, and, poetically considered, an inexpressible one, independent of more serious objection, runs through the entire body of these poems. It must be evident, on the slightest inspection, that a gross *sameness* pervades the libidinous mass. Your impieties and ribaldries, your sneers, and jests, and gibes, are scions of a common stock. Out of one quiver you shoot every arrow, and every arrow dipped in the same poison. Indeed, there is such an identity in these ‘thick coming’ compositions, that, having read one of your poetical incentives to immorality, we have read them all. One soul shines out in Greece, in Spain, in Italy, in whatever beautiful clime your

heroes blast by their presence. Amid a great variety of personages and incidents, the main work is yet going on every where alike. There is a certain quantity of loose profaneness, the staple commodity; a floating mass of offensive matter which is taken up, in crude and hasty portions, by every character as it passes. When Harold drops off, we find his evil genius revived in the Giaour; and when the Giaour expires, it springs from his ashes, and, gathering fresh life, performs its migrations through the Corsair, the Renegade, and the whole crew of worthies issuing from the same prolific bed. Like the careful mother,* who obtained, that the spirit of one departed son should infuse itself into and strengthen the living principle of the other, you invest your successive heroes with each others' crimes, until, in Cain and Juan, they attain to the fulness of their measure.

"This sameness, my Lord, there is the less excuse for, inasmuch as you were not compelled to give these repeated pictures of villainy to mankind. The call was not imperative for their exhibition. You had not, like the historian, to describe the characters and events of past ages in such colours as justice required; or, at the voice of truth, to paint our human nature as it glares on us, all horrible and hateful, in the burning pages of ambition. Yours was a beautiful and unlimited field; your subjects, the spontaneous productions of your own mind, and where, like the benevolent Richardson—second only to Shakspeare in his knowledge of the human heart, and his fine delineations of it—you might have drawn, at once, for the edification and delight of your fellow creatures; for their confirmation in dignity, and their settlement in virtue. For though a poet is advised, and justly, to transform himself into the character which he exhibits, and to be, as it were, the ideal villain, for the moment, of his own imagination, yet is this no apology for everlastingly portraying the vilest propensities of the mind, and actually living and dying amid the same circle of voluptuousness; the same fierce, and brutal, and hardening sensuality. It is a fatal symptom; it proves the heart to be *dead in trespasses and sins* of this nature; to be full of these unholy images; to be sunk and saturated in the gross sentiments it is evermore eliciting; which are perpetually present; which come first; which depart last; and, unconnected with which, your very genius droops, and seems disposed to involve itself in night and darkness.

"The Stagirite, when he insisted upon this rule of identification, could have had no conception that a writer, and of so voluminous a cast, would confine himself to one revolting subject, would pursue one course of disgusting composition, and draw, in his characters, but one solitary picture of mental baseness and deformity. He may be thought rather to have calculated upon his dwelling on the graces of our common nature, the transports of a pure love, the feelings of a warm friendship, the amenities, all soft and delicate, of a chaste, a correct, and affectionate heart. You have, however, I must confess, contrived to give a grace to deformity. You have thrown around these so reprehensible characters, certain commanding energies,

* Fairy Queen. Book IV. Canto II.

which usurp on the virtues, naturally destined to adorn purer dispositions. Honour, my Lord, I will not say, that you succeed in investing them with. Honour, in its chaste and Christian acceptance, it is, I conceive, totally out of his power to draw, who has never chosen a virtuous subject for the exertion of his muse, never taken a virtuous mind as the model of his hero, never suffered the appearance of a virtuous character on the stage of his dramas without throwing it into shade, and never permitted a wife to exhibit herself as a pattern of fidelity and affection, where a harlot or a mistress could be found to supply her place." Pp. 42—52.

It is impossible to read the following expostulation without deeply regretting the occasion, which called it forth.

"At a season when all laws are trampled upon that have hitherto made government to every civilized kingdom a blessing; when all religion is repudiated by the craft or violence of those who themselves have little or no regard for any religion; when its doctrines are disbelieved and its professors reviled by wretches whose conduct is too infamous to dread any reproaches in return; when authority, duty, obedience, devotion, are daily more and more losing their hold on the hearts and affections of men—at such a season that you should devote the powers of your genius to the strengthening of such demoralizing principles; that you should pour forth a pestilential poetry which in every page of it unhinges society in some corner-stone or other of its majestic edifice; that, in the bulk of this poetry, you should not only individually attack the established institutions of your own country, but, stooping to a coalition with the corrupt publications of the Continent, should produce a combined mass of malignity, conspiring to overthrow not only every shadow of respect for sceptres and mitres, wherever to be found, but for even common order and decency, common honour and conscience—this is indeed to tread a fearful path to fame, to confess that neither God nor man has any part in your affection, but that, altogether discarding the virtues, you desire no dealings save with the mere turpitudes of our nature, and have no voice, no hand, no heart, but for their promulgation and prevalence."—(Pp. 123, 124.)

Happy should we have been, could we have found a remonstrance, like this, effectual. Among the admirers of his Lordship's wonderful powers, none were more ardent than ourselves. In proportion to this sentiment was the sorrow and regret, with which we beheld him squandering the astonishing energies of his mind upon trifles, or making them occasions of evil to the community. We could not avoid mourning, that

There was a public mischief in his verse;

It plagu'd his country.

Greatly indeed did Lord Byron demand our pity, as well as admiration, and most sincerely did he possess them. But we should have been wanting to higher duties, did we not enter a solemn protest against the pernicious tendency of his writings, and warn the youth of our country against the fatal origin of all his errors.

- ART. XXIV.—1. *An Essay on Baptism*, being an Inquiry into the meaning, form, and extent of the Administration of that Ordinance; by Greville Ewing, Minister of the Gospel, Glasgow: with an Appendix, containing a Vindication of the explanations in the Author's Greek Grammar, and Greek and English Scripture Lexicon on the same subject, in a Letter to the Author, from a literary Christian Friend. Glasgow: Wardlaw and Cunninghame. 1823. 12mo. Pp. 16. and 204.
2. *On Baptism*; chiefly in reply to the etymological positions of the Rev. Greville Ewing, in his Essay on Baptism, the polemic discussions of the Rev. Timothy Dwight, S. T. D. LL. D. in his work, entitled, *Theology*; and the inferential reasoning of the Rev. Ralph Wardlaw, D. D. in his Lectures on the Abrahamic Covenant; by F. A. Cox, A. M. of Hackney. London: Holdsworth: 1824. 8vo. Pp. vii. and 157.
3. *A Father's reasons for not baptizing his children*, with some Remarks on the subject of Baptism, as affecting the state of religious parties, and the future prospects of the Church; by a Lay-member of the Church of England. London: Westley, Murray. 1824. 8vo. Pp. iv. and 97.

THE question of infant baptism has agitated the Christian church in all ages. Many minor questions have of course been mixed up with it, as, for example, that comparatively very unimportant one between dipping and sprinkling. But the main inquiry itself, whether infants ought or ought not to be baptized, has not yet been so fortunate, at least in these later ages of the church, as to meet with an unanimous decision.

It is admitted on all hands, that the scripture nowhere expressly decides it. The original command was—"Go ye, and make all nations my disciples, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost!" and, whether in compliance with this order the apostles administered the ordinance of baptism to little children, our historical information is too scanty to determine by direct and positive evidence.

On the other hand all parties are agreed, that baptism, however or to whomever it ought to be performed, is the initiatory rite of Christianity: and in the absence of direct evidence, we have to weigh the probabilities of the question, whether in dispensing this initiatory rite the apostles and

first Christians did or did not admit, and by consequence, whether our Lord did or did not intend them to admit, infants to partake of it.

Now this view of the question leads us first to ask, what was the actual state of things, under which this rite came first to be administered by the apostles. The first converts to Christianity were Jews; and, as they were all of course circumcised, and as they all continued to observe the Mosaic law, there is little in the circumstances of their case to aid the defect of our historical information on the point at issue, whether they did or did not baptize the children of those who were converted. But in a few years the dispensation of the gospel was offered to the uncircumcised heathens; and those heathens were exempted by an express decree of the apostles from the necessity of being circumcised or observing the law. Here, therefore, an important crisis arrived for the decision of the matter in debate. The new converts were now partly Jews and partly heathens. It had been determined by an apostolical council, that those who were not circumcised, were exempted from obedience to the Mosaic law, and that those, who, having been circumcised according to the rites of Moses, were afterwards baptized unto Christ Jesus, were exempted from obedience to that statute in the Mosaic law, which by enacting distinctions between clean and unclean meats and persons, prohibited any close intercourse with Gentiles.

Here then upon the supposition, that infants were not admitted to baptism, a singular anomaly was introduced into the church. Converts from Judaism were baptized, and thus set at liberty from many of the most burdensome peculiarities in the Mosaic law, particularly from the ceremonial pollutions enforced by it, and the necessity of separation from heathen society. But the children of these converts, having been circumcised, if they were not also baptized, were still subject to these restraints; and, although they were in training under their parents' care for a better faith, they were still kept under a yoke, from which the parents were free; while the children of heathen converts on the other hand were encumbered with no such difficulty. If such an anomaly existed, an anomaly, subjecting the children of Jewish Christians to unprofitable inconveniences, from which the children of heathens were exempted, should we not have heard of it? The Jewish christians were jealous of the heathens, and even of the apostles for favoring them. They came together in great numbers on hearing of the arrival of Paul from converting the Gentiles; and of their earnestness

in these matters the New Testament is full. Would they have been silent, or should we not be equally apprised of their clamorous importunity, if their circumcised children were thus placed in a condition of comparative inferiority?

Again, in regard to the case of their children, born after the conversion of the parents, were they circumcised or not? The circumcision of Timothy renders it extremely probable, that they were; in which case, no other inconveniences would ensue than those already specified. If, however, they were not circumcised, a supposition not unlikely in the case of many of the foreign Jews, would no scruples, no uneasiness arise in the mind of a christian Jew, when he recollected his own early admission, and observed the admission of his Jewish neighbours into external covenant with God by a visible rite, and found no such emblem of the divine acceptance in use for his own children? and, if he saw his children dying in infancy, would the want of some external token of that covenant, into which God vouchsafed to receive his ancient people, give no trouble to his mind? We are persuaded, that it would have been a great bar to the profession of Christianity among that people, and would have formed a prominent feature in their objections to the new sect and doctrine; which to them would seem to want a stamp of the divine sanction and favour, which the Mosaical covenant possessed.

To us this view of the state of things, existing in the rising church, strongly enforces the extreme improbability of infants having been excluded from the ordinance of baptism. On the other hand, when the analogy is traced, which cannot be denied, between the typical rites of circumcision and the passover, and the commemorative rites of baptism and the eucharist, it appears to us a most incredible supposition, that, while the distinguishing peculiarity of the gospel is to be more diffusive, more comprehensive, more universal, if we may so speak, than the law, while it is admitted, that baptism itself, instead of being administered, like circumcision, to males only, was given to males and females indiscriminately, the direction to circumcise infants of eight days old should have been reversed in the case of baptism without one hint being dropped in all scripture of the difference, and that in in that single and only instance, without a word in scripture teaching or implying it, the offers of the new covenant should have been of a more exclusive character than those of the old.

We refrain from quoting the texts, which are usually brought forward on this subject, they being well known, and

leaving the question after all open to discussion. But we contend, that, had a distinction so remarkable as that of excluding children from the initiatory rite of christianity, although they had always been brought, on pain of cutting off, to the initiatory rite of Judaism, really existed, it is incredible, that the same silence, which the scriptures now maintain, should have been observed, it being an admitted rule in reasoning, that all things be supposed to continue, as they were, except in those points, in which they are shewn to be altered. Yet we are unwilling to omit the forcible reasoning of Mr. Ewing on

“Acts ii. 38, 39. ‘Then Peter said unto them, Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost. For the promise is unto you, and to your children, and to all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God shall call.’ The promise was, that in confirmation of salvation, (namely, ‘the remission of sins,’) they should ‘receive the gift of the Holy Ghost.’ Now, this promise was made to families: to parents and children, to children under age, and to superannuated old men, to the bond as well as the free, and to both sexes alike. These classes included, as we shall have occasion to remark again, all the descriptions of persons which belonged to the family of Abraham, namely parents, children, and servants. Acts ii. 17. ‘I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh: and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams; and on my servants, (bondmen,) and on my handmaidens, (bondwomen,) I will pour out in those days of my Spirit; and they shall prophesy.’ When, after saying, ‘the promise is unto you and to your children,’ the apostle added, and ‘to all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God shall call;’ although, probably, he was not aware at the time what the Spirit of Christ which was in him did signify, he certainly foretold the calling of the Gentiles; and his meaning plainly is, that the promise which was TO THE JEWS FIRST AND TO THEIR CHILDREN, should be TO THE GENTILES ALSO AND TO THEIR CHILDREN. Nay, he went on to exhort his hearers to abandon their connexion with their unbelieving brethren after the flesh, that they might not lose the promise which they could only enjoy by faith. Ver. 40. ‘And with many other words did he testify and exhort, saying, Save yourselves from this untoward race.’

“Precisely in the same strain, and almost in the same words, the apostle Paul asserts the interest which believers in Christ from among the Gentiles have, in the family-promise made to the Jews; and, in the same way as Peter does, he connects this family-promise with family Baptism. Gal. iii. 26—29. (Ewing, Pp. 139—141.)

“I shall now be asked, if all or any of the families of believers, where family baptism is said to have been practised, can be proved to have contained infants? I answer, that ‘a house,’ or family, is a term which includes, in its meaning, infants as properly as adult children; and that in not one of those families, mentioned in connexion with

baptism, is any exception made, for the purpose of excluding infants. Their continuance in one family is a presumption, that the members were either under age, or willing to remain under the influence of parental instruction and example. The sons had not left their father and mother to cleave to a wife, and the daughters had not yet been given in marriage. Or, if they and their connexions were inclined to remain, the probability of multiplied infancy was only increased. Unless we admit that infants, nay, every relation both of affinity and descent, which can be considered as his property, are interested in the privileges of a believer's house, I see not a satisfactory meaning of 1 Cor. vii. 12—14. 'If any brother hath a wife that believeth not, and she be pleased to dwell with him, let him not put her away. And the woman which hath an husband that believeth not, and if he be pleased to dwell with her, let her not leave him. For the unbelieving husband is sanctified by the wife, and the unbelieving wife is sanctified by the husband; else were your children unclean: but now are they holy.' That there is nothing in the idea of being 'baptized,' which should exclude infants, is evident from what Paul says of the children of Israel on leaving Egypt, when we know they had all their infants with them, 1 Cor. x. 1, 2. 'Moreover, brethren, I would not that ye should be ignorant, how that all our fathers were under the cloud, and all passed through the sea; and were all baptized unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea.'

"If a man and his family are degraded, does not the degradation include infants? If a man and his family are ennobled, does not the nobility include infants? If a man and his family are baptized, does not the language convey a similar meaning, namely, that the baptism includes infants? In calculating, as some do, the probability of the case, many confine their attention to the four families mentioned in Acts x. Acts xvi. and 1 Cor. i. But these are only a specimen of the hundreds and thousands of families, which in the first propagation of the gospel, were treated in the same way. When Lydia was baptized with her house, we are made certain that they were none of them believers, excepting herself. For she urged Christian character, as the argument for prevailing with Paul and Silas to accept her hospitality. Unquestionably she put her argument as strongly as she could; yet, as it was her heart only which the Lord was said to have opened, ver. 14. so she could not include so much as one in the family along with herself, as a believer; but was obliged to use the singular number, saying, 'If ye have judged ME to be faithful to the Lord, come into MY house, and abide.'" (Ewing, pp. 142—144.)

As far also as the reason of the institution can be collected from the occasion of it, and from the language of its original institution, it would seem to be clearly in favour of an early administration; for it is a dispensation of grace to those, who are its objects (that is to all nations, to every creature); and it is an act, by which they are declared to be not full partakers, but disciples, learners, who are afterwards to be taught all things which their master has commanded, a condition, evi-

dently suited to childhood, and in harmony with the recorded invitation of our Saviour to little children. It is an individual appropriation of this blessing to each distinct person, as one, for whom Christ died, and for whom a teacher is found to instruct him in all things, whatsoever he has commanded us. Who then are the proper objects of this promised mercy? Young as they are, little children are capable of sinning. They are chargeable with the guilt of sin. They are therefore in need of forgiveness. If they die, they are capable of salvation. Are they not therefore capable also of receiving the promise of salvation? Surely it can hardly be conceived to have been intended by the compassionate Saviour of sinners, that they should live till an advanced season, and perhaps die, without one token of his saving love, addressed particularly to themselves, more especially, when he has left two appropriating ordinances, of which one is confessedly initiatory, while the other belongs by a consent no less universal to the initiated.

We are aware but of one answer to this argument. It might be urged, perhaps, setting aside the general agreement of the church, to shew, that the Lord's supper as well as baptism may be administered to infants. We are not much startled by the consequence. Infants were in the early ages of christianity occasionally received to that rite. But the very tokens of the two sacraments point to a difference in this very particular. In the rite of baptism, the recipient is passive. In that of the eucharist he is active. A child can never be too young to be either dipped or sprinkled. He may easily be too young to eat bread or drink wine. And besides, the reason of the case, as we have traced it above, does not require this consequence. He that is washed, needeth not, save to wash his feet, but is clean every whit. What is wanted is a token of divine grace to tender infants: and, if that be received in baptism, they may well wait for the other sacrament, till the prescribed sequel to baptism, that of teaching them all things, whatsoever he has commanded, has taken place with effect.

In fact, we find that Christ not only received infants and blessed them, but that he also heard the prayers of others on their behalf: and surely, if, when a mother believed, a daughter was healed, and, when a father believed, a son recovered, it is no strained analogy to hold, conformably to other intimations in scripture, that the faith of parents in offering their children to baptism will procure their acceptance, and entitle them to a blessing.

We have prefixed to this article some works, taking different views of the important points in dispute. The first of

them is from a Scotch presbyterian, who, though he inveighs a little in several places against our formularies and practice, especially in regard to the use of sponsors, and the sign of the cross, contends nevertheless earnestly for the mode of administering the ordinances which is uniformly adopted by our clergy.

If any one in opening Mr. Ewing's book should in the first instance *pop* upon the few pages in his first chapter, where the derivation of the word, βαπτίζω, is discussed, he would hardly be prepared for the quantity of good and ingenious reasoning, suited to the general reader, which he will afterwards meet with, but would perhaps expect to find it filled from beginning to end with purely philological discussion. At the same time, though we think the author occasionally fanciful, and disposed to rest too much weight upon speculations concerning the origin and descent of words, there is in that chapter much valuable criticism very ingeniously adapted to the purpose of his argument. Mr. Ewing conceives, that baptism

"is the pouring-out of water from the hand of the baptizer, on the turned-up face of the baptized." (P. 18.)

In pursuing this idea, he puts forward some very striking and original conjectures on the word, used by saint John first, and by our Lord and his apostles afterwards, for the act of baptizing; in which the reader will see some proof of the skill of the author in this department of philological criticism.

"The language spoken in Judea, at the time of our Saviour's incarnation, was called Hebrew, and was in fact a mixed dialect of Syriac and Chaldee. The Syriac translation of the New Testament is generally allowed to be the most ancient which is extant, and is supposed to have been made in the first century. In this translation, all the words used for *Baptizing*, *Baptism*, and *Baptist*, are taken from the Hebrew word, עמד, which signifies *to stand, continue, subsist, to cause or make to stand, to support as by a pillar, to set up as a pillar, to set, or raise up, to place, present, or establish*. It is the same word also which is used for *Baptism*, in the Arabic version. This word is certainly worthy of particular attention in the present inquiry, because in the Syro-Chaldaic dialect it was in all probability the very word, originally used by John the Baptist, as the name of the new ordinance which he administered, when he came to prepare the way of the Lord: the very word used by the messengers from Jerusalem, when they asked his reason for dispensing this new ordinance, saying, 'Why baptizest thou?' the very word used by Jesus when he gave the apostolic commission: the very word used by the apostles and evangelists, as long at least as they preached and baptized, in Judea, Galilee and Samaria.

"Would the use of this name, for this ordinance, throw any light

on the anointing of Jacob's pillar, Gen. xxviii. 18; on the setting up of the pillars of Solomon, in the porch of the temple, the formation, and dimensions, and names of which, occupy so prominent a place in the account of his building a house for the God of Israel, 1 Kings vii. 15—22; on Saul's being desired to 'arise, and be baptized,' Acts xxii. 16, and ix. 18; or on the many apostolic descriptions of the church of Christ, to wit, that 'Christ loved it, and gave himself for it, that he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water, by the word,' Eph. v. 25, 26; that it is 'God's building,' 1 Cor. iii. 9; that it is holy, 1 Cor. iii. 16, 17; that it is 'the pillar and ground of the truth,' 1 Tim. iii. 15; that God is able 'to make his servants stand,' Rom. xiv. 4; and that Christ hath said, Rev. iii. 12.—'Him, that overcometh will I make a pillar in the temple of my God, and he shall go no more out: and I will write upon him the name of my God, and the name of the city of my God, *which is new Jerusalem*, which cometh down out of heaven from my God: and *I will write upon him my new name*?' (Pp. 18—21.)

But this part of the treatise is most remarkable for the boldness and success, with which it carries the war into the trenches of the antipædobaptists, and contends, that immersion, as practised by them, is a novelty, unheard of in the days of primitive Christianity. We transcribe some portion of his argument. He quotes

"Herod. Euterpe, 47. Ὅτι δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι μισρὸν ἡγνῆται θηριὸν εἶναι, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν, ἢν τις ψαύσῃ αὐτῶν παριῶν υἱός, αὐτοῖσι ἱματίοις ἀπ' ὧν ἔβαψε ἑαυτὸν, βὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν. 'The Egyptians reckon a swine an unclean beast, and abhor it to such a degree, that if any of them should in passing touch a swine, he would go strait to the river, and, with his very clothes on, PLUNGE (*pop*) himself INTO it.' I have selected this example, because, as far as immersion is concerned, it is exactly an Antipædobaptist's baptism. I have been obliged to go for it to Herodotus, because, even under the form of βαπτω, I could not find one in the Holy Scriptures. After all, there is one very manifest point of difference. The person who adopts this summary method of purification, performs the operation for himself. The immersing of one person by another, for any purpose except that of medical treatment, or that of murder, I can discover in no writings whatever, sacred or profane. There is also a point, not of difference but of resemblance, between this example and an Antipædobaptist's baptism, which seems to have very much astonished the historian, namely, the person's plunging himself αὐτοῖσι ἱματίοις, 'with his very clothes on.' It was evidently regarded as a singular and monstrous sort of purification by this heathen writer; and we shall meet with abundant evidence that it was never so seen in Israel.

"In the New Testament use of βαπτω, there is no exception. We have merely the dipping of the tip of Lazarus' finger in water, and our Saviour's dipping of the sop, which he gave to Judas Iscariot, besides the passage in Rev. xix. 13. already considered.

"I believe the preceding illustration of βαπτω (*popto*) will, in sub-

stance, be found to apply to βαπτίζω (poptizo.) It has the same root, and the same general meaning. It includes various methods of applying water or other fluids, either in a literal or metaphorical sense. But I have never found it to signify, or to include in its signification, the raising out of the water any person or thing which was once immersed in it.

“There are many instances, in which βαπτίζω signifies to *immerse*, that is, to *pop in*, to *plunge* or *sink completely under water*. Thus, οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῖς ἀκολύμβοις βαπτίζεσθαι συμβαίνει· ἔϋλων τρόπον ἐπιπολάζουσι, ‘to those who are unable to swim it does not happen to *sink under water*, (Gr. *to be baptized*) they float like wood.’ Strabo, lib. 6. μέλλοντος βαπτίζεσθαι τοῦ σκάφους, ‘the vessel being about to *sink*.’ Joseph. [Antiq. ix. x. B.] βαπτισθέντος γὰρ ἡμῶν τοῦ πλοίου κατὰ μέσον τὸν Ἀδρίαν δι’ ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς ἐνηξάμεθα, ‘our vessel having *sunk* (foundered) in the middle of the Adriatic sea, we swam the whole night,’ Joseph. Vit. § 3. Josephus uses it twice concerning the death of Aristobulus the brother of Mariamne, who was drowned through Herod’s instigation at Jericho, by certain Greeks, who enticed him into the water to swim, and then, under pretence of play, *immersed* him or *kept him under water*, till he died. βαπτίζοντες, οὐκ ἄνηκαν ἕως καὶ πανταπασιν ἀπὸπνίξαι, Jewish Antiq. B. xv. chap. iii. § 3. Again, in his wars of the Jews, B. I. chap. xxii. § 2. ‘The young man was sent to Jericho, and there, according to his orders, being *immersed* in a fish pond, he came to his end:’ βαπτίζομενος ἐν κολυμβήτρῃ. These I conceive to be genuine instances of *Immersion* baptism. As in the case of βάπτω, I have been obliged to go for them to Josephus, and to other writers of merely human authority, because I have not been able to meet with an instance of *Immersion Baptism* in the Holy Scriptures. There is one point in which some of these instances differ from the example given, of the same meaning of βάπτω. In that, it was applied to what a man did to himself. Here, it must be confessed, that, in some of the cases, there are *dippers* as well as *dipped*, and the other cases also are not those of voluntary plunging, but of fatal sinking. Is this the pattern of baptizers and baptized? Shall we illustrate the office of John the Baptist and of the apostles and evangelists of Christ, by the work of providential destruction, or that of murderers? But what else can we draw from sinking ships, or a youth betrayed to death by the hands of assassins? These examples imply, not a mere *dipping* and *up again*; an *immersion* immediately followed by an *emersion*: but a continued and permanent immersion; a remaining under water. And every thing, which is thus said to be made to sink, is understood to continue in that state, unless, like a bladder, it should rise again by its own buoyancy.* It is impossible, then, to apply such examples as a rule for Christian Baptism.

“Some may think it was not necessary to use a word directly to express the *emersion*, because if *immersion* really was enjoined, the

* As in the old oracle, quoted from Plutarch, concerning the Athenians, ἀσκή; βαπτίζῃ, δύναι δὲ τοὶ οὐ θέμις ἐστὶ. ‘As a bladder, thou mayest be dipped (*popped into water*) but canst not be made to go down.’

emersion must be understood to follow of course, from the necessity of the case. This is a perfectly natural thought, but it cannot help the cause of Antipædobaptists. According to their views, Baptism is a *twofold* symbol, representing *two* things of distinct and equal importance. The *immersion* and the *emersion* are both of them parts of this symbol: the first representing the *death*, and the second the *resurrection* of Christ. Now, if this be the case, the word βαπτίζω is a name for *the one half only* of their ordinance of Baptism. It entirely fails them as to *the other half*." (Pp. 38—44.)

In this reasoning we think he has been quite successful. That the word βαπτίζω, and its derivative, are often used to denote immersion, there can be no dispute. But the argument of the baptists presumes more than this, namely, that immersion is included in the very notion of the word, and consequently, that no instance is to be found, in which that sense is not included in it. Consequently, any one well authenticated instance of the word in any sense, that is entirely at variance with the idea of immersion, is subversive of their doctrine. What then must be inferred from the following statement of the case, which the author has in our judgment satisfactorily established?

"Βαπτίζω, although it occasionally is used in the sense of *to immerse*, in other writings, does not once occur in this sense in the New Testament.

"The ordinance of Baptism is the pouring out of water from the hand of the baptizer, on the turned up face of the baptized. It is connected with the preaching of the gospel under the gospel dispensation, and particularly relates to the work of the Holy Spirit, as then sent by the Father, in the name of the Son, according to the promises of the everlasting covenant. This work of the Holy Spirit is a new creation; a regeneration; a purification of the heart by faith; a change of mind or repentance unto life; the bringing forth of fruits meet for repentance, or a change of conduct; in short, the whole of sanctification, consolation, and preservation, until the second coming of the Lord Jesus Christ. It is spoken of in scripture under the emblems of water, air, and fire, which are all considered in scripture as elements of Baptism; and, in this connexion, these elements are uniformly represented as *poured, inspired, and made to fall from above*." (Pp. 45, 46.)

It is interesting to observe, how this simple idea throws unlooked-for light on several incidental allusions in scripture. Thus for example

"In Judges vii. 6. we are told, that of an army brought down to the water to drink, three hundred 'lapped, putting their hand to their mouth.' 'The Arabs,' says Harmer, 'in eating their milk, use no spoons. They dip their hands into the milk, which is placed in a wooden bowl before them, and so sup it out of the palms of their hands. Le Bruyn observed five or six Arabs, who were eating milk

together after this manner, on the side of the Nile, as he was going up that river to Cairo, and was astonished at it; but it is common in those countries: and D'Arvieux informs us, that they eat their pottage in the same manner.' Obser. xxxvii. As they feed themselves, we may be very certain they feed their children. Nor can we suppose it incongruous, in any state of society, that the penitent believer should be taught by the very form of the first ordinance which is dispensed to him, that 'as a new born babe, he should desire the sincere milk of the word, that he may grow thereby,' 1 Pet. ii. 2. The simplicity, and perhaps the humbling nature of that form, seem well calculated to remove all the distinctions of nation, rank, and condition, which might cherish pride and self-righteousness, and to confirm that common spirit of self-abasement, which unites all true Christians in deriving their confidence from Christ alone." (Pp. 58, 59.)

The investigation of Rom. vi. 4. is remarkably ingenious and happy; nor do we recollect any instance, in which the illustrations, furnished by modern travellers to scriptural antiquity, have been more forcibly brought to bear upon the exposition of a particular text.

"A particular emphasis is here laid on our 'being buried with Christ by baptism unto death.'" (P. 91.)

"Of all the preparations of a dead body for interment, the first was washing. There were sometimes added the rites of anointing and embalming with spices. These, however, depended on the honour, done to the deceased, and the expence which friends could afford to incur. Washing, which was attended with no expence, was probably never neglected. It is accordingly mentioned, as a matter of course, in the account of Dorcas, Acts ix. 37. And it came to pass in those days that she was sick, and died; whom WHEN THEY HAD WASHED, they laid *her* in an upper chamber." (P. 94.)

"They who brought about 'an hundred pound weight of myrrh and aloes,' would not neglect 'the water-pots of stone, after the manner of the purifying of the Jews.' There is nothing to prevent our supposing that they kindled a fire upon the spot, and warmed the water in a tripod. At any rate, they would fill the *πίλος*, the *washing-vessel*, and begin to pour water on the head, the side, the hands, and the feet; and while they washed every part as they wetted the surface of it, they would wipe it with the towels with which they were girded. That this was, 'as the manner of the Jews is to bury' we have already seen in the case of Dorcas. That it was observed in the case of our Saviour, is evidently implied in the expression of Paul, now under consideration; 'we are buried with him by baptism into death:' for except this washing, and the anointing which followed it, as a part and completion of the same process (an emblem also of the work of the Spirit,) I can see no point of resemblance between the burial of Christ and our baptism at all." (P. 99.)

"The body of Christ was laid in a sepulchre. It was never finally deposited in the tomb; but, after being wound up with about an hundred pounds weight of spices, as a temporary expedient to prevent

corruption, (which the Holy One was not to see,) it was carried into the tomb, and left in it for security, in the mean time, till the Sabbath should be over. It was not interred within the tomb, for the women, who saw how the body was laid, thought of no obstacle to their getting access to it, except the stone at the door, which must be rolled away. After the Sabbath, the women went again to the sepulchre, to finish the burial rites: but they never were finished, being prevented by the resurrection. The body of Christ, therefore, was not lowered, and rose up, but was carried in, and came forth; and what is said in scripture of his burial can have no reference to final interment, but exclusively to preparatory rites." (P. 101.)

Mr. Cox, who has replied to Mr. Ewing, is not satisfied, as may naturally be expected, with this account of the matter. But he does not appear to us to have brought forward much, that will invalidate it. It is true, he has not been sparing in his attempts to involve Mr. Ewing in absurdity. Thus he exclaims—

"Surprising! Christ was *laid in a sepulchre*, but was not buried; for to be buried is to be *anointed and washed*; to be *laid in the sepulchre*, means then, *not* to be laid in a sepulchre—it signifies, to be *rolled in linen with spices*." (Cox, pp. 62, 63.)

Yet it is admitted by Mr. Cox himself, that the body of our Lord was probably not lowered into the tomb, and also, that in its resurrection it was not elevated, which are the two points, to which baptists have hitherto in common with many of their opponents imagined the reference to be made in these figurative allusions, though he opines, that in all probability the ceremony of washing was omitted on that occasion. Let then the state of the case, so far as we know it, be represented as follows! Pilate gave the body to Joseph, who accordingly bought fine linen, and took him down; Nicodemus also brought a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about a hundred-pound weight. Then took they the body of Jesus, and wound it in linen clothes with the spices, and laid him in a sepulchre, which was hewn out of a rock, and rolled a stone unto the door of the sepulchre: and the women also, which came with him from Galilee, followed after, and beheld the sepulchre, and how his body was laid. Nothing in this narrative is said about washing. It is admitted. But it is expressly said, that the body was wrapped in clean fine linen: and, when the state of the body, bloody both from the scourge and from the nails, is considered, it is incredible, that they, who had taken this care of it, should have left it unwashed, even though such ablution had formed no part of the ordinary rites of burial; nor, when the very wounds themselves would necessarily have stained the decent dress,

in which they invested the corpse, will it readily be imagined, that, although there were persons employed on that occasion, who brought a mixture of myrrh, about an hundred-pound weight, although all these persons were present for the express purpose of doing honour to the dead, none of them should have either bethought themselves or have taken the trouble of bringing a little water, a thing in such constant use amongst Jews, to wash the body from its defilements. In this state the body lay, washed (we will presume) and wrapped in the linen, till the resurrection: And when, after this, the apostles, who had the whole picture of this scene before their eyes, came to allude to it in some figurative modes of expression, to what particulars may it be supposed they would chiefly refer? They say—"We were buried with Christ in baptism." How is this? In baptism we were washed. So was Christ. In baptism we were passive. So was he. Our baptism was preparatory to our renovation. So was his. Accordingly, when he rose, not out of the grave, but when he aroused himself from the sleep of death, which is the proper meaning of *ἡγέρθη*, when he stood up again upon his feet, as before, which is the exact force of *ἀνέστη*, (1 Thess. iv. 14.) he came forth in newness of life; and so must we. In order to justify this interpretation, it is not necessary, as Mr. Cox insinuates, that the word, burial, should signify washing, or that the word, *βάνω*, should signify washing, or that the word, washing, should be substituted for it, but that by an usual synecdoche that word, which properly refers to the whole act of burying, should be applied to that part of it, which was actually performed. It is admitted, that Christ is said to have been buried. It is admitted also, that the funeral ceremony was never compleated. It follows, that the phrase of Christ's burial must be a synecdoche.

We do not however wish to rest an undue weight on metaphorical allusions, although we agree with Mr. Cox, that, "as every metaphor or simile has some *truth*, upon which it is constructed, that primary idea or fact must be invariably regarded." (Cox, pp. 54, 55.)

Moreover we do not pledge ourselves to every philological statement of Mr. Ewing: for in some we differ from him, particularly in his account of the original meaning of the preposition, *εἰς*. Indeed there is this peculiar difficulty in philological reasoning, that it is not easy to establish any premises without venturing some positions, on which there will be a difference of opinion even among those, who yet think, that enough has been established to authorize the conclusion: and we are of opinion, that this author has pro-

duced, independently of all philological considerations, what is sufficient to render it probable, first, that the multitude of John's disciples, and the still greater multitude of the primitive converts to christianity could hardly have been baptized by immersion; and secondly, that the analogy between the burial of Christ and the baptism of the believer, traced by St. Paul, does not refer to the descent and ascent either of Christ or of the believer. On the question of philology, the aboriginal meaning of βάπτω may be involved in much obscurity. But, that it was very early used to denote the process of dying (that is of superinducing a new colour upon a garment, by whatever means effected,) and that it is sometimes employed with reference to acts, in which immersion was impracticable, is clear.

"Iamblicus, in one place, uses ἐμβαπτειν, to express *lustration*, or *purification*, where it seems evident that no immersion could take place. Among the directions which he tells us (Vit. Pythag. cap. xviii.) Pythagoras gave his disciples, one was οὐδε εἰς περιρραντήριον ἐμβαπτειν, 'not to *purify* in the perirrhanterion.' The perirrhanterion, it is well known, was a small vessel, or bason, only a few inches in depth, placed at the entrance of temples, for sprinkling the worshippers as they entered, precisely similar, as Middleton remarks, to the vase for holy water, at Roman Catholic churches. Now to plunge, immerse, or bathe, in one of these, was impossible; ἐμβαπτειν here therefore, so far as I can see, must mean, to use the water in the perirrhanterion for lustration—a ceremony performed by scattering or sprinkling, the idea being probably taken from the new tinge or quality, supposed to be imparted by this ceremony to the worshipper." (Ewing, pp. 198, 199.)

At the same time, in justice to those who wish to examine the strength of both sides, we will not withhold the high authority, cited by Mr. Cox, from Dr. Newman, who says,—

"Not long before the death of Professor PORSON, I went, in company with a much respected friend, to see that celebrated Greek scholar at the London Institution. I was curious to hear in what manner he would read Greek. He very condescendingly, at my request, took down a Greek Testament, and read, perhaps, twenty verses in one of the gospels, in which the word βάπτω occurred. I said, 'Sir, you know there is a controversy among Christians respecting the meaning of this word.' He smiled, and replied, 'The Baptists have the advantage of us!' He cited immediately the well known passage in Pindar, and one or two of those in the Gospels, mentioned in this letter. I inquired, whether, in his opinion, βαπτίζω must be considered equal to βάπτω, which he said was to tinge, as dyers? He replied to this effect, that, if there be a difference, he should take the former to be the strongest. He fully assured me, that it signified a *total immersion*." (Cox, pp. 36, 37.)

We do not wish to weaken the force of this testimony,

though, leaving it to rest with its full weight upon the minds of our readers, we still hold, that there is sufficient solidity in what has been urged above, to render the fact of the total immersion of all, who were baptized by John and the apostles, incredible.

Mr. Cox however, besides replying to Mr. Ewing, undertakes to defend the creed of his party from the reasonings of Dr. Dwight and Dr. Wardlaw. One of the tendencies of anti-pædobaptism is to disjoin christianity from the uniform system of revelation, which has been vouchsafed from the beginning, and to represent it, as an insulated, solitary institution, unconnected with any thing, that went before it. Hence all reference to the old testament in speaking of christianity is disclaimed by Mr. Cox, as irrelevant, notwithstanding the repeated language of St. Paul, who says to Gentile christians,—“If ye be Christ’s, then are ye Abraham’s seed, and heirs according to the promise,”—and expressly declares, that Abraham received the sign of circumcision, not with reference to the Israelites only, but that he might be the father of all them that believe, though they be not circumcised, and the father of circumcision to them, that are not of the circumcision only, but who also walk in the steps of that faith of Abraham, which he had, being yet uncircumcised.

Hence therefore we maintain, in opposition to the baptists, that the dispensation of mercy from God to man has been but one, however differently modified, from the beginning, that the Adamic covenant, the Abrahamic covenant, and the Christian covenant, are in fact one covenant, though the two former had reference to Christ promised, and the last to Christ revealed, and that consequently whatever is obscure in any one of them, may be explained by a reference to what is clear in any other. In this opinion we are countenanced by the example of St. Paul, who appeals continually to the old testament in illustration of new-testament privileges, and both regards christians, as children of Abraham, and the faithful descendants of Abraham before the coming of Christ, as virtually christians. “These all (he tells us) died in faith, not having received the promises, but having seen them afar off, and were persuaded of them, and embraced them; and these all obtained a good report through faith: wherefore we are compassed about with a great cloud of witnesses.” Heb. xi. 13. 39. xii. 1.

Now, to apply these remarks to the case of the sacraments, the question stands thus: The Israelites amidst a multitude of ceremonial rites had two, which were confessedly of greater

necessity and higher import than all the rest, circumcision and the passover, the former being that, by which their own admission into the church was effected, the latter that, by which the future death of the true lamb of God, who taketh away the sin of the world, was presignified. Our Saviour, having come into the world, and accomplished that redemption, for which holy men had looked with faith and hope and prayer ever since the fall, abolished all these preparatory ordinances. But he has appointed two others, baptism, by which we are admitted into his church, and the last supper, by which we shew forth the Lord's death, till he come again. With respect to the latter of these we apprehend, that even anabaptists would admit its analogy to the passover. How then can they refuse to admit the analogy of baptism to circumcision? Here are two rites abolished, and two rites ordained. One of the ordained rites corresponds confessedly to one of those which are abolished. Is it not then extremely probable, that the remaining one was designed to correspond to the other? and is not that probability confirmed into something like certainty, when it is found, that they both have the same design, namely, to initiate members into the church?

The analogy therefore between baptism and circumcision will be admitted by the great body of Christians, however the consequences, which follow from that analogy, may militate against the tenets of a sect. It will not indeed be the less firmly believed, if the positions, to which baptists are driven in order to get rid of it, are taken into consideration. Thus we find Mr. Cox gravely arguing,

“that the covenant of circumcision included solely temporal blessings; and that the rite was instituted to distinguish the Jews from other nations, and to shew their title to the land of Canaan,”

although he is compelled to allow what certainly appears to us to be at variance with that statement, that

“circumcision was a seal to Abraham of the righteousness of faith.” (P. 137.)

In order to establish this point, he deduces from the apostle's language in Rom. ix. 4—“To the Israelites pertain the covenants,”—and in Eph. ii. 12—“The gentiles were strangers from the covenants of promise,”—the existence of two covenants, given to Abraham, one, when he was seventy years old, which was spiritual, and the other, when he was ninety-nine, of which circumcision was the seal, and which was temporal: and he says—

“I demand of Dr. Wardlaw, whether the covenant, made with Abraham many years *before* the covenant of circumcision, namely, that, of which the apostle speaks, as “confirmed of God in Christ”

four hundred and thirty years before the law, (Gal. iii. 17.) and which expressly secured *spiritual blessings*, was the same with the covenant of circumcision, which expressly limited its stipulations to *temporal blessings*? It would be a most extraordinary—a most unparalleled circumstance, if one covenant should be deemed identical with another, which omits the most desirable and important of all its promises!" (Cox, p. 142.)

Now it is at least very remarkable, and a difficulty in the way of Mr. Cox's inference, which we leave him to account for, that the text, which St. Paul quotes, as proving, that believers in Christ are the seed of Abraham, occurs not in the account of the former, which Mr. Cox allows to be a spiritual covenant, but in that of the latter, which he contends to be merely temporal. See Gen. xvii. 5. quoted in Rom. iv. 16, 17! The fact is, that the temporal promise occurs in both instances,—Gen. xii. 2; xiii. 15; xvii. 8. and the spiritual promise in both—Gen. xii. 3; xvii. 5: and therefore though the addition of the sign of circumcision may give sufficient occasion for their being called two covenants, yet in substance they were but one, as all covenants from God to man from the fall to the present day are substantially one, though particulars may be included in one promulgation of it, which are not introduced in another.

But we consider this eagerness of Baptists to disprove the connexion between Judaism and Christianity an indication of the weakness of their cause. There is a gradual revelation of divine truths, frequently observable in the divine proceedings. "I have many things to say unto you," said our Lord to his disciples, "but ye cannot bear them now:" and accordingly he did not even announce himself, as the Messiah, or allow others to announce him in that character, till the completion of his acts and sufferings produced a ripeness for that discovery. Nevertheless, the avowal, which he made privately to his disciples, was the same, which they subsequently made to the Jews first, and afterwards to the Gentiles, though the veil was thus slowly withdrawn. So too the cause of redemption, though unfolded indeed in various degrees and by partial discoveries, has been one from the beginning; and there is an analogy, pervading these successive revelations, which illustrates the unity of the design. The succession of baptism and the eucharist to circumcision and the passover agrees with that identity, and is a result of it; and thus, harmonizing with the general plan of redemption, marks with the stamp of improbability any scheme, which involves in it a destruction of that unity and a separation between covenants, which are essentially the same, and which differ rather in

prospectiveness and retrospectiveness, in partiality and universality, and in the corresponding peculiarity of some of their subordinate provisions than in substance. There is one body and one spirit, one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all. Even the fathers, who were baptized, as St. Paul expresses it, unto Moses, “did all eat the same spiritual meat, and did all drink the same spiritual drink: for they drank of that spiritual rock, that followed them; and that rock was Christ.”

We now proceed to the last work at the head of this article, which professes to proceed from a father in the church of England, who yet sides with our opponents on the subject of infant baptism. We can only advert very shortly to the chief points, on which he insists in a very candid exposition of his sentiments, many of which indeed have been already anticipated.

In truth the very first of them may be solved by the principle, on which we have just been commenting, namely, the gradual disclosures of revelation: for the remark of the father, that

“in the fifteenth chapter of Acts, which records the contention respecting circumcision—in which had the apostles been aware that it was the divine will that circumcision should be superseded by baptism, the one to stand exactly in the place of the other, they could not but have declared it.” (P. 4.)

is obviated by observing, that all revelations of divine truth are gradual; in conformity to which principle circumcision was not absolutely prohibited to the Jews, while their temple and city were standing. Paul circumcised Timothy. It would therefore have been premature to announce, that baptism was to succeed circumcision, besides being inconsistent with the evangelical plan of inculcating spiritual sentiments, and allowing forms and ceremonies to follow in their rear; for such a declaration at that time would have drawn attention away from the spirit of the gospel to its forms, a tendency, too strong at all times, but which would have been increased by so early a declaration on the subject of baptism.

The next argument of the father relates to

“the baptism of John. This was a conspicuous part of his introductory dispensation:—it was styled ‘*the baptism of repentance*:’ and none were baptized by him but upon a profession of repentance. There is no pretence for imagining that he baptized children. His was a medium dispensation, advancing the Jewish to a more spiritual character, in order to prepare the Jews for the still more spiritual dispensation of the Gospel. The baptism of the disciples of our Lord was designed still further to prepare the nation for the more glorious

dispensation of the Spirit; and after the commencement of this dispensation, Christian baptism appeared -- *The baptism of Faith*. Is it then at all probable that it should be designed that the Christian dispensation should afterwards retrograde in its character of spirituality? THE DIVINE DISPENSATIONS HAVE NEVER RETROGRADED." (P. 5.)

Yet surely this argument makes against the baptist cause: for, if the grace of Judaism was extended to children, but the grace of Christianity is refused to them, the divine dispensations have in this instance retrograded.

A third position of the father's requires a few further observations.

"The genius of the Christian religion evidently requires that all means, *not inconsistent with enlarged Christian charity*, should be used to keep the number of merely nominal professors—unregenerate, unholy members—as few as possible." (P. 8.)

In this we differ from him. The genius of Christianity is of a most comprehensive character. "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature!" It is indeed its high design to keep its professors as far as possible from being merely nominal. But yet it was not said without meaning,—*"Go out into the high ways and hedges, and compel them to come in, that my house may be filled!"* The gospel invites all, encourages all to come, but yet purifies only those, who come in a right spirit. The rest by being invited and by accepting the invitation are placed in a more hopeful situation, a situation of higher advantages and richer means of grace than if they had continued heathens. But yet those advantages will be thrown away upon all, who remain unregenerate and unholy. The gospel does not bid its teachers judge the professions of their disciples: whence it was, that Peter admitted Simon. Its language is rather—*"Judge not, that ye be not judged!"*—and its direction—*"Go ye, and baptize all nations!"*

Thirdly, the father says, that
"the circumcision of infants has clearly a very different character from the circumcision of the father of the faithful, and his circumcision only can correspond with the baptism of the Gospel." (P. 13.)
 an assertion perfectly novel, uncountenanced by any distinction in scripture, which never speaks of two different significations of circumcision, and one which could only be resorted to by a person who felt the pressure of the opposite arguments.

Fifthly, he grounds an argument on this text—
"If ye be Christ's, then are ye Abraham's seed, and heirs according to the promise." Here is clear revelation that the natural children of

Abraham were no longer to be counted, or called, the sons of God. Then what pretensions can Christians have with regard to their children, above those of Abraham?" (P. 15.)

The text refers to an extension of Abraham's privilege, not to a diminution of it; to the admission of Gentiles to be accounted his children, not to the exclusion of any one: and the substitution of baptism, which is applicable to both sexes, for circumcision, which belongs to only one, is an apt sign of that extended privilege.

The chief argument, however, which weighs with the father, is the little difference in character between baptized infants and unbaptized. This, however, is an argument, from the effect, and can only touch those, who ascribe a positive efficacy to the mere rite of baptism. The question is—Did the gracious Saviour of the world intend to include children in his comprehensive phrase, all nations? For, if he did, it ought to be administered to children, whatever may be the effect of that ordinance in our eyes. Now the baptism of Simon and the eunuch proves, with how little scruple the apostles administered the rite, where there was any profession of faith in the Saviour: the ordinance of circumcision proves, that it is not incredible, that a holy rite should be designed for unconscious infants: and a believer in the divine promise ought to hold, that, if parents in bringing their children to baptism would better discharge their own concurrent duty of teaching them to observe all things, whatsoever Christ has commanded them, the blessing would be more perceptible than it is, and he, who bestows it, would be more sensibly present with them in all ages of the church, even unto the end of the world. No one expects, at least with reason, any positive benefit from infant-baptism, if left alone, unaccompanied by prayer, parental vigilance, and pastoral instruction: and therefore the questions of this author, which we subjoin, fall to the ground, as irrelevant.

"If infants grow up, believe, and are baptized, is it conceivable that their heavenly lot will be at all worse than that of those, who were baptized in their infancy? or that, if they die unbaptized without any fault of their own, they will in any wise suffer for the omission? Now if all these questions be answered in the negative, as undoubtedly they must, what becomes of the imaginary paradise of blessings and privileges to which baptism is to introduce the millions of our infants?" (P. 45, 46.)

We do not transcribe the next sentence, though printed in capitals, because of a degree of irreverence in the expression, which we wish to discountenance. But the answer to all these questions must hinge on the general issue, whether infant

baptism be or be not according to the will of God. If it be according to his will, then assuredly a blessing will attend it, when properly observed; and children may be losers in some way by the omission and mistake of others in neglecting to administer it, as they unquestionably are sufferers from other omissions and mistakes, those for instance of their nurses, tutors, parents, and guardians, to which they are not parties. If it be not according to his will, the question is at an end; and these and a hundred other interrogatories may alike be spared.

We must just notice the father's reasons for disbelieving, that children were included among the baptized households, mentioned in the new testament.

"It may be admitted, that the accounts of the baptism of the household of Stephanas and that of Lydia, if they stood alone, and if there were other scriptural grounds for considering the practice at that time probable, would have *some* influence in increasing the probability in its favour; seeing that there are few households which do not contain children. Yet the accounts are too concise to render it justifiable to come to the *certain* conclusion that the infants, if such there were, must have been baptized with the seniors. But a consideration of the other two cases of baptized households will, I think, inevitably lead to the conclusion that infant children were not baptized on those occasions. In the case of the jailor it is said, that Paul and Silas 'spake unto him the word of the Lord, and to all that were in his house,' and he 'was baptized, he and all his straightway,' and he 'rejoiced, believing in the Lord with all his house.' Now surely in this case the word *all*, with respect to the baptizing, ought not to be considered as used more comprehensively than the same word *all* is used with respect to the *hearing, believing, and rejoicing*. And then it follows, that, whether there were unconscious infants or not in the jailor's family, they were not baptized. And should it not be at once conceded, that we ought to regulate our judgment of the two former cases, which are more concisely related, by this somewhat more particular relation of the family of the jailor, which quite discountenances the supposition, that infant baptism had been then commenced?" (Pp. 52, 53.)

We do not wish to disparage whatever weight there may be in this reasoning. In points, not clearly revealed, we can of course only decide by balancing opposite probabilities. This we have already done, and will now only add, that, when it is said,—"*All believed and were baptized*"—, such general expressions are always limited by the circumstances of the case. All believed, who were capable of believing. All were baptized, who were capable of being baptized. That is, all were baptized; and all, except incapable infants, believed. Were we to be told, that a certain female and all her children

visited a particular person, and dined with him, we should clearly understand, that all her children came to the house without exception, and that all, with the exception of the baby at her breast, dined there : and this is precisely analogous to the expression of the evangelist ; which would in ninety-nine cases out of any hundred be so understood.

It only remains to observe (and we do it with pleasure), that the father, though decidedly opposed to infant-baptism, objects strongly to form or join any party of antipædobaptists, because he has a just dislike of heresy ; and his proposal is this, that, when the governors of the Church of England shall be ripe to adopt his views, a period (we conceive) still at some distance, they shall prohibit infant-baptism, retaining the service for the baptism of adults, as it is ; and that in the mean while parents, who think with him, shall abstain from applying for the baptism of their children, till they attain to years of discretion. There is something in this scruple, that is amiable : and, if the same dislike to the formation of separate parties had always prevailed, many of the evils, which now exist in the church of Christ, would have been avoided. At the same time this is not the turning point of the question ; which we earnestly advise him to reconsider, discarding subordinate points and speculative inquiries about the consequences of the rite, and fixing his attention on the grand features of the case. We are not without hope, from the temper in which he writes, and his remaining reverence for the church, to which he professes to belong, that, when he comes to take a more enlarged and at the same time a simpler view of the only question at issue, he will see reason to admit the application of those gracious words of our benevolent master to the case of baptism—"Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not ! For of such is the kingdom of God."

ART. XXV.—*The Principles of Rhythm both in speech and music, especially as exhibited in the mechanism of English verse*, by the Rev. Richard Roe, A.B. Dublin. Graisberry. 1823. 4to. Pp. xxi. and 220.

MORE advancement has often been made in science by little discoveries, calculated to abridge or expedite labour, than by any other application of talent. The man who invented an alphabet, did more for the promotion of learning than any one author, who has since made use of it : and perhaps the

man, who some centuries afterwards hit upon the expedient of leaving a space between words, to say nothing of the inventor of stops, paragraphs, chapters, and other divisions, rendered a more important service by facilitating the art of reading, and thus inducing a greater number of persons to acquire it, than the most ingenious writers, who have availed themselves of their improvements. The effect is much the same in literature as the simplification of some particular machinery, or the invention of a new process in the arts, which by the enlargement it occasions to mechanical power, accomplishes more at a stroke than the most exemplary industry can rival, less skilfully directed. The inventor of a plough was a greater benefactor to society than the most indefatigable wielder of the spade.

We will not say, that the author of the work, which we are now preparing to notice, is likely to produce results equally important. His subject is one which affects only the lovers of poetry and music. Yet we think he is entitled to all the benefit of the analogy, suggested by the above observations, the simple peculiarity of his treatise being a proposal to teach prosody by musical notation, and thus to facilitate the application of the theory of music to that of literature. There are three things to be regarded in the correct pronounciation of every sentence, first the pitch of the voice, which is the same that grammarians term the accent, and musicians the note; secondly the length of each syllable, which grammarians call quantity, and musicians time; and thirdly the degree of force given to different words according to their meaning, which is what grammarians call emphasis, and musicians expression. These three principles are essential to all pronounciation; and the observance of some variety in each of them can scarcely even by the most labored study of monotony be separated from it. They are therefore common to all languages, being inseparable accidents of speech, the common properties of that diversified medium, by which all the varieties *μερῶν ἀνθρώπων* carry on their communications with each other.

At the same time the prosody of language is an affair of nicety, requiring a degree of subtlety in the discrimination of sounds, which differ from one another only in some minute distinctions either of intensity, elevation, or prolongation, that is not very common: and hence any want of precision in the terms, used to represent those differences, must greatly retard the improvement of the art. Now it so happens, that in many of the terms, usually employed for that purpose, there is an ambiguity, which it would be very desirable to

avoid. The word, accent, for instance is sometimes used to denote emphasis. The word, note, though it properly signifies the part of the diatonic scale which is to be sounded, is also used to distinguish the length of each sound; for crotchets, quavers, and semi-quavers are said to be different kinds of notes. Time again is applied to mark both the duration of any particular note, and also the pace, at which a whole movement is to be performed, although the latter may be indefinitely varied without affecting the relative duration of the notes. Besides these ambiguities in the use of particular terms the employment of different words to signify the same ideas, merely because it is a different art that employs them, is an additional cause of obscurity; for few persons are aware, when they speak of accent, quantity, and emphasis, that they are speaking of things, which are not only analogous to, but identical with, the note, time, and expression of music.

To simplify this confusion by at once confining each term to its proper meaning, and also extending it to express that meaning in either art, would certainly be a great help to both, at least in their adaptation to each other: and, as music is more definite than prosody, and its parts consequently more capable of being reduced to rule and measure, there can be no doubt, that the terms, employed by musicians, are those, which it would in the greater number of instances be the most desirable to retain. Discarding therefore the less precise and definite words, accent and quantity, some advantage may be gained by employing only the terms, note and time, in reference either to music or to language. On the other hand emphasis conveys a more distinct idea than expression; and there are some other terms in use among grammarians, which may be found convenient by musicians, particularly the names of feet, as spondee, dactyl, and the rest. Only for this purpose there must be a further alteration in the nomenclature of verse, which may be also borrowed from the practice of musicians. The word, bar, corresponds to foot; and the practice of musicians in beating time would seem to render the latter term more suitable to their art, though, as no ambiguity is to be dreaded here, either term may be used indifferently. But the rule of musicians is to begin every bar with the emphatic note; and in order to treat the two arts on the same principles, the same rule should be adopted in feet. This would in English verse exclude iambics, anapæsts, and other feet, which begin with short syllables, it being obvious, that a long syllable is in ordinary cases

capable of a stronger emphasis than a short one. Anacreontic Greek and Scotch music may be subject to different rules. We are therefore surprised at the unnecessary intricacy, which Mr. Roe has imparted to his system by admitting them all. The only effect of their exclusion will be, that what the grammarians call a trimeter iambic will henceforth be adjudged to consist not of six iambic feet, but of an introductory syllable, six trochees, and a closing syllable; and so of the next. For the same reason we agree with Mr. Roe, that the bars in music should be shortened. With these alterations the two arts might be brought under the same general rules; much light would be reflected reciprocally; and the whole subject rendered more generally intelligible.

We are therefore of opinion, that the author has rendered an essential service to the melody of language and the rhythm of versification, by the suggestion of this happy expedient. We cannot now enter deeply into a consideration of the various details of his subject, on many of which we differ from him, but will chiefly confine the present article to what may be necessary for the illustration of the foregoing remarks.

We think, indeed, that the Author has himself given to his work a more complicated appearance than was necessary, by the introduction of much matter, which, to say the least of it, was not essential to the development of his system. What for instance has the disquisition upon geometrical progression to do, except by way of indirect application, with those practical principles, which it was his especial business to establish? or why was it necessary to discuss the elements of speech and to define vowels and consonants, when the measurement of language by means of a musical notation, and the advantages, which might be derived from it, formed the principal object in view?

We shall not now therefore enter into his tables of vowels, diphthongs, triphthongs, combinable and uncombinable consonants, although they contain much that is ingenious, and entitle the Author to the reputation of an attentive and independent observer. In some of his statements and definitions indeed, there is much merit, as in his definition of liquids, which he describes, as

“the only consonants which are combinable with *h*:”
and his

“distribution of all the elements, except *h*, into the two classes of soft and hard,” (p. 20.)

is very judicious and discriminative. Indeed in his enumeration of the several elements of speech, there are many acute and original remarks; and yet his disquisitions in this part of

the work are superfluous, as connected with his general object, and defective, as a complete exposition of the particular subject, to which they refer. In proof of this we will only state, that the word, *mute*, is continually employed, and, though it requires explanation as much as the word, *liquid*, and others, is never explained. Persons will also necessarily differ in regard to many of his positions, as when he declares, that the πl and κl cannot be pronounced, p. 28; that

“the diphthong *a-ee*, though an agreeable and easy combination, is at present disused by polite speakers, except in the single word, *aye*,” (p. 25.)

although in ancient names, as *Caius*, *Pedaiah*, *Micaiah*, *Achaia*, *Baiaë*, it is of frequent occurrence; and again, when he directs a difference to be made between the sound of *e* in *yes* and *yet*, assigning to the former the sound *i* in *bid*. We profess ourselves utterly unable to resolve our English *i*, as in the words,

“*I*, *by*, *die*, *dye*, *time*, *lyre*, *high*, *eye*, *aisle*, *oblique*, *height*,”

into the diphthong, *u-ee*; or, as in the words,

“*kind*, *sky*, *Guy*, *kite*, *guide*,” (p. 39.)

into the triphthong, *ee-u-ee*; in none of which words, as we conceive, has it any thing in common with *ee*. But these things we only notice incidentally, not having time to go through all the disquisitions of the author on elementary questions, some of which could not be touched on without many minute distinctions. We will now proceed to give a general view of the benefits, which might result to the arts both of music and of poetry, from adopting a common notation.

In the first place the rhythm of blank verse, which we agree with the author in regarding, as the noblest department of our national poetry, would be rendered more generally intelligible. In speaking of rhythm we cannot refrain from offering a single observation on Mr. Roe's definition of that term. He determines it to be

“a mensuration of the parts of time, under the medium of sounds or motions, performed by simple attention, and adapted to afford it a congenial and agreeable exercise.” (P. 2.)

In this account of rhythm he concurs substantially with most of the ancient authorities. Yet we doubt, whether it would not be more correct to call it a mensuration of sounds or motions by means of time, because in all instances of rhythm sounds or motions are the things measured, and time is the medium of measurement, rather than the converse: and this remark is confirmed by another observation of the author's—

"Though two sixtieths of a second, or two hours, bear to each other the same proportion as two crotchets, they are incapable of exciting any idea of rhythm:" (p. 8.)

where it is obvious, that two things of a very different nature, namely, the silent lapse of time, and a crotchet or timed sound, are compared together, as though they were alike conducive to rhythm, and only differed in duration, whereas, if it were held, that sounds or motions are the things measured in rhythm, and that time is the measure of them, no one would ever think of comparing a minute and a crotchet with each other, or of maintaining, that the greater duration of the one is the only or the decisive cause, why no repetition of it will excite any idea of rhythm. The author is led away by the same error in a note, where he accounts for a natural day or the succession of seasons not being rhythmical, by saying—"The parts of time, here specified, are too great to excite any idea of rhythm;" (p. 194.)

whereas he ought to have said, that the motions of the earth, on which these changes depend, are so far from being measured by our notions of time, that they are in fact the causes of those notions. But, to return to the rhythm of blank verse, at present scarcely one reader in twenty seems to have an ear for it, and that not from natural defect, but from want of cultivation. Johnson was unable to feel any of the rich beauties of Milton's versification. Bentley appears to have labored under the same infirmity. We want some symbols or instrumental contrivance for conveying to an uninitiated reader the pleasure, which is enjoyed by one, whose ear is attuned to its harmony; and an enjoyment, in which a friend does not participate, soon loses its relish, and is consequently less cultivated than it otherwise would be. If then it were laid down, as a rule, that our heroic verse instead of being said to consist of five feet, is divisible into four bars with an introductory and a closing note, and that each bar is composed of two crotchets, or a crotchet and quaver, as might be determined, with a power of retardation, to be exercised according to the taste of the reader, it is obvious that a good reader might then teach another in musical notes what he can scarcely explain by any means at present for want of a suitable mode of expression, the art, by which his method of equalizing the length of lines, though composed of unequal divisions, is managed. If the lines are not nearly equalled, the sense of harmony is lost; if the parts are not diversified, there is no variety: and it is in the degree, in which these conflicting principles are made nearly to balance each other, that the skill of a melodious reader is displayed.

In blank verse indeed the rhythm is varied in a manner, which it requires a very correct ear to apprehend : and hence arises the difficulty of reading it with musical effect. Not to encumber ourselves with too many technical terms, we will only observe, that the art of reading verse, but more especially of reading blank verse, correctly, depends first on regulating the pauses, secondly on suspending the longer syllables, and thirdly, on accelerating the short ones, in such proportions as may still leave the length of the lines nearly equal. These pauses, suspensions, and anticipations will be determined by the sense of the passage and the importance of particular words. But the proportions will be governed by a due regard to the length of the line. The same principle must be observed, of course, by the writer of blank verse ; and it is one, which nothing but practice can teach. It is among the advantages, however, of musical notation, that it affords a measure, capable of accommodating itself to all the varieties that may occur in rhythm, and of conveying the idea of those varieties with distinctness to the mind. To give only a single example, in the first line of *Paradise Lost*, the first syllable being regarded as a quaver, the next two form a bar of two crotchets or a spondee, but, being both of them emphatic, and words of weight, while the two following syllables are not of equal value, the syllable, *first*, may be represented by a dotted crotchet, and thus be prolonged into the second bar, leaving a crotchet and a quaver for the two first syllables of *disobedience*. The two last syllables of that word, forming the third bar, would then be equivalent to a crotchet and a quaver with a quaver-rest, forming the pause after the comma. This pause may be still further lengthened by inserting a quaver-rest at the beginning of the fourth bar, which will be filled up by a crotchet and a quaver for the words, *and the*, leaving a single note for the close. The second line is made up of trochees, except, that the word, *tree*, will be expressed by a crotchet and a quaver-rest, instead of a dotted crotchet. It is upon this attention to the pauses and to the balanced inequality of the syllables, preserving an equal length in the lines, that the whole variety and melody of blank verse depends ; and without it, as Cowper says, it is no better than bladder and string.

While we are upon this subject, we may notice with approbation the author's remarks on the beauty of freedom in versification and of an occasional departure within certain limits from uniformity in measure. He has moreover illustrated them very happily by producing some apposite examples of the alterations, which Cowper was driven to

introduce into the second edition of his *Homer* in compliance with the bad taste of his critics. He has also in our judgment assigned the right provinces to rhyme and blank verse. How far his recommendation of a lyrical variety of measures without rhyme might be adopted with advantage, remains to be seen. The rules he recommends, if observed by fine ears, are such as give a fair prospect of success to the experiment. His own attempts however are not abundantly successful. One thing is plain, that a rejection of rhyme would throw a poet more upon his own resources, and thus require a degree of poetical talent, which would discourage many of the poetasters from the attempt, who now dabble in rhyme.

A second advantage of adapting a musical notation to the measure of verse would be, that composers might thus be induced to pay more attention to the rhythm or natural flow of the words in setting them to music. The rhythm of the words indeed may be legitimately diversified by the musician within certain boundaries; and the repetitions, in which music delights, furnish ample scope for the exhibition of that variety, which, when a sufficient regard is paid to the structure of the words, is an additional source of pleasure, besides that arising from the music itself. The existence of a common measure would therefore facilitate the invention of rules to restrain those composers, who have little respect for the harmony of language or the order of versification, from violating its principles.

Thirdly, the introduction of the musical bar would render the prosody of prose intelligible to many, who would otherwise think its melody incapable of being reduced to any rule, and would make that obvious at once, which the ancients labored to inculcate by many hard names of feet, of which even a moderately good ear cannot readily discern the application.

In the criticisms of the author we cannot always concur. He appears to us, however, to have correctly stated the cause of the difficulty in the way of understanding the true rhythm of ancient languages. The ancients, (he says) "acknowledged pulsation to be the governing principle of rhythm; and yet, instead of telling us what particular syllables were pulsated in every word, or in a series of words, in what instances pulsation was fixed and in what it was variable, they have left us little more than a rude classification of feet. They also acknowledged three quantities, which they called long, short, and irrational; and, yet, instead of endeavoring to ascertain their proportions, they contented themselves with the long and short, and with counting the former as equal to two only of the latter. They have heaped up a multiplicity of rules on the quantities of syllables, and assigned distinct names to many feet and

species of verse; but as all this is done in so imperfect a manner as gives us no certain clue to the pulsated syllables, we often find it difficult to ascertain the nature of the verse, or, in the language of musicians, to know to what kind of time, whether duple, or triple, it belongs. Thus what is of primary importance is almost passed over without notice, and the most minute attention is wasted on subordinate matters." (P. 126.)

Hence we are totally unable to read a Greek or Latin verse, as the ancients read it: and it is one of the most singular proofs, that the metrical distribution of syllables has a foundation in nature, that without being able to read a single line in all classical poetry with the intonation or rhythm designed by the author, we yet find a melody in it, equal, and in the heroic measure a dignity, superior, to any modern versification.

Sometimes the author has a very happy mode of illustrating the effect of metrical arrangement, as in the following analysis of a couplet in Milton.

" ' Myself I then perus'd, and limb by limb
Survey'd; and sometimes walk'd, and sometimes ran. '

"In this passage, the suspension marks the line to end with the words 'limb by limb,' without effecting a decision in the sense; and so is very expressive of something slow and gradual in the idea expected to complete it: that is, in the *survey* mentioned afterwards. But, without such suspension, and according to grammatical division, the lines would run more rapidly, and therefore less expressively thus:

' Myself I then perus'd,
And limb by limb survey'd,
And sometimes walk'd, and sometimes ran. ' " (P. 74.)

We do not think Mr. Roe always fortunate in his selection of technical terms. What he calls pulsation, being to syllables the same, that emphasis is to words, would be better named stress, though it must be admitted that the word, pulsation, raises the idea of beating time, which he wishes to suggest.

In his account of feet there is some confusion. At least there is an incongruity in the following statements. First he says, that feet have

"the peculiar property of being all relatively equal." (P. 41.)

Then he adds—

"Every single word in English, however great the number of its syllables, naturally carries but one primary pulsation, and, therefore, occupies, at most, but one foot." (P. 42.)

Hence it would follow, that in English all words are equal. Yet would Mr. Roe maintain, that the words, *again*, and *intellectual*, are equal? Indeed, when he afterwards divides syllables into long, short, and mean, that distinction is de-

structive of any such equality in feet, although in feet consisting of an equal number of syllables, the following ingenious rule, of which we admit the justice, restores the equilibrium.

"Remiss syllables are either of a mean quantity or short: mean when they follow a mean quantity; and short, when they follow a long one." (P. 50.)

When Mr. Roe asserts, that

"Pulsation and quantity in the rhythm of speech are always united," (Pp. 42, 53.)

we do not distinctly apprehend his meaning. Pulsation (we have said) is stress, and means but one thing. But quantity is a measure of time, and is divided into long, short, and mean. Literally therefore the sentence thus repeatedly inculcated, amounts to this, that stress is always united to a long, a short, or a mean syllable, a position, which it could not require a prophet from the grave to reveal. We therefore presume the author intended to teach, that the stress upon a syllable always lengthens it, or that stress is always united with long time.

There are some of Mr. Roe's applications of his own rules, in which we should not agree with him. Thus in the line

"The spir'it of love and amorous delight"—

he represents the words, *spirit of*, by three even crotchets, to be performed in the ordinary time of two. We on the contrary should represent them by two crotchets, or rather by a dotted crotchet and a quaver, with an appoggiatura or short note between them, conceiving, that Milton and other good poets interpose the second syllable in such places, as a note of transition, to occupy no distinct time in the pronunciation; but to fall into that, allotted to the succeeding syllable. In the next example we think him altogether erroneous. It is the line—

"Shot parallel to th' earth his dewy ray——,"

where he marks the time of *parallel* by three crotchets in the same way, (that is in triple time,) whereas it cannot admit of a question to a correct ear, that the two first syllables of *parallel* ought to be prolonged into one foot, and that the last syllable, with the preposition *to*, should form another, while the article, *the*, should be regarded as an appoggiatura before *earth*. The same remark applies to the words *glory*, *many*, *difficulty*, and others before a vowel, when the final syllable is interpolated, and also in the words *populous*, *ridiculous*, *odorous*, and others, when the penultima is interpolated. So in the verse beginning—

"'Into' utter darkness"—

the syllable, *to*, is an appoggiatura. The same is the case with the penultima of *society* in the line—

“ For solitude sometimes is best socie’ty.”

This neglect of the appoggiatura in pronunciation leads the author on many occasions to represent consecutive syllables, as equal, which to our ears appear seldom to be so pronounced. Thus he divides the words, *pretty flutterer*, into two equal feet, the two syllables in *pretty* being equal to the three in *flutterer*; to which we have no objection. But he then makes the three in *flutterer* equal to each other; which seems to be so far from the fact, that the middle syllable is apt to be slurred over in such a manner as to be scarcely distinguishable, and even in the mouth of a good speaker, is merely a note of transition.

In regard to the measurement of lines, we should hold it a fixed principle to preserve always the full complement of feet in recitation, whereas Mr. Roe reduces a verse of five feet to four without ceremony. This is the more surprising, because he has very correctly argued the Latin line, miscalled a pentameter, to consist of six feet, p. 131; and he has

“ fully shewn, that pulsation was the governing principle of rhythm with the antients as well as with us.” (P. 133.)

It is therefore strange, that he should think it right in any verse to diminish the number of pulsations.

He farther reasons,

“ that dactyls and trochees are equal, and that the spondee is an irregular foot.” (P. 134.)

This doctrine goes far to explain the peculiar dignity of Miltonic numbers; in which the judicious introduction of the spondee in greater abundance than with any other poet in our language, produces a splendid irregularity, which by adding slightly to the length of the feet detains the reader, and gives to his recitation the solemnity of a slow and measured march.

There is a singular inadvertence in p. 135, where *quo non alius* is made to correspond in rhythm to *beside a fountain*. Indeed several of the parallels between English and Latin rhythm we find it difficult to accede to.

Many of the remarks in the concluding chapter on the arrangement and notation, used in musical compositions, are acute and sensible, and could hardly be read by professed musicians without advantage. The author’s mode of dividing long bars, and his numerical prefix for marking the length of passages or clauses, would be a manifest improvement; as it would render the rhythm of a passage in any new music more immediately intelligible. But it is time to release our unmusical readers from this long rhapsody, and pass to other subjects.

ART. XXVI.—*Essai sur l'Esprit et le But de l'Institution Biblique, par G. de Félice.* Ouvrage couronné par le Comité de la Société Biblique Protestant de Paris, dans l'Assemblée Générale du 16 Avril, 1823. Paris, Treuttel and Würtz, 1824. 8vo. Pp. lx. 343.

IN a former volume of our Journal,* we presented to our readers a summary view of the history and labours of the British and Foreign Bible Society, during the first ten years of its existence. If we have not prosecuted its subsequent history to the present time, our readers (we are assured) will give us credit, that our silence on this interesting topic has not been intentional. The Society is now too firmly established, to require our feeble support; yet to such of our readers as may not be acquainted with the entire history of this Society, the following very brief recapitulation may not be unacceptable.

The British and Foreign Bible Society was instituted in London, in the year 1804. The object of its founders was, in the first instance, to supply the principality of Wales with the Holy Scriptures in the vernacular dialect of that country; but, it being ascertained, that an equal, if not greater scarcity of Bibles existed on the continent, the plan of the Society was extended. The opposition which some well-meaning, but misinformed men have at different times directed against the Society, has caused its principles and proceedings to be rigorously investigated; and the result has been most beneficial to the Society, which, in the course of twenty years, has increased to an astonishing extent, both in the number of its members and in the amount of its income.

Its annual receipts now average little short of one hundred thousand pounds sterling. It has already distributed about four million five hundred thousand Bibles or Testaments, both in the British Dominions and on the continent. It has procured forty reprints of existing authorized translations of the Scriptures, five re-translations, and fifty-five translations of the Old or New Testament into languages and dialects, in which the Scriptures had never been printed before the institution of the Society, besides forty new translations, not yet printed, in all one hundred and forty different languages. It is also the parent of numerous societies, which through its example and encouragement have with astonish-

* Vol. VIII. P. 117 to 164.

ing rapidity been formed in almost every country of the civilized world. In India immense labours have been commenced for translating the Scriptures, several versions of which have been completed, in the numerous dialects of the East. By the communication of the sacred volume and its attendant blessings to Africa, we are making some small reparation for the wrongs so long inflicted on her unhappy inhabitants. In the United States of North America, Bible Societies are becoming the instrument in the hands of Divine Providence for bringing the savage tribes of that vast country to the knowledge of christianity; while in the islands of the Southern Pacific, where idolatry with all its evils has been abolished, the greater part of the New Testament, translated into the language of Otaheite, has been printed, and is read with avidity. Returning to Europe, we remark, that, in Great Britain and its dependencies there are about eight hundred and fifty auxiliary and branch Societies, besides two thousand two hundred smaller associations, a large proportion of which are efficiently conducted by Ladies; and that, on the continent of Europe, there is not a city of any note in Protestant Germany, in Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, and Russia, which has not its auxiliary or branch Society. In the last-mentioned empire there are upwards of two hundred. In 1818 France, whose attention had for several years been absorbed by political circumstances, participated in the general movement; and the Paris Protestant Bible Society, instituted in that year, now numbers at least one hundred and twenty auxiliary and branch associations, that have been instrumental in reviving a sense of religion in many places where it was almost extinguished. In addition to its various labours, the Committee of the Paris Bible Society offered a premium for the best Essay on the Spirit and design of the Bible Society, which in April 1823 was adjudged to M. de Félice, of whose volume we shall now offer a brief analysis to our readers. His work consists of two parts, a preliminary discourse, and the answer to the prize-question.

On the preliminary discourse we need not long detain our readers. It is chiefly designed to refute the objections of the abversaries of the Bible Society, in France. These he refers to four classes, 1. *Infidels*, who reject all revelation; 2. The *Indifferents* and *Semi-indifferents*, who, under whatever points of view the objects of the Society may be placed before them, are never at a loss for some pretext for withholding their co-operation, this class of antagonists is more numerous than the preceding; 3. The *ultramontane Roman Catholics*, who, as may be naturally expected, are very numerous and very virulent

against the circulation of the Scriptures. Some of the objections of these writers are sufficiently absurd, and approximate to the gratuitous assertions, made by some of the early enemies of the Bible Society in this country. One of the Society's adversaries in France, hesitates not to affirm that the reading of the Bible is *poison*. M. de Félice refutes this assertion by quoting the authorities of the popes Gregory I. and Pius VI., both of whom strenuously recommended the reading of the Scriptures. The fourth class are a few *protestant dissentients*, whose objection relates chiefly to some of the regulations of the auxiliary societies, which, being peculiar to France, are not of sufficient interest to require any particular notice in this country.

The prize essay itself is divided into six chapters, the first of which considers the reading and propagation of the scriptures, as it respects *faith*, which (M. de Félice observes) is the vital principle of religion. Disregarding the controversies which have arisen among divines respecting the true meaning of this term, as foreign to the object of his work, he lays it down as the basis of his observations, that faith requires or implies, an exact knowledge of the doctrines of religion. The means of perpetuating the knowledge of the doctrines of faith, which are employed by all religious sects, are oral tradition, external ceremonies, hymns, prayers, and books of devotion. Christianity possesses two others, which are more direct, the instruction of catechumens, and preaching. The Romish church has superadded written traditions. The inconvenience and inefficacy of all these means, *without the Bible*, are developed at considerable length : the Bible causes all these inconveniences to disappear, and leaves to these means of instruction their proper office, that of seconding it in its salutary effects. If the Bible thus places every mode of religious instruction on its true ground, and renders it perfect, it also presents in itself a host of other advantages for the support and strengthening of our faith. In illustration of this observation, from which M. de Félice deduces a powerful argument for the Bible Society, he thus remarks :

“ In the scriptures there is ‘ strong meat for them that are of full age, and milk for babes in Christ.’ Infinitely superior to religious or philosophical works, which assume a peculiar style, and are accessible only to minds of a certain order, the Bible accommodates itself to minds of every degree. The ignorant there find lively parables ; and the superior genius, profound mysteries. The indolent mind rests upon its clear and positive facts ; while the penetrating mind fathoms its difficulties. A pious bishop* compares the Bible to those fertile mountains, where every one congratulates himself at finding an abundant sus-

* Isidorus, Hispalensis Episcopus. Sentent. Lib. i. cap. 18. de Lege.

tenance, whether he reside at their foot, or stop midway, or climb to their summit. That infinite variety of style and language, which is observable, in the sacred volume, appears to us one of the best arguments that can be offered in behalf of the objects which Bible Societies have in view. If the Holy Spirit had designed his revelations for one class of persons only, he would have diffused over his work an uniform and transcendent brightness : but, by adapting its several parts to the level of every capacity, he has shewn that no person is excluded from the benefit of resting his belief upon the written word. Further, he has so composed it, that every one, finding the inspired volume full of delight and interest, may take a lively pleasure in frequently recommencing the perusal of it, and thus attain an accurate knowledge of religion and of true faith in Christ.

"There are a thousand circumstances, in which preaching and the other means of instruction become useless. Let a body of clergy, for instance, go beyond the limits of their spiritual functions, imprudently meddle with political affairs, and provoke the enmity of all those who entertain opinions different from their own ! A certain number of citizens will refuse to listen to their instructions or to put them in practice. Human interest will banish the faith ; and those very men, who were set apart to combat infidelity, will be found to cause it by their mismanagement. The Bible does not involve this danger. Placed beyond the reach of ephemeral passions and interests, it fosters the sense of religion, in peace and truth." (Pp. 12, 13.)

Having proved, from various moral considerations, that the Bible is the necessary foundation and support of religious belief, M. de Félice illustrates his conclusion by an appeal to history. The contrast between the ignorance and superstition, which debase the inhabitants of Spain, and the enlightened belief, which characterizes our own highly-favored country, is very forcibly depicted, and in terms highly honorable to the clergy and people of England. The remainder of the first chapter is occupied in refuting the objections of infidels and of the Romish clergy in France against the indiscriminate perusal of the scriptures. The second chapter considers the reading and propagation of the scriptures in an intellectual, the third in a moral, the fourth in a political point of view. Two classes of antagonists here present themselves to his notice ; first, the infidels, who assert that religion is utterly unnecessary to the welfare and stability of a state ; secondly, the ultramontanists, who affirm, that the universal circulation and reading of the scriptures are calculated to make men bad subjects. The bases of public welfare, according to the former, are asserted to be the union of particular interests with the general interest, laws, opinion, and patriotism ; and, each of these alleged bases being examined in detail, their utter inadequacy to form the happiness of nations, *without religion*, is triumphantly demonstrated. In reply to the ultra-

montanists it is argued, that morality and religion are never separated in the scriptures, which inculcate both, sometimes by facts, and sometimes by general maxims. The holy scriptures interfere not with the forms of government. They only establish one point, namely, that civil government is of divine institution, and is absolutely necessary to society ; and as, in every state, whatever may be its form of government, there must be supreme magistrates and subjects, masters and servants, the Bible lays down the duties incumbent upon each ; while the doctrines it inculcates, are the *only* counterpoise against those anarchical maxims, which for the last fifty years have perverted the ideas and corrupted the morals of mankind.

In discussing the influence of the reading and propagation of the Scriptures, in a *domestic* point of view, which is the subject of the fifth chapter, M. de Félice collects and enforces the principal texts, respecting the conjugal, parental, and filial relations, and the reciprocal duties of masters and servants. Our readers, we think, will be pleased with the following observations upon family worship, and with the author's honest animadversions on the neglect of that important duty in France.

“ Among many protestant nations, it is still customary for masters and servants to assemble together, every morning and evening, for prayer and reading the scriptures. The good effects of this usage cannot be too highly appreciated. The master of the family, recollecting that he is ‘dust, and that unto dust he must shortly return,’ and instructed by the future destinies of the wicked rich man and of Lazarus, contracts sentiments of kindness and benevolence towards his servants. These again, on their part, finding themselves admitted, so to speak, to the rank of members of the family, no longer separate their master's interest from their own ; they vow an unlimited affection to him, a devotion, which is proof against every thing : nor is it uncommon for servants, who have been thus kindly treated and enlightened, cheerfully to take upon themselves the support of their former master, when adverse circumstances have reduced him to a state of dependence.

“ This laudable custom has been banished by our punctilious civilization : the equality of mankind before the Heavenly Judge has, with difficulty, preserved a last asylum in the churches ; our private houses refuse to make a common business of the things which belong to salvation. And what pretext is urged, to excuse this anti-christian demarcation ? The fear, lest servants should abuse too intimate a familiarity. If they abuse any thing, it is the knowledge of shameful secrets, of mysteries of impurity and familiarity, in which so many families initiate them. Acts of piety, and the reading of the Bible, call to mind the just distinctions which exist between men, instead of

causing them to be forgotten. Besides, are we to account as nothing the meeting of those, who are redeemed by the same Saviour and blessed by the same God, a meeting which transforms the domestic hearth into a sanctuary of the Divinity?" (Pp. 216, 217.)

"Let not infidels tell us, with a scornful smile, that we have exaggerated the domestic benefits conferred by the Bible Visit. We will reply to them,—visit the modest dwellings of the villages of Switzerland. You will there find Christian doctrines honored, the image of the mighty God presiding over all the actions of the family, and filling every soul with a sweet serenity. You will there see innocence of manners, industry in perfection, benevolence on every face, and content expressed on every lip. You will there observe peace and harmony among neighbours, and the strictest probity in the social relations. Then ask them, whence they derive these precious benefits, these enjoyments, which are unknown in what is called the great world? They will produce the *hereditary* Bible; they will open it with devout gravity, and, with tears in their eyes, will exclaim: 'It is this book, which has brought the blessing of the Lord upon our houses: it is this we have taken for the guide of our conduct; it is in this we place our entire confidence: it is by this, that we live and die in peace; for peace dwells with those who love the word of God.' Who among us has not witnessed these affecting effusions of a grateful heart? and on beholding so many benefits, wrought by the divine word, who is there among us, that will not, with renewed ardour, second the efforts of Bible Societies?" (Pp. 228, 229.)

M. de Félice terminates his review of the beneficial effects of the reading of the Scriptures in domestic life, by powerfully contrasting the death-beds of the ungodly man and of the humble Christian.

The concluding chapter, which treats on the principles and constitution of the Bible Society, and its various auxiliary and branch associations, contains little that is not familiar to our readers; though its details are very important and interesting in France. The most material part in this chapter is that, in which the author vindicates the wisdom and propriety of the fundamental rule of the British and Foreign Bible Society, which declares that its "*sole object shall be to encourage a wider circulation of the Scriptures without note or comment,*" in the authorized versions which are generally in use. On this M. de Félice has the following remarks.

"Two essential principles are established by the preceding article, which shall now be separately examined.

"The pious founders of the Bible Society in Great Britain were deeply convinced, (and what true disciple of the Lord will not participate in their conviction?) that, as the Holy Scriptures were divinely inspired for the religious and intellectual improvement of mankind, great advantages and few inconveniences are presented by their being abundantly and rapidly dispersed over the face of the earth. The *first*

thought therefore of the founders of this Society, was to supply, as promptly and completely as possible, the general want of copies of the sacred volume. Another thought, closely allied to the preceding, was, to raise a common standard, around which the different sects of professing Christians might rally, learn to know and esteem one another, and seal an alliance of peace, harmony, and brotherly love. Now neither of these advantages could have been attained without that express clause which prohibits the annexing of note or comment to the Holy Scriptures.

“Indeed, if the promoters of Bible Societies had wished that explanations should be conformable to the doctrines received by their own church (the Church of England, for instance,) that church alone would have supported and encouraged their labours. If they had endeavored to extend them further, this would have been an hostile attempt, and would have irritated parties, instead of reconciling them. The dissemination of the Bible would have been confined to one single communion, or forcibly enlarged, in defiance of all other christian sects. The undertaking would become local and exclusive, or usurping and tyrannical.

“On the other hand, if it had been established, that every communion should have a different explanation, according to its peculiar confession and belief, it is evident to demonstration, that this measure would have served to diffuse more false doctrines than true ones. Truth is *one*; this measure would have called forth *twenty* different expositions, nineteen of which, at least, would be indisputably erroneous. Besides, the line of demarcation, which separates the numerous protestant churches, would become wider, more sensibly felt, as well as deeper; disputes would have been caused, and the passions would have been excited, to no purpose.

“Hence it results, that the circulation of the Bible, without note or comment, was imperiously required for the attainment of the two advantages above noticed. It was necessary for the Society to steer clear of all controversy, or else to confine itself within a narrow and consequently unprofitable circle; unless it chose to commence a direct attack upon every other communion; in which case it must either have perished in its birth, or never have had any existence at all.

“And here we are struck with a singular inconsistency. There are many persons, who exalt the benefits conferred by the Bible Society, as a means of extending the circulation of the Scriptures, and as a rallying point among Christian Churches; and yet they reproach it, for disseminating the sacred volume without note or comment. But just reflect upon the subject with calmness! If Bible Societies follow your counsels, they immediately lose all the advantages which you acknowledge them to possess; and nothing but local interests and divisions will be the result. You will have sectaries, but not philanthropists. You will bring back that state of things, which before existed; that is to say, few and insufficient editions of the Scriptures; or

you will give occasion to hostile manœuvres and interminable disputes.*

“But let it be conceded for a moment,—contrary to evidence, reason, and common sense, that the Bible Society may preserve all its advantages by publishing the Scriptures accompanied with notes and comments. Will not this be, to revert, by an indirect way, to that principle of authority, which protestantism rejects as contrary to the express word of God, contrary to the dignity of man, and contrary to the laws of conscience;—a principle, which our most illustrious reformers combated at the risk of their lives, and against which most of us will contend at the same price, if the funeral pyres of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries should again be raised in our public squares? What rejoicings would there be in the ultramontane camp! How eagerly would they accuse us, with insulting irony, of retracing the way to Rome, after having for so long a time shaken off the dust from our feet, at a distance from her gates!

“Nor let it be said, that these commentaries would be purely explanatory, and not obligatory. The moment a certain number of Protestants, whether solicited or authorized by their church, shall have interpreted any passages of scripture, which have given rise to difficulties, according to their personal conviction, they must, if they would be consistent with themselves, admit only those persons into their communion, who acquiesce in *their* interpretations and ideas. The result would be still the same, supposing that they had neither the power, nor perhaps the will, to constrain individuals. Catholicism, at present, is destitute of coercive power, and, though it should possess that power, we delight rather in thinking that it would not make that atrocious use of it, which stained the annals of the church towards the close of the middle ages.

“But,—to dismiss, altogether, the foregoing reasonings—suppose the Bible Society were to publish editions of the scriptures filled with notes and commentaries; that it should rapidly and universally multiply the number of such editions, and rally around it the greater part of the different Christian sects,—without affecting the fundamental principle of Protestantism, or affording any ground of plausible reproach to the ultramontanists;—let us see what would be the effect of these novel and altogether gratuitous concessions.

“Bible readers may be disposed under three distinct classes; 1. Divines; 2. People of the world; and 3. The simple and ignorant.

“It is evident at once, that those who are specially engaged in the study of theology, would derive no advantage from editions of the scriptures with comments, published by the Bible Society. They

* “These conclusions are so true, that the difficult passages, which some people would wish to see explained, touch precisely on the principal points, concerning which christian communions are divided. If these essential points were omitted, as some of our adversaries seem to require, the inconvenience assuredly would not be equally serious; but the explanations will become nearly useless, and will even appear ridiculous to the majority of readers.”

already have commentaries, and other works proper for improving their religious knowledge: and, unquestionably, it is not in Bibles published for the *people*, that they will look for an addition to their stores.

“ People of the world read the scriptures, either from a motive of religion, or from literary curiosity. If they read them from the former motive, and cannot understand many passages which are essential to their faith and moral conduct, (a supposition which we make without admitting it)—it is very certain that they will procure themselves the necessary books or explanations for removing their doubts. The present, the future, the most serious and important interests, all prompt them to take this step. If they read from literary curiosity, they would only with the help of commentaries throw inflammable matter into the fire, instead of endeavoring to extinguish it. ‘ By accompanying the Holy Scriptures with literary apparatus,’ says a profound and eloquent apologist for Bible Societies, ‘ we cherish the predominating tendency of our age, which is, to give the first place to the gratification of speculative curiosity.’ ”*

“ With regard to the simple and ignorant, we affirm from experience, which has often been confirmed, that they will for the most part confine themselves to the reading of the text, however overloaded it may be with commentaries. They have not time, or they do not feel the necessity of occupying themselves with any thing else. The text is to them, what it ought to be to all, their chief object. Besides even if they should apply themselves to the commentaries, we are persuaded, that if they are so simple as not to understand those passages of scripture which are truly essential and useful to them, they would not comprehend any explanatory notes. Intellectual and moral subjects admit only of a certain degree of clearness; and in this respect, as in many others, the scriptures have attained the highest degree of perfection that can be conceived.

“ Thus the commentaries, with which some would accompany the Bible, would be useless for the first class of readers, dangerous or equally useless to the second, and entirely useless to the last.

“ Each of the three points of view, under which we have considered the question, strictly justifies the fundamental article of the Bible Society. Now, let these numerous reasonings be brought together into one point; surrounded with all the expositions, which we have been enabled to give to them; add to these all the motives which involuntary forgetfulness, or particular considerations, have caused us to pass in silence; and then ask whether the friends of the Bible Society have not shewn the highest wisdom in determining, that the Holy Scriptures should be always published without note or comment. The answer of intelligent and upright Christians cannot be doubtful. They will say with the apostle, *that the word of God is, of itself, quick and powerful.*” (Pp. 251—259.)

We have thought it right to give the preceding extract entire, not only because it might be interesting to persons in this

* Second Rapport de la Soc. Bibl. Prot. de Paris. Discours de M. Stapfer. p. 778.

country to see, in what spirit the cause of the Bible Society is taken up in another, but also, because it presents a satisfactory reply to the objections, which the opponents of the Society, in this country, continue to allege against it, for circulating Bibles without note or comment. In the argument of M. de Félice it is throughout supposed, that the authors of commentaries, annexed to the Holy Scriptures, have a legal and authorized character : and his reasonings apply to the question under that concession. If they have no such character, we must necessarily remain in statu quo. A few detached individuals might publish editions of the Bible with comments, at distant intervals, without being able to reckon upon the support of any church : and it is surely better to give the text abundant circulation, leaving to the several commentaries the only credit, to which they are entitled, that of the arguments, by which they are supported ; one of which will always be the concurrence of wise and good men, referring to the sacred text for their guide.

M. de Félice concludes his volume with three appendixes. The first contains extracts from the writings of the Fathers, and exhortations to the reading of the scriptures : in this appendix as well as in the second, which contains directions for the profitable reading of the Bible, the author acknowledges his obligations to the Rev. Edward Bickersteth's "Scripture Help." The last Appendix comprises an examination of some objections to the reading of the Bible, which could not be treated in the earlier part of the volume. These objections are divided into two classes, viz. 1. Is it proper and useful to publish extracts from the Bible ? This question is examined at great length, and answered in the negative. For particular purposes indeed such extracts may be very desirable. But if the extracts are published instead of the Bible, and a principle of selection thus introduced on the authority of fallible men, the divine authority of the whole is disparaged. 2. Ought *all* the books of the Old Testament to be put into the hands of Christians ? This question is answered in the affirmative by shewing the actual utility and importance of each of the books of the Old Testament in particular. We regret, that we have not room for M. de Félice's reply to the first of these two questions, but must refer those, whom the subject may interest, to the Essay itself, which is both elegantly and eloquently written, and breathes throughout an admirable spirit of truly Christian meekness and conciliation.

ART. XXVII.—*The London Missionary Society's Report of the Proceedings against the late Rev. J. Smith of Demerara, Minister of the Gospel, who was tried under martial law, and condemned to death, on a charge of aiding and assisting in a rebellion of the negro slaves, from a full and correct copy transmitted to England by Mr. Smith's counsel, and including the Documentary Evidence, omitted in the Parliamentary Copy. With an Appendix. London. Westley. 1824. 8vo. Pp. vii. and 204.*

IN our last volume (Pp. 430—466.) we took a general view of the condition of the slaves in our West Indian colonies, and of the efforts, which have been lately made for improving it. At the close of that article we adverted to the resistance, which the projected measures have met with, particularly in Demerara. To this resistance, and particularly to one of the most melancholy features, belonging to it, we feel now compelled briefly to call the attention of our readers. We are sorry, however, in the first place to observe, that it is not in Demerara only, that the resident planters and their agents have set themselves with sturdy determination against any essential improvement of a system, the most frightful that has ever been enforced against the welfare of any large body of men. The mistaken notion seems to be taken up in all the colonies, that every thing, added to the comfort and security of the slaves, is subtracted from that of their masters, that consequently every friend of the blacks is an enemy of the whites, and deserves at once to be demolished, as a partisan, a fanatic, and a hypocrite. Even some respectable journals in this country are infected with a portion of this West Indian mania; for they seem to regard a code as decent and defensible, under British protection, which they reprobate in any other part of the world, and thus sanction the idea, that sentiments and laws may be good or evil according to the meridian, in which they prevail. The Quarterly Review for example, in speaking of the condition of slaves in the United States, observes—"Though many of the planters treat their slaves well, and allow them as much indulgence as is consistent with their situation, yet, negroes being, in the eye of American law, a degraded class, and denied the enjoyment of equal rights, their well-being is entirely dependent on the personal character of their owner; and, however humane their treatment may be, we cannot agree with farmer Faux in his conclusion, that their

condition in any, much less in many respects, is better than that of the paupers in his native land. In Charleston not only the negroes, but all, who have the least tinge of colour, are considered, as degraded beings. The ladies (Mr. Faux says) will not look at a dark man, lest he should have a dash of black blood in him." Vol. xxix. Pp. 343, 344. Yet, when the very same observations, which we have just quoted, are applied by another writer to the state of the slaves in our own colonies, a state to which they are at least equally applicable, the reviewers are found in the very same Number to defend the conclusion, from which they above dissented. "The comparison of the state of our laboring classes," (say they), "with that of the negroes in our colonies, which to this writer appears so absurd, we have known deliberately made, and the preference given to the West Indies, not by planters or their connexions, but by clergymen of the church of England." P. 485. Again it is made a subject of remonstrance against the abolitionists in this country, that they appeal to the feelings of the public. "Complaints of severity are at all times calculated to make an impression on the public; and our great objection to the abolitionists is, that they are apt to direct their arguments to our sympathy instead of our conviction." P. 488. Yet so little repugnance have they to such complaints, when directed against the Americans, that after quoting a horrible tale from Mr. Faux, they close, not with an address to our reason, but with an expression of feeling, which we are far from wishing to condemn. We quote the passage, that our readers may judge, how far the strictures on American slavery expose the reviewers to their own censure on other friends of humanity. We need not produce the particular act of wanton cruelty recited. But it is concluded thus—"Nor is this all. But our heart sickens at the horrid detail; and we can go no farther." P. 344. We are the more inclined to dwell with surprise on this contrast, because it meets us again in a subsequent number, where these critics appear to deprecate any alterations in our colonial system, in these words. "It should be a matter of serious consideration with those who have to legislate for the colonies, how far any alterations in our colonial system may tend to bring the negroes in the West Indies nearer to the condition of the agricultural laborers in the best countries of Europe, or to the condition, in which the Indian laborers of Mexico with all their freedom have been hitherto found." Vol. xxx. p. 165. Yet in the next page, when speaking of these same Mexicans, without being warped by a comparison with our own West Indians, they say—"We firmly believe,

that Mexico under a good government and in a state of tranquillity would shortly recover not only its former condition, but even surpass in prosperity what she has ever known."

In short, it seems, if we may judge from these specimens, to be the doctrine of the Quarterly Review, that it is lawful to abuse slavery, where we have no power to reform it, but that, where we may reform and eventually abolish the system, so abused, it ought to be treated with tenderness, and we should designate it, not by its right name, but "as a payment of labour by maintenance" instead of "payment by wages." Vol. xxix. p. 507.

After these quotations, we cannot refrain from introducing another, breathing a very different spirit, and from a work, in reference to which we are strongly tempted to exclaim—*O si sic omnia!* "The Demerara journal, published under the protection and special patronage of the local authorities, has spoken out in plain language, that slavery and improvement cannot exist together. 'If we expect to create a community of reading, moral, church-going slaves, we are woefully mistaken.' (February 18, 1824.) Father, forgive them! They know not, what they do. Can a more frightful issue be imagined, on which to put the question of property in slaves and the stability of the West Indian system? If it cannot exist together with Christianity, then is it indeed condemned to swift destruction." Edinburgh Review, Vol. xl. p. 270.

We will not now again enter into the question of slavery. We see no reason to revoke any of our sentiments upon it; and, though we regret for their own sake the resistance, which has been raised by the planters, and, for the sake of the slaves, the respect which has been paid to that resistance by government; while we are willing to wait a little for the prosecution of that experiment, to which the ministry have chosen to limit themselves, in Trinidad, we cannot be altogether silent in regard to the sufferings of a countryman of our own, whose trial stands prefixed to this article; which roused the just indignation of thousands in this country, and filled the House of Commons with a greater number of voters than any party-question during the last session. We see indeed in these occurrences, as we formerly stated, fresh ground for parliamentary interference, and another powerful reason for the immediate adoption of meliorating measures. They shew, that it is not the condition of slaves only, that is affected by the present system, but that a feeling of kindness towards a degraded caste is sufficient in the estimation of the authorities of Demerara to degrade the man who holds it.

Such was the crime of the late Mr. Smith; and in prosecuting that crime, it must be admitted, that the triumphs of the slave-system at Demerara, have been as complete as its warmest partisans could wish. A bloodless insurrection, or rather riot, punished by the death of nearly a *thousand human creatures*—a Christian minister sent to expire in a dungeon for the crime of teaching the slaves obedience to the fourth commandment, and of writing in a private diary his feelings of distress at the torments, daily inflicting around him—a chaplain of the colony absolutely expelled at the desire of the slave-owners, for daring to give evidence to character on behalf of this persecuted missionary—and thus, to sum up the whole, an absolute prohibition practically established against that very religious instruction, without which, it is universally allowed, that the emancipation of the slaves can *never* be accomplished—such is the termination of a contest, in which on one side at least there has been no want of zeal and activity.

The body of Mr. Smith rests in peace. No stone has been allowed to mark the spot where his remains repose. No verdict either of condemnation or acquittal was allowed to pass the House of Commons. Silence and oblivion appear to be the only desire of those who have perpetrated the crime, and of those who would, if they dared, defend it.

We shall, however, pay so much disregard to their wishes, as to devote a small space to the review, not of the whole question in all its bearings, but merely of the single point to which the reasoning or excuses of the apologists for the late proceedings at Demerara are now reduced.

The facts allowed, because they cannot be denied, are shortly these: first, that contrary to law and practice, Mr. Smith was tried by a Court Martial for the “tendency” of his “conduct” for months before martial law was proclaimed; that, also contrary to law and practice, martial law was continued for many weeks after the cause of it had ceased, and that for no other conceivable purpose than to bring Mr. Smith before a Court Martial; and that the intention and effect of thus *illegally* indicting Mr. Smith under martial law, *illegally* continued, was to admit the evidence of Slaves, *which the ordinary tribunals would have refused, and without which not a single charge could have been for an instant sustained*: secondly, that the Court allowed the production of garbled extracts from Mr. Smith’s private diary, a diary, which had never been seen by, addressed to, or intended for, the eye of any other individual, the said extracts relating merely to his feelings on the subject of Slavery, and therefore operating to his prejudice,

without being relevant as proof of any one species of criminality; thirdly, that the Court admitted hearsay evidence to an unheard of extent *against* the accused, and refused it, when tendered *in his favour*: fourthly, that the Court, whose jurisdiction, as a military tribunal, was *unknown to the law of Demerara*, and who had, *contrary to that law*, admitted the evidence of Slaves throughout the case, passed sentence of death nevertheless *by that law* upon an offence, which the English law makes only a clergiable felony: lastly, that great and unnecessary restrictions and severities were used towards him while in confinement, by which his life was ultimately shortened.

These are the main charges, brought against the persons concerned in the death of Mr. Smith: and how are they met? Not by denial, not by an explanation which might diminish any thing of their force, but by the assumptions,—1. That he had what is called “*substantial justice*;” 2. That he was clearly guilty of concealing treasonable plots; 3. That no *malus animus* has been proved against the Court-martial.

These were the grounds, the *only* grounds on which the ministry defended their refusal of an inquiry, and on which they prevailed with the House of Commons to remain silent. Let us examine them with attention.

And, first, we must protest against the introduction of what is denominated “*substantial justice*.” The very idea of being subjected to this kind of treatment at home would raise the most lively and reasonable alarm among the people of England. Locke places the very foundation of liberty in this, that the people of a state shall be judged by written, known, and published laws. But the “*substantial justice*,” said to have been dealt toward Mr. Smith, consisted in judging and punishing him, not according to any laws of which he could have been aware, but according to a loose and undefined notion of guilt, which resolves itself at last into a matter of *opinion*.

But, secondly, we protest against the idea, that any thing at all approaching to *justice*, substantial or otherwise, was afforded to this poor missionary.

By the Government, and by the House of Commons, the *defence* of the proceedings at Demerara has been entirely abandoned. The only ground, taken in Parliament by those who wished to shield the Court Martial, was this;—that the guilt of concealment of treason was sufficiently proved against Smith; and that therefore the case was not to be treated, as though an innocent man had been sentenced to die. We are willing to join issue with them on this

point, and are confident of being able to shew, that no evidence was adduced, which at all substantiated, either legally, or even to the justification of a suspicion, this charge.

During the debate in the House of Commons, we observed with pain the great effect produced on that assembly by the speeches of Mr. Scarlett and Mr. Canning. By the admirable address of the one in seemingly establishing this point, and the splendid eloquence of the other of these gentlemen, in arguing upon it as established, we are persuaded, that the House was decided; and we could not but regret both at the time and ever since, that a more distinct effort was not made to remove the impression produced by these two addresses.

Mr. Scarlett began by professing the regret and dissatisfaction, which he felt on a review of the whole proceedings; but at the same time, 'he thought, that, before a deliberate condemnation of the conduct of a set of gentlemen, so highly respectable as those composing the Court Martial, was agreed to, it was necessary to make some allowance for the situation, in which they were placed, and at the same time to inquire, whether some ground did not really exist, for the conclusion to which they had come. Now he had looked over the evidence, and could not help feeling convinced, that, however hardly Mr. Smith might have been dealt with in some particulars, still there was that degree of criminality proved against him, which exonerated the Court Martial from the charge of an illegal or unjust decision. He would not take up those parts of the evidence, which were rendered doubtful by contradictions, but would look merely to one fact, proved by the principal witnesses, and admitted, in nearly the same language, by the accused party himself, in the course of his own defence. He alluded to the circumstance stated in the evidence of Bristol :

"When Quamina was going into Mr. Smith's house, I went in with him; and when we went in, Quamina asked Mr. Smith if any freedom had come out for them? Mr. Smith said, 'No, but that there was a good law come out for them, but no freedom for them;' he said, 'you must wait a little, and the Governor and your masters will tell you about it.' Quamina then said, that Jack and Joseph were speaking very much about it, and he said that they wanted to take it by force; he, Smith, told them to wait, and not to be foolish. 'How do you mean that they should take it by force? you cannot do any thing with the white people, because the soldiers will be more strong than you, therefore you had better wait.' He said—'Well. You had better go, and tell the people, and Christians particularly, that they had better have nothing to do with it.' And then we came out." (P. 24.)

'As to the fact of this communication having taken place,

Seaton's evidence comes in as a corroboration; and, supposing that doubts were entertained as to the value of the evidence of these two witnesses, let Mr. Smith's own defence be examined! and sufficient admissions will there be found to establish the fact, that a knowledge of the intended insurrection had come to his ears, and had not been communicated. In this defence, Mr. Smith states, that he

"heard Quamina and Seaton, who were talking together in a low tone of voice, use the words, 'Manager,' and 'new laws.' This induced me to rebuke them, for talking about such things. Quamina said, 'Oh, it is nothing particular, Sir, we were only saying it would be good to send our managers to town to fetch up the new law.' I immediately replied, 'that such conversation was improper,' and so on." (P. 83.) 'Now why did Mr. Smith rebuke these men? why did he tell them that such conversation was improper, unless he was aware of the criminality of their plans? and if he was aware of this, he ought to have given notice to the proper authorities; and not having done so, the law holds him to be guilty of misprision of treason, and the Court Martial are clearly exonerated from any serious blame in the verdict which they felt themselves obliged to deliver.'

In the speech of the Right Honorable Secretary for Foreign Affairs, the same circumstance is relied upon, as proving the *substantial justice* of the sentence, however the proceedings generally were to be deplored. Indeed, throughout the whole debate, no other line of defence was adopted by the advocates of the Demerara Court Martial, than this, that the accused had been proved guilty of misprision of treason, in not having disclosed the communication, made to him by Quamina. Mr. Canning declared his "conscientious belief" in this degree of criminality, and then in a strain of splendid eloquence described the hard necessity, which existed, of punishing those, who refused to betray the confidence placed in them by conspirators—of punishing them, not for their faithful friendship which deserved admiration, but for the evils which that fidelity might bring upon society. The candour and feeling, with which he deplored the fate of the man, whom he yet professed to be unable to believe entirely blameless, completed the impression made upon the House, and threw the victory on the side of those who had 'neither the audacity to defend, nor the virtue to condemn.'

Let us then look at this solitary circumstance, which was turned to so good account in securing impunity to an illegal tribunal.

Before we consult the defence of Mr. Smith, let us ascertain the worst to which the evidence against him on this point

can possibly be made to amount. The only witness to the fact of the communication was Bristol, whose testimony Mr. Scarlett quoted, and we have already given. In estimating the exact value and effect of that evidence, a distinction ought to be made between a knowledge of the existence of discontent, impatience, and a loose and general desire of freedom, and a knowledge of an actual conspiracy, and a matured intention of revolt. It is granted that, if Mr. Smith had received any distinct or credible intimation of a plan of rebellion, or in short had any reason to believe, that a rising was actually meditated, it would have been his duty to communicate his knowledge to the local government. But what are the facts? Is any thing like such a knowledge ever even imputed to him? All, that the witness can be made to say, amounts to this;—Two Negroes inquire of their minister what this news from England concerning them is; whether freedom has come out for them. He answers them, that a good law was come out respecting them, though not their freedom, and tells them to wait a little, and their masters and the Governor will tell them about it; and when they remark that some other negroes are "*talking*" very much about it, and *want* to take it by force," he tells them, using those arguments which were most likely to weigh with them, not to be foolish, for it was entirely out of their power, and then desires them, being leaders in his congregation, to bid their friends have nothing to do with any such plan, and thus sends them away.

Now this, let it be remembered, is the strongest evidence against Mr. Smith on this point; and certainly no ordinary mind can make any thing more out of it than that Mr. Smith learned in a casual conversation, what every one knew very well long before; that the negroes had imbibed an idea that some kind of boon for them had come out from England, that they were exceedingly anxious and naturally full of impatience to know the real nature of it, and that the silence preserved by the Governor on this point, rendered them ready to break out into disorder, that they might know their real fate. This certainly was communicated to Mr. Smith: and it was at the same time a state of things which no resident among the negroes could possibly help being aware of. But as to that kind of knowledge, which to conceal would have been criminal, certainly none such offered itself to Mr. Smith. The evidence affords not a word to shew, that he had or could have gathered any idea of an actually formed plan, or of any thing more than a great degree of impatience, and a tendency to indulge that impatience in acts of disorder. And yet it is

for not making a special communication of this valuable piece of information to the government, that Mr. Smith is sentenced to be hanged ; and it is upon the same ground, that such a sentence is declared to be legal, and consistent with *substantial justice* !

Having examined the full extent of this formidable charge, let us now see in what light the defence of Mr. Smith places the transaction.

“The simple facts of my supposed knowledge on the 17th of August are these :—On that day, it being Sunday, I had been in the discharge of my ministerial duties in the chapel to a very late hour. It was at least four o'clock before I finally left the chapel to go to my dwelling house. On arriving there I found Bristol talking with Mrs. Smith, about a little girl, a daughter of his, whom he wished to place under Mrs. Smith's care. I joined in their conversation, and found, that the girl had the measles ; from the effects of which she was then stated to be only just recovering. On this ground, I objected to her being brought to the house, until she was perfectly recovered, as there were negroes on the estate whom she might have infected with the complaint. Whilst I was conversing with Bristol, Quamina and Seaton, according to custom, came in, and were soon followed by two others. Their coming in was nothing unusual. It was not a circumstance to excite any particular notice. They seldom went away on a Sunday, without coming in to the back gallery to bid us good bye. This was the case with many of the people ; and I considered that they came in, on that occasion, merely for that purpose. They were all standing together ; and I went into the hall to get a glass of wine. While drinking it, I heard Quamina and Seaton, who were talking together in a low tone of voice, use the words ‘manager’ and ‘new law’. This induced me to rebuke them for talking about such things. Quamina said, ‘Oh, it is nothing particular, sir, we were only saying it would be good to send our managers to town to fetch up the new law.’ I immediately replied, that such conversation was improper, that they would be fools to say any thing to their managers about it, for they were not the law-makers ; that, if there was any thing for them, they should wait patiently and they would no doubt soon hear it, either from the Governor, or from their masters ; but that, if they behaved insolently to their managers, they would lose their religious character, and would provoke the Governor here, and the government at home. Quamina replied,—‘Very well, sir, we will say nothing about it, for we should be very sorry to vex the king and the people at home.’ They then went out all together, each bidding me and Mrs. Smith good afternoon. From all that passed, I had not the slightest idea that they intended to revolt. The receipt of Jackey's note, on Monday evening, brought to my recollection what I had heard the day before, and induced me to attach to it a meaning, which I had not attached to it before. Upon these simple facts, what a mass of exaggeration and falsehood has been piled !” (Pp. 82, 83.)

We apprehend, that our readers will be of opinion, that

this last resort of the defenders of the Demerara proceedings is as untenable as all the former charges, which have one by one been proved indefensible; in short, that not even the shadow of a ground for that most iniquitous sentence has been shewn to exist.

Lastly, it was said, that, however difficult of defence the whole proceedings might seem to be, still there was no *malus animus* proved against the prosecutors or the tribunal. Now on this point we must remark, that it is an every-day occurrence in England for us to hear a Judge charge a Jury, that, if a criminal act is proved, the law always presumes the existence of a criminal intention: and surely, when we observe a tissue of acts, like those of the Demerara government and court martial, we need be at no great loss for a *malus animus*. When we see a civil person seized by martial law, and that law continued for whole months after the restoration of entire tranquillity, for no other imaginable purpose than the trial of the same civil person,—when we see that this course of proceeding, so unusual, is chosen for the apparent purpose of admitting negro testimony, which the ordinary courts would reject;—when, further, we see this court martial founding its proceedings on the English law, in order thereby to let in negro testimony, and then at the close of the same proceedings, reverting to the Dutch law for a sentence more severe than the English code could afford them;—and when finally, we see every possible method resorted to of adding to the severity of his confinement, and of increasing his malady; and then find the result of the whole to be that death, which was the natural and necessary consequence of such measures adopted under such circumstances—when (we say) we cast this rapid glance over the whole transaction, it is impossible to come to any other conclusion than this, that somewhere or other there did exist that evil disposition towards Mr. Smith, which the law describes by the term *malus animus*.

We have now gone over the three points, on which it appeared necessary to touch, and have shewn (we trust) sufficiently, that although the charges, now endeavored to be sustained against Mr. Smith, are greatly reduced in number and weight, and indeed appear to be defended only as a kind of cover to the retreat of the real criminals, still these minor accusations are equally founded in misconstruction and exaggeration with all the former ones. And here we stop, being satisfied with rescuing the memory of a calumniated missionary from reproach, and not desirous to add any thing in aggravation of acts, which cannot be defended.

ART. XXVIII.—*A new Greek and English Lexicon to the New Testament, on the plan of Dawson's Greek and Latin Lexicon, for the use of Schools, by the Rev. Henry Laing, LL.D. London, Seeleys. 1821. 8vo. pp. 427.*

2. *A Greek and English Lexicon, intended not only for the use of learners in private and in the public schools, but also for those who, after the usual periods of education, seek to acquire a more accurate and extensive acquaintance with the language and literature of ancient Greece, by John Jones, LL.D. author of the Greek Grammar. London, Longman and Co. 1823. 8vo. pp. xv. and cols. 1740.*

ALTHOUGH Greek is the parent language of Latin, there has been hitherto no regular method of approaching it for an English reader, except through the medium of the derivative tongue. There are many considerations, which make this deficiency a subject of regret. In the first place to a person of little leisure, who should wish to become acquainted with that language, and to any one who should enter upon the undertaking late in life, the labour is doubled; which is no inconsiderable disadvantage, and an appalling discouragement to the attempt. In the second place there are reasons for studying Greek, which do not apply to Latin, especially, that the New Testament is written in that tongue: and on this account we have had English dictionaries and grammars, written for the words and phrases of the New Testament; to which number Dr. Laing has added the Lexicon, which stands at the head of this article. But every person, conversant in Greek literature, knows, that a partial acquaintance with the language, attained in this way, is extremely imperfect, and by no means qualifies its possessor to judge of critical remarks on the phraseology of holy writ, or on the force of disputed words. Besides this we are inclined to think, that the course of learning would be more regular, if it followed the order of nature, and Greek were studied before Latin, a method of proceeding which is impracticable, till dictionaries and grammars of respectable character are provided in the vernacular tongue.

Dr. Laing, as may be seen from his title-page, attempts nothing more than to assign the current meaning of words with the quantity of their syllables and their proximate derivations. Like Dawson, he gives every form, in which each word occurs in the New Testament, and explains its grammatical properties. It is therefore a convenient work

for all, who wish to read the New Testament in the original without making any further progress in the language, but pretends to nothing more.

Dr. Jones's work is of a more elaborate character. He professes to have explained

"all the words which occur in the Iliad and Odyssey, and the Hymns ascribed to Homer; in Hesiod, Theocritus, Pindar, Anacreon, Bion, and Moschus; all the words to be met with in Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Aristophanes, together with a large portion of those comprehended in the index of the Anthologia, edited by Jacob. The prose-writers, explained in this work, are Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Polybius, Demosthenes; the popular pieces of Plato, Aristotle, and Theophrastus. To these I have added the New Testament, the Septuagint, Longinus, the voluminous productions of Lucian and Plutarch, the latter of whom has many hundred words peculiar to himself." (P. iii.)

If in the execution of his more enlarged undertaking we could hope to see such alterations introduced as should obviate the objections we shall have occasion to point out in the progress of our remarks, we should be happy to record his purpose, in a few years more,

"to produce a Lexicon, Greek and English, in one large quarto volume, the character of which shall be the following. First, It shall contain all the words of the language that may come within the range of my most diligent research. Secondly, The compounds shall be classed under their respective simple terms, and an alphabetical index annexed. Thirdly, Every simple or primitive term shall be traced to its more ancient stem in one of the oriental tongues, and the primary meaning thus obtained shall be followed through all its ramifications. Fourthly, Every word, and the several meanings of every word, shall be supported by specific authorities. Fifthly, The corresponding word in Latin shall be inserted before the English, for the purpose as much as possible of identifying the two languages, and to meet the wishes of those who have been accustomed to a Latin interpretation. Sixthly, Every useful aid will be sought from the scholiasts, from the glossaries of Hesychius, Suidas, and other ancient lexicographers: and finally, epithets that are synonymous with, or opposite to the term explained, shall in general be stated, as one of the most useful and effectual means of defining the signification of a word." (Pp. x, xi.)

In proceeding to an examination of the work, which Dr. Jones has already given to the public, the first point, to which we shall advert, is that of the derivation of words. Into this department of lexicography, Dr. Jones has certainly introduced a considerable improvement, by going for the origin of Greek words to the oriental languages, instead of contenting himself with what are often called very erroneously the Greek primitives. Yet he is often tempted, naturally enough perhaps, but not so judiciously, to rest too much weight on the supposed

derivation of a word in tracing its several meanings. This fault is the more considerable in him, because we do not think him always very successful in his derivations; and, when he is otherwise, an inaccuracy at this point vitiates of course all his subsequent deductions. The fact however is, that these two inquiries, into the origin and into the actual sense of words, with whatever accuracy they may be conducted, should always be kept distinct: for although the history of a meaning may often be traced very satisfactorily, and with great advantage to the right apprehension of its true and exact import in many of the phrases, in which it is employed, this can only be done, where the root itself may be satisfactorily ascertained, and the most important of its ramifications identified in actual authorities. This has sometimes been accomplished with much success and the happiest effect. Thus Mr. Tooke's ingenious resolution of the conjunction, *if*, into the imperative verb, *give*, receives countenance from its orthography at successive periods, namely *gif*, *yef*, and *if*, instances of all which may be found in the early editions of Chaucer, by which its pedigree is at once determined and illustrated. Where this is not the case, a lexicographer must of course supply its place by such conjectures as enlarged observation may warrant. But then he ought not to be influenced by these conjectures in determining the meaning of words. This meaning must be in every instance settled by actual use, and will in many cases contradict the expectations, resulting from theory.

A singular instance of the inadvertencies, into which a love of philological hypothesis betrays those, who pursue it beyond the bounds of clear evidence, is afforded in Dr. Jones's account of the preposition, *ὑπο*.

"To be under an action is to be at the bottom of it, to be the cause of it, just as the root which is under a tree is the cause of its growth. Hence *ὑπο* with a genitive signifies cause, instrument, motive. αἱ δὲ οὐσαι ἐξουσίαι ὑπὸ θεοῦ τεταγμέναι εἰσιν, Rom. xiii. 1, the existing authorities are appointed from under God, are appointed by God, God being the cause or author of their appointment." (c. 1605.)

Now if the author's etymology is to be admitted, that, which is under a thing, is the cause of it, as the root is the cause of a tree. Therefore the existing authorities, being under God, must be by direct inference the cause of God, not God the cause of the authorities. The same observation applies to all the examples quoted, the genitive being in each instance the cause, though it means that which is over, not under the object.

Dr. Jones's way of accounting for the opposite forces of *a* in composition, is any thing but satisfactory.

“ In composition α seems an abbreviation of $\alpha\pi\sigma$, from : and as to be from a thing is to be without it, α when combined with a noun or an adjective gives it generally a *contrary* meaning, and is therefore called a *privative or negative*.” (c. 1.)

So far the explanation is intelligible. But, when he adds—
“ On the contrary, to be from a thing is the means of increasing that thing; as a stream becomes larger, the further it flows from its source, or as the branches of a tree are larger, the wider they spread from the stem : hence α *increases* the meaning of a term, and may be called *augmentative or intensive*; thus, $\xi\upsilon\lambda\omicron\nu$ wood, $\alpha\xi\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ very woody”—, (c. 1.)

we doubt, if any learner will find his apprehension aided by such an hypothesis. It is much more rational to suppose, that the use of the same prefix to express opposite senses is accidental, and implies derivation from two different sources, to borrow a hint from the author’s illustration, meeting in one stream. Therefore those, who derive the negative α from $\alpha\pi\sigma$, and the intensive from $\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha$, are by much the more credible speculators. But we do not trust to either of them, till they shall produce some trace of their alleged derivations in the progress of language. If, for instance, the word, $\acute{\alpha}\xi\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, as used by most writers, were in any one instance written $\alpha\pi\sigma\xi\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, this evidence would be more satisfactory than the most ingenious conjectures, unsupported by usage. From this quarter we can at least produce one evidence against the derivation even of the negative α from $\alpha\pi\sigma$, namely, the rule stated by the author himself—

“ If a word begin with a vowel, α becomes $\alpha\nu$,” (c. 1.)
not $\alpha\pi$. By the bye this is stated too absolutely : for very often the negative α is used without the ν even before a vowel, as in $\acute{\alpha}\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$, $\acute{\alpha}\alpha\pi\iota\omicron\varsigma$, and other instances. The evidence of this rule would point rather to a derivation from $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}$, which (Dr. Jones justly informs us)

“ in composition has the sense of back, again, up, re :” (c. 128.)
whence *re* in Latin has the very same force in composition, and indeed both forces ; for it signifies *back, again*, and thus, either reversing or repeating the sentiment, has sometimes an intensive and sometimes a negative effect. Else the negative α might possibly be contracted immediately from $\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\upsilon$, which itself is formed from $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha$.

The pronoun, $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$, affords an example of the bias, given to an interpolation by an etymological prepossession. Dr. Jones translates the word *the same*. Yet it can never be so construed, except, when it is preceded immediately by an article, while, if it be followed by an article or preceded by a substantive or pronoun, with which it agrees, it is as uniformly, except in St. Luke’s writings, to be translated *self*. Never-

theless it is true, that, when used as a relative, it means *the same* with its antecedent, and *not another*. But to translate it *the same* in such situations would be preposterous. It is always, and ought always, when used by itself, to be rendered by the English pronouns *he, she, it*, which also mean *the same* with their antecedent. The use of *αὐτός* before an article to signify *the same* is a peculiarity of St. Luke, and serves to mark his gospel and the Acts of the Apostles to be the work of the same author. But nothing of all this appears from Dr. Jones's account of the word.

Although however we maintain in its fullest extent, that it is not derivation, but use,

Quem penes arbitrium est et jus et norma loquendi, we are far from wishing, that a lexicographer should vary the sense of every word according to the various ways, in which it may happen to have been applied. The exact import of a word being determined, such variations as arise merely from its connexion with other words ought to be left to the intelligence of a reader, and not construed into new senses of the original word. In this particular most writers of dictionaries are apt to fail. They assign a new sense for every varying shade in the application of the word instead of distinguishing, as they ought to do, between the meaning of the word and its application. A hammer is the same instrument in the hand of a child or of a blacksmith. It would therefore be a very unsafe mode of interpretation, which should call it in one instance an instrument to play with, and in the other an instrument to beat with. The province of a lexicographer is to settle the direct import of a word, leaving its figurative senses to be explained by the figure, and its various applications to be determined by the occasion, to which it is applied; if the word has more direct senses than one, to settle them all with as much precision as possible; to assign its derivation, where practicable; and to add its original meaning, if such an original meaning can be determined, but not to let a supposed derivation affect the determination of a positive interpretation, nor even to prosecute the most ingenious and probable researches by disquisitions, introduced into a place, the right province of which is not to discuss, but to explain.

We may furnish an illustration of these remarks from Dr. Jones's account of the word *παρθένος*. He translates it a young woman in the bloom of life, a virgin. Yet, because St. Paul speaks of espousing the Corinthians, as a chaste virgin, to Christ, and Josephus speaks of virgin earth, he thinks it necessary to provide a second meaning, which may be pro-

perly applied in these instances, forgetting, that, if the passages were translated according to his second interpretation of the word, there would be a figure in the original, and none in the translation.

The verb, βαπτίζω, may be produced, as another example of the unnecessary multiplication of senses.

“I plunge—plunge *in water*, dip, baptize, John iv. 2.—plunge *in sleep*, bury, overwhelm, Eum. 15.—initiate *into a knowledge of the Gospel*, Matt. xxviii. 19.—plunge *in air or wind*, purify, iii. 11.—plunge *in fire*, consume or purify with fire.” (c. 343.)

Into any discussion upon the primitive meaning of the word we do not here enter, having already brought that subject before our readers in our twenty-fourth article. But, granting it now to be rightly explained by the English words, plunge, dip, baptize, we think all the rest of the explanations contained in the dictionary superfluous, as the idea of plunging is the same, whether it be referred to water, air, or fire, or even metaphorically to sleep: and the enumeration of these applications of the term, as though they were so many different senses, tends rather to embarrass, than to enlighten a student. We have however a still further objection to one of the meanings here assigned to it, that of initiating into a knowledge of the gospel; for it evidently misleads, inasmuch as the act of baptizing can never be considered an initiation into the knowledge of the gospel: and, if the act of baptizing is not meant by this word in the text cited, two inconveniencies result; for in the first place the institution of baptism is not recorded by St. Matthew, and upon the same principle it may be contended with equal truth, that it is not recorded at all; and in the second that meaning is arbitrarily and uselessly attached to the word, βαπτίζοντες which is distinctly unfolded afterwards in the words, διδάσκοντες τηρεῖν πάντα, ὅσα ἐνετείλαμην. We have of course the same objection to the sense, given to βαπτίζομαι—

“I solemnly engage myself by a public profession of faith,”—and to βαπτισμα, where the phrase in Mark x. 38. is translated, ‘to have the baptism, in which I initiate myself, administered to them.’ For the idea of plunging in sleep the reference is incorrect: and in respect to that of plunging in fire, it is remarkable, that where an order was given for really executing that act upon Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, the word, chosen by the seventy to express it, is not βαπτίζειν, but ἐμβαλεῖν.

But we have a much graver fault to charge upon the author in connexion with this subject; and that is, that he goes out of his road to explain away the personality of the holy spirit. Thus in this place he translates the phrase, βαπτίσει ἐν πνεύματι

ἀγίῳ, in Matt. iii. 11. by plunging in air or wind; and under the word, πνεῦμα, he translates

“το ἅγιον πνεῦμα, the holy spirit, the spirit of God, a miraculous endowment from God.” (c. 1335.)

and quotes for that meaning John iii. 8. and Acts iii. 4.

Neither is this a solitary or a venial perversion. If indeed a lexicographer errs under the shelter of respectable authority, it is an infirmity incident to his undertaking. But if he deviates from his peculiar office into the interpretation of particular passages, he is doubly answerable, first for the deviation, and secondly for any error into which it may betray him. With this twofold fault then we charge the author in his exposition of

“ἱλασμος, ου, ὁ, atonement, sacrifice for sin, the means of expiating sin, or of forsaking a sinful life, and thus reconciling man to God: and this is said of Christ, who is the author of salvation to mankind, and said of him in reference to the sacrifices of the law, with a view to withdraw the attention of the Jewish believers from the Levitical code, to which they were prone, and fix it on repentance and reformation through Christ, as the only means of acceptance with God, 1 John ii. 2; iv. 10.” (c. 829.)

It was sufficient for his purpose, as a lexicographer, to shew that ἱλασμος signifies atonement or sacrifice for sin without afterwards explaining away that sense to mean our acceptance, not through the propitiation of another, but through our own repentance and reformation; which, however necessary, most certainly are no atonement or sacrifice for sin: and therefore the words, through Christ, are either unmeaning, or contradictory to the paragraph which precedes them. We do not require a lexicographer to be orthodox in his divinity, but only to be exact and impartial in his interpretations of words. Dr. Jones however, having in many instances chosen to deviate from this course into the department of a socinian commentator, we are compelled to caution the guardians of youth against the use of a work, which, by simply confining himself to his proper province, it was certainly in his power to render fit for their adoption.

Of that unnecessary multiplication of senses, to which we have before adverted, we must yet produce one or two more examples. The following is from the preface to the work.

“The verb ἵστανω in *Septem contra Thebas*, 301, signifies to hurl or fling at. In verse 526, it conveys the idea of dropping or bowing down the head. In the *Supplices* of the same poet, verse 96, it means to dash, and carries an allusion to the thunderbolts of Jupiter, hurled by way of punishment at the head of those who violate his laws. The same verb in Nicander Ther. 116, denotes, to chastise; while in the *Ajax* of Sophocles, 501, it carries the idea of revising or reproaching: and finally, in verse 710, its obvious import is, to instruct.” (Jones, p. v.)

Now the verb seems to mean to dash or throw with violence ; which indeed well accords with the author's derivation of it from

“ the Hebrew **הִבַּת** *hibt*, which means to beat down with a rod, such as to beat down apples or olives from a tree.” (Jones, p. v.)

Moreover such is its meaning in all the passages quoted ; not, that it can be always so translated ; for the application, of which a word is capable in one language, the corresponding term in another will not always admit. But in the last passage quoted the meaning seems to be—“ Stir up a Cretan dance !”—which being a frantic and violent action, the word used for bringing it forward, partakes of the same violent character, and is in fact a catachresis, as when we speak in colloquial language of knocking up a dance, instead of instituting one. So also in the phrase, *λόγοις ἰαπτῶν*, a reading, judiciously defended, by the author, against the correction of Dr. Blomfield, we would not translate it, pelting with words : yet such would be its exact meaning ; and it ought not to be represented, as bearing any other. In the passage, first cited, the idea becomes tame and insipid by Dr. Jones's rendering ; for its real force is to dash the head with violence against the ground.

Though the senses of *ἰαπτῶ* are thus diversified beyond the necessity of the case, *ιάλλω* does not receive so much notice. Its original notion may be conceived to be that of sending or spreading out ; under which notion the extension of the figure of a flying animal is obscurely intimated : whence also it is used neutrally by Hesiod—

‘ *Μεταχρονίαι γὰρ ἰάλλον.*’ Theog. 269.

Yet of this word the dictionary says only—

“ I send, hurt, throw *an arrow*—lay *hands*—put *bonds* around, Il. *o.* 19.—pierce *with reproaches as with arrows*, Od. *v.* 147.—dispatch, Prom. 664.” (c. 819.)

The passage in Homer, here referred to, conveys rather the idea of overspreading than of piercing, and so agrees with the original notion, above suggested.

On the other hand the nicer distinctions in meaning between similar words, it is exactly within the province of a lexicographer to point out. In this respect Dr. Jones is sometimes defective. For instance, *παίω* and *πλήσσω* are exactly distinguished by Xenophon in the beginning of the sixth book of the expedition of Cyrus, where, in the description of a Thracian dance, it is said—‘ *Ὁ ἕτερος τὸν ἕτερον παίει, ὡς πᾶσιν δοκεῖν πεπληχέναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον.*’ One of them strikes his fellow, so, that every one would think he had wounded the man.’ Yet the doctor's explanation of the two words is the same, with the exception of any difference, that may be found between the words strike and

smite : for *παίω* is interpreted—‘I strike with a sword, wound’—and *πλησσω*—‘I smite with a sword, wound’—, which does not afford the distinction in point. The English verbs, strike and wound, (we imagine) exactly express the difference : for the former requires something in the context to shew, that the stroke was serious or effective, which the latter never does.

In the explanation of particles we do not always agree with him. Thus, whatever may be the origin of *γὰρ*, we cannot allow, that its meaning is any thing else, but *for*, though often referring to a sentence, which, as Dr. Jones indeed correctly states, is elliptical. In the first passage, quoted by him for the purpose of exhibiting a different meaning, John iv. 44. we conceive a reason is assigned, why Jesus went into Galilee, namely, because he wished to retire for a season ; his hour, as he elsewhere says, not being yet come. In the second passage, Luke xii. 58. we would supply the ellipse thus—‘Why do ye not discern what is right? For that, which is right in your present circumstances, is obvious. When thou goest with thine adversary, make it thy business to be released from him.’ A similar explanation may be afforded to all the other examples : and hence, though, such ellipses being uncommon in modern diction, it may often be advisable to render the word by some other connective, yet what we have stated destroys his position, that

“the primary notion of *γὰρ* is *in fact, indeed, truly, then.*” (c. 377.)

The grammatical rules, adduced by Dr. Jones, have not all the accuracy of expression, that might be wished. Thus he tells us, that

“in the neuter gender the relative often stands for the noun it qualifies.” (c. 1214.)

Now the relative never qualifies any thing, but is simply substituted for its antecedent, to avoid continual repetition.

Dr. Jones, like some other innovators in grammar, does not acknowledge a middle voice. Most certainly the passive form in Latin has often a middle sense. Most certainly also the present and imperfect tenses of the passive form in Greek have both a passive and a middle sense, that being the only form, by which in those tenses either signification can be expressed. But, when all the other tenses have three forms, and the meanings, appropriate to each, are distinguished by having an active, a passive, and an ambiguous signification ; is there not in this abundant warrant for distributing them into three voices rather than two ? But, as the author promises to dissipate our prejudices on this subject in his *Analogiæ Græcæ*, we hope he will take care to dissipate at

the same time the threefold formation, as τετυφα, τετύμμαι, τετύπα, and the rest, on which it rests.

Dr. Jones runs into a common error of lexicons by translating ἰσλήμι, I stand, a sense, which it never bears, except in the past tenses, although he has pointed out this peculiarity in the following rule—

“The perfect, pluperfect, and second aorist have an intransitive sense.” (c. 843.)

Yet in the compound, ἀνισλήμι, all notice of this intransitive sense is omitted, though equally essential; and without it such a phrase as—κακοῦργοι ἀνέστησαν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ. Thuc. α. η. could not be understood. In καθισλήμι in the same manner the neutral sense is omitted. The same inaccuracy is chargeable upon Dr. Laing also.

The verb κλάομαι, is accurately explained by Dr. Jones. “I secure to myself the goods of a person slain, I take possession of, acquire, possess myself of, obtain.” (c. 998.)

Most lexicons translate it by *possideo*, a sense, which it never bears, except in the past tenses, in which it is indicated, that the act of acquisition has taken place, and consequently possession has supervened. But we were surprised to find ἦμαι left, as a present tense; whereas it is evidently the perfect passive of ἔω, and signifies, ‘I have been placed’—as truly as ἐκλήμαι signifies, ‘I have acquired.’

The words in this lexicon are sometimes out of order: and some words are omitted—Thus ἀνθι occurs in the place it should occupy, if written ἀνθι: and συνοίκησις, which occurs in Thucydides, γ. γ. is not to be found. We observe, that the sense of *a suit* is not given to χρεία, in which meaning we find it in Thucydides, α. λβ. ‘Τετύχθηκε δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐτιλήδεῦμα πρὸς τὲ ὑμᾶς ἐς τὴν χρεῖαν ἡμῖν ἄλογον, καὶ ἐς τὰ ἡμέτερα αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀξυμφέρων.’ We may just notice also, that φιλοτιμία, which he renders only

“the love of honour, ambition, emulation,” (c. 1667.)

is often used in the sense of affection or an affectionate desire, as in Josephus’s Jewish Antiquities, xii. 6.—ἡ τοῦ βασιλεως ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν φιλοτιμία. The adverb is used in the same sense in the preceding chapter, ἀντιγράφει μάλιστα φιλοτίμως, and the verb in 2 Cor. v. 9. φιλοτιμούμεθα εὐαρεστοὶ αὐτῷ εἶναι.

Into further particulars our limits forbid us to descend. But perhaps we have said enough to give our readers an insight into the general character of both the works, on which we have commented.

- ART. XXIX.—1. *Memoirs of Captain Rock, the celebrated Irish Chieftain, with some account of his Ancestors*; written by himself. London, Longman. 1824. 12mo. Pp. xiv. 376.
2. *A Vindication of the Religious and Civil Principles of the Irish Catholics*; in a Letter addressed to His Excellency the Marquis Wellesley, K. G. Lord Lieutenant General and General Governor of Ireland, &c. &c. by J. K. L. Author of Letters to his Grace the Protestant Archbishop of Dublin; of Essays on Domestic Nomination, &c. &c. Dublin, Coyne, 1823. 8vo. pp. 71.

ALTHOUGH the two publications at the head of this article are anonymous, the names of the respective authors are well known. Whether they have transpired accidentally, or been designedly disclosed, we cannot take upon us to decide. The *Memoirs of Captain Rock* are attributed to Mr. Thomas Moore, and the *Vindication of the Civil and Religious Principles of the Irish Catholics* has proceeded, it is said, from no less a personage than the Right Reverend Dr. James Doyle, Roman Catholic Bishop of the United Diocese of Kildare and Leighlin. Mr. Moore is a gentleman well known to the public by his various poetical works, and deservedly eminent on account of the genius, talents, and literary acquirements which they display. In these respects we are disposed to go as far in his praise, as any of his warmest admirers. He is unquestionably an elegant writer, an accomplished scholar, and ranks high among our modern poets. But here we must stop; or rather, we must proceed in the opposite line of disapprobation and censure. The tendency of his writings is highly injurious and corrupting; and many of his earlier poems are unfit to meet the eye or ear of modesty. Mr. Moore has rarely exhibited himself as a writer of prose, and never to our knowledge, until the present occasion, on the field of politics.

That the second publication has proceeded from Dr. Doyle, is notorious. Among other unquestionable authorities, we have that of Mr. Moore, who, in his *memoirs of Captain Rock*, represents it as the work of "Bishop Doyle," and as "the most striking display of clerical talent and courage, that has appeared among the Catholics since the days of O'Leary." (P. 18.) Dr. Doyle had distinguished himself as an author, previously to the appearance of the production before us. A notable miracle, performed in his Diocese, by Prince Hohenlohe, on the person, or rather on the tongue, of Miss Maria Lalor,

was the occasion of this, Rev. personage's former publication. Miss Lalor, it appears, had not spoken for upwards of six years, rather an uncommon circumstance, no doubt, in the history of a young lady. At length in consequence of the *intercession* of Prince Hohenlohe, she was prevailed on to break this iron silence. Upon which Bishop Doyle immediately proclaimed, a miracle! This was, doubtless, occasioned by his inexperience in the habits of young ladies; for in truth if there was any miracle in the case, it lay in the young lady's *silence*, and not in her *speaking*; and for our parts, we must say that our faith in Prince Hohenlohe's miraculous powers would be much more strongly excited if it could be proved to us that he had tongue-tied this lady, than by any of his exploits which have hitherto come under our notice. But it appeared otherwise to the Bishop; and, after the example of his most Reverend metropolitan, Dr. Murray of Dublin, he addressed a pastoral letter to the faithful, announcing the wonderful fact of the restoration of Miss Lalor's *talking* powers; and, as if Prince Hohenlohe, when he conferred on Miss Lalor the *cacoethes loquendi*, had imparted to the Bishop the *cacoethes scribendi*, he has scarcely ever had the pen out of his hand from that time to the present. Numberless are the letters, addresses, vindications, and refutations which this indefatigable gentleman has since produced.

Our classical readers will not be surprised to find us placing the production of the poet and of the priest together. There is indeed peculiar propriety in doing so in the present case; for in the works before us, each seems to assume the other's profession, the priest playing the poet, and the poet putting on the priest. Dr. Doyle draws so largely on his imagination, that his pamphlet resembles more the fictions of poetry, than what it purports to be, a sober vindication of his brethren; and Mr. Moore displays so much of the popish bigot, that we often fancy ourselves listening to the priest.

As the most compendious and perspicuous mode of placing the Memoirs of Captain Rock before our readers, we present them with the following brief analysis of the work; premising first, that Captain Rock is an imaginary character, designed to represent the various leaders of insurgents and banditti by whom Ireland has been at different times infested, and especially during the last hundred years. The name is the one recently assumed by the different ruffians who have headed the plundering and murdering parties in the south of Ireland, and under which they have issued their proclamations.

The preface describes the circumstances which put the Editor in possession of the Captain's history; for our readers

must be apprised that the Captain is supposed to be his own biographer, and the historian of his family. This preface is meant to throw ridicule on the proceedings of those benevolent persons in this country, who are endeavoring to educate and enlighten the Irish peasantry. It describes the Editor, as singled out by a society of ladies, in a small town in the West of England, to undertake the office of missionary to the south of Ireland. He accordingly assumed the office, and proceeded to Dublin, on his way to the south, and there took his seat in the Limerick coach, on the 16th of July, 1823. It happened, that he had for his companion in the coach a gentleman, who wore green spectacles and a flaxen wig, and who was, in many other respects, as appears from his conversation, of which a copious sample is given, a very extraordinary personage. At Roscrea, a town about half way between Dublin and Limerick, the missionary and his flaxen-wigged companion separated; the missionary turning off the main road to pay a visit to an old friend, a clergyman, recently settled in a living in that neighbourhood. On the third evening after his arrival, he and his friend the clergyman, we are told, got half intoxicated together, with whiskey punch, a thing, as it strikes us, rather unsuitable to the profession of a pious missionary, and not common, as we are informed, among the Irish Protestant clergy. In this state the missionary sallied forth to explore the ruins of a celebrated Abbey, which stood on the banks of a river near his friend's house. He had, more than once, felt a desire to see these ruins by moonlight, but had been deterred by the alarming state of the country. Now, however, half drunk, he ventured; and having passed through the great portal of the Abbey, to the bank which overhangs the river, he found himself,

“all at once, to his astonishment and horror, in the midst of some hundreds of awful-looking persons, all arrayed in white shirts, and ranged in silent order, on each side, to receive him.

“This sight (says our pious missionary) sobered me completely. I was ready to sink with terror, when a voice, which (I could observe) proceeded from a tall man with a plume of white feathers in his hat, said sternly, ‘Pass on,’ and I, of course, promptly obeyed. Though there was something in the voice which seemed rather familiar to my ears, it was not without exceeding horror that I perceived the figure that spoke advance out of the ranks and slowly follow me. We had not gone many steps when I politely motioned to him to take precedence, not feeling quite comfortable with such a goblin after me. He accordingly went before, and having conducted me to a spot at some distance from the band, where we could not be observed by them, turned hastily round, and took me with much cordiality by the hand. I now perceived (adds our missionary) that this personage was no other than the

disguised gentleman in the green spectacles ; nor was it long before I learned, that I then actually stood in the presence of the great Captain Rock." (Rock, Pp. xi, xii.)

What passed between the missionary and Captain Rock, at this interview, is veiled in mystery. We are only informed that the Captain presented him with his memoirs, requesting him to read them attentively, before he threw away any further labour upon the mission which he had undertaken.

"I lost no time (says our missionary) in complying with the Captain's wish. That very night, before I slept, I carefully perused the whole of his manuscript ; and so strong was the impression it left upon my mind, that it is the rulers, not the people of Ireland, who require to be instructed and converted, that I ordered horses early the next morning, returned with all possible dispatch to my constituents, called instantly a full meeting of the Ladies of the Society, and proposed that a new mission should forthwith be instituted, for the express purpose of enlightening certain Dignitaries both of Church and State, who are, in every thing that relates to Ireland, involved in the most destitute darkness." (Rock, p. xiii.)

Such is the preface, except that it is enlivened with sundry jokes and witticisms. For example : the missionary, it seems, was selected for his office,

"as knowing more of the Catholic countries than the rest, from having passed six weeks of the preceding summer at Boulogne." (P.v.)

Again ; having on his arrival in Dublin visited the parliament house, now the Bank of Ireland, he is shewn, in the House of Lords,

"a fragment of an old chandelier, as the only remaining *branch* of the Aristocracy ;"

and he finds that

"part of this structure, which was the House of Commons, by a natural transition, converted into a *cash* office." (P.vi.)

To these are to be added the metaphorical and brilliant conversations, or rather speeches of the disguised Captain Rock, in the stage coach. We present the following specimen of them.

"It is melancholy to think, that, while in almost all other countries, we find historical names of heroes and benefactors, familiarly on the lips of the common people, and handed down with blessings from generation to generation, in Ireland the only remarkable names of the last six hundred years, that have survived in the popular traditions of the country, are become words of ill omen, and remembered only to be cursed. Among these favorites of hate, the haughty nobleman who built that mansion, (pointing to the ruin of a magnificent house near Naas, begun, but never finished, by Lord Strafford, when Lord Lieutenant of Ireland,) is, to this day, with a tenacity that does honor even to hate, recorded ; and, under the name of black Tom, still haunts the imagination of the peasant, as one of those dark and evil beings who tormented the land in former days, and with whom, in the bitterness

of his heart, he compares its more modern tormentors. The Babylonians, we are told by Herodotus, buried their dead in honey: but it is in the very gall of the heart, that the memory of Ireland's rulers is embalmed." (Pp. vii. viii.)

We come now to the work itself. It consists of two books or parts; the first containing a history of Captain Rock's ancestors and family, up to the time of his own appearance on the stage; and the second presenting what is more properly his own history, connected also with that of the transactions in which he figured.

The first two chapters of the first book furnish us with an account of the state of the country, previously to the appearance of the English, and during the reign of Henry the 2nd. The former of these chapters consists of ridicule and innuendo, in which, while much is insinuated, little or nothing is asserted: the other contains three statements connected with that period, one of which is certainly false, and another of them probably so; while the third relates to an evil not peculiar to Ireland, but common to her with England, and to almost every other country in that barbarous age. The falshood is, that the tithe-system was introduced into Ireland by the English. This falshood he fathers on Bishop Doyle. The Bishop does certainly tell the story; but he tells it, like a Jesuit, mincingly, and with a hole to creep out of. He says, in his work before us,

"Tithes were the price, paid by Henry II. and the legate Paparo to the Irish Prelates, who sold for them the independence of their native land, and the birthright of their people: until that period tithes were almost (mark, *almost*) unknown in this country; and from the day of their introduction we may date the history of our misfortunes." (Vindication, p. 33.)

Then our misfortunes must be dated long before the arrival of the English; for according to the concurrent testimony of history, and indeed according to this bishop's own acknowledgment, tythes were paid to the "old pastors of the church." The second statement, which (we doubt not,) is equally false, is, that—

"In the year 1180, and for some centuries after, if a man was caught in Ireland with his upper lip unshaven, he was held to be no true Englishman, and might be plundered without ceremony, or killed at a very trifling expence." (Rock, p. 10.)

He gives no authority for this statement, which is a suspicious circumstance; and we are the less inclined to credit it, because we know, that his assertion concerning a parallel system of outrage, which he describes as prevailing under the government of Lords Camden and Castlereagh, is an absolute falshood. His assertion is, that

“ In the year 1798, under the government of Lords Camden and Castlereagh, if a man was found in Dublin who had no *queue*, he was held to be no true Englishman, and might be whipped *ad libitum* by any loyal gentleman who had one.” (P. 10.)

Now this we aver to be an absolute falshood. It is quite true, that many with cropped heads (which was the badge of the disaffected) were flogged at that period. We are far from approving of flogging in any case; but in times of civil commotion many lamentable evils are committed on all sides. They were flogged, however, not because they had cropped heads or were destitute of queues, but because they were rebels, engaged in conspiracy, and in open hostility to the king's government. His third statement is, that the penalty in those times for killing a mere Irishman was but small. Still it was not smaller, however, than that inflicted in England about the same period for killing an Englishman, if he happened to be one of the lower members of the community; so imperfectly, in those dark ages, were the lower classes, every where, protected against the violence of their superiors.

The third chapter contains the grievances of the period between Henry the 2nd, and Henry the 8th, the account of which is not very large. Two petitions rejected, and two laws enacted, which we do not defend; (namely, one law excluding disaffected Irishmen from certain offices in any city, borough, or castle, and forbidding the intermarriage of Irish and English, and the other prohibiting emigration,) are the only subject of complaint, except the frequent change of Lientenancies.

The two following chapters comprise the reigns of Henry the 8th, Edward the 6th, and Mary, which are chiefly remarkable, he tells us, for the steadiness, moderation, and humanity of the papists, contrasted with the fluctuation in religious matters, and the cruel and persecuting spirit of the reformers. On these subjects we present the following extracts.

“ The Irish were not to be dragooned into blessings. Strongly attached as they have ever been to their ancient faith and ancient institutions, it would have required either a docility under the rod of despotism, which is one of the faults most rarely imputed to them, or a long course of confidence in the wisdom and good intention of their rulers, which is still, unluckily, a desideratum in their hearts—to have weaned them from a religion so interwoven with all their feelings and recollections. Proffered even by the most friendly hand, the boon of Reformation would have been slowly, if at all accepted; but, preached from the mouths of the same race, whose cry had never been aught but ‘ Death to the Irish!’ and accompanied by all that apparatus of persecution, with which laws and religion have ever been

surrounded in Ireland, is it wonderful that the boon should have been fiercely and at once rejected? Is it wonderful that a continuance of the same persecuting policy, which made us spurn, without inquiry, the creed of our oppressors *then*, should have kept us good catholics and bad subjects ever since?" (Pp. 38, 39.)

Describing the cruel conduct of the reformers in destroying the furniture of the churches, he says,

"The venerable crosier of St. Patrick, too, which even in the present enlightened times would be viewed, I fear, with more genuine homage than all the assembled crosiers and mitres of the whole Protestant bench of Ireland, was by the Vandal reformers of that period insultingly committed to the flames." (P. 40.)

The sixth chapter brings us to the reign of Elizabeth. It opens thus;—

"The plan of pacifying Ireland by exterminating the Irish, the only feasible one, that has ever yet been attempted, was tried, on a grand scale, during the reign of Elizabeth." (P. 50.)

From so formidable a commencement we should naturally expect a detail of facts, illustrative of this exterminating policy; but, with the exception of an allusion to the war, excited in Munster by the Earl of Desmond, and the miserable effects of it to the people of that province, so feelingly described by Spenser, and of an extract from Morgan, in which he represents the commanders of the English forces in Carrickfergus and Newry as destroying the standing corn, in order more effectually to reduce the insurgents in their respective neighbourhoods;—with these exceptions, not a single historical event is brought into view; unless indeed we take the acknowledgment, contained in the following paragraph, which we find at the close of the chapter.

"Never had the Rocks a fairer harvest of riot than during this most productive reign. One of my ancestors who lived and battled through the whole of it, has transmitted to his descendants the high and illustrious distinction, of having been personally engaged in no less than forty rebellions—making within five of the number of years that good Queen Bess (as he might well call her) reigned—to say nothing of a multitude of episodical insurrections, of a lighter nature, with which he amused his summer months." (P. 59.)

Thus, according to Captain Rock's own confession, the severities inflicted in Munster, as well as the extreme measure of destroying the corn in Ulster, were provoked and rendered necessary by no less than forty rebellions.

During the reign of James the 1st, to which the next chapter is devoted, Ireland enjoyed tranquillity, a very grievous circumstance to the Rock family; one of the members of which expressed his impatience at it in a spirited Irish ode, which the Captain has translated, and presented to his

countrymen, to be used as occasion may arise. We present it to our readers.

“ Where art thou, Genius of Riot?

Where is thy yell of defiance?

Why are the Sheas and O'Shaughnessies quiet?

And whither have fled the O'Rourkes and O'Briens?

“ Up from thy slumber, O'Branigan!

Rouse the Mac Shanes and O'Haggarties!

Courage, Sir Corney O'Toole! Be a man again!

Never let Heffernan say, 'What a braggart 'tis!'

“ Oh! when rebellion's so feasible,

Where is the kern would be slinking off?

CON OF THE BATTLES, what makes you so peaceable?

NIAL THE GRAND, what the devil are you thinking of?"

(Pp. 72, 73.)

The eighth chapter presents a picture of Lord Strafford, black as night. What the historian of Captain Rock thinks of the foul murder, committed on that great man, in abhorrence of which all political parties, who make any pretension to moderation or justice, concur, appears from the following extract;—

“ There would be no living in this world, if there were not such examples to hang up in the halls, where Power holds his revel, and, like those awful mementoes in the banqueting-rooms of the Egyptians, chasten his pride, and check the exuberance of his riot.” (P. 79.)

The year 1641, the period treated of in the following chapter, must have been, to amateurs of rebellion, a delightful as well as a glorious era: and yet the Captain does not seem much at his ease in his retrospect of it. He gives us an extract from a journal, kept by an old bed-ridden ancestor, detailing the various provocations of the government and the protestants, by which, (he intimates) the papists were reluctantly excited to that act of “wild justice,” as he calls it, in which they took vengeance on their oppressors, by an indiscriminate massacre of men, women, and children, even of all, on whom they could lay their hands. Although we cannot but approve of the Captain's modest reserve in the detail of his own exploits, arising doubtless from an unwillingness to be *elevated* to the height, to which he is so well entitled, yet we cannot but blame that excess of modesty, which, by the concealment of his ancestor's exploits at that memorable period, would deprive them of their glory, and us at the present day, of a most instructive lesson. We consider ourselves, therefore, as bound in justice to the whole Rock family to supply the Captain's deficiency, and to give

a brief detail of those events by which the family character is displayed.

“The Irish,” that is, the Rocks, “every where intermingled with the English, needed but a hint from their leaders and priests to begin hostilities against a people, whom they hated on account of their religion, and envied for their riches and prosperity. The houses, cattle, goods, of the unwary English were first seized. Those who heard of the commotions in their neighbourhood, instead of deserting their habitations, and assembling for mutual protection, remained at home, in hopes of defending their property, and fell thus separately into the hands of their enemies. After rapacity had fully exerted itself, cruelty, and the most barbarous that ever, in any nation, was known or heard of, began its operations. An universal massacre commenced of the English, now defenceless, and passively resigned to their inhuman foes. No age, no sex, no condition was spared. The wife, weeping for her butchered husband, and embracing her helpless children, was pierced with them, and perished by the same stroke. The old, the young, the vigorous, the infirm, underwent a like fate, and were confounded in one common ruin. In vain did flight save from the first assault; destruction was every where let loose, and met the hunted victims at every turn. In vain was recourse had to relations, to companions, to friends. All connexions were dissolved; and death was dealt by that hand, from which protection was implored and expected. Without provocation, without opposition, the astonished English, living in profound peace and full of security, were massacred by their nearest neighbours, with whom they had long upheld a continual intercourse of kindness and good offices. But death was the slightest punishment inflicted by those rebels: all the tortures which wanton cruelty could devise, all the lingering pains of body, the anguish of mind, the agonies of despair; could not satiate revenge excited without injury, and cruelty derived from no cause. To enter into particulars would shock the least delicate humanity. Such enormities, though attested by undoubted evidence, appear almost incredible. Depraved nature, even perverted religion, encouraged by the utmost licence, reach not to such a pitch of ferocity; unless the pity inherent in human breasts be destroyed by that contagion of example, which transports men beyond all the usual motives of conduct and behaviour. The weaker sex themselves, naturally tender to their own sufferings, and compassionate to those of others, have emulated their more robust companions in the practice of every cruelty. Even

children, taught by the example, and encouraged by the exhortations of their parents, essayed their feeble blows on the dead carcases or defenceless children of the English. The stately buildings or commodious habitations of the planters, as if upbraiding the sloth and ignorance of the natives, were consumed with fire or laid level with the ground. And where the miserable owners, shut up in their houses, and preparing for defence, perished in the flames, together with their wives and children, a double triumph was afforded to their insulting foes. If any where a number assembled together, and, assuming courage from despair, were resolved to sweeten death by revenge on their assassins; they were disarmed by capitulations, and promises of safety, confirmed by the most solemn oaths: but no sooner had they surrendered, than the rebels, with perfidy equal to their cruelty, made them share the fate of their unhappy countrymen. Amidst all these enormities, the sacred name of RELIGION resounded on every side; not to stop the hands of these murderers, but to enforce their blows, and to steel their hearts against every movement of human or social sympathy. The English, as heretics, abhorred of God, and detestable to all holy men, were marked out by the priests for slaughter; and of all actions, to rid the world of these declared enemies to catholic faith and piety was represented as the most meritorious. While death finished the sufferings of each victim, the bigoted assassins, with joy and exultation, still echoed in his expiring ears, that these agonies were but the commencement of torments infinite and eternal." (Hume, c. 55.)

Amidst all the Captain's reserve on these achievements of his ancestors, there is one sentence of his, in which with much candour he lets out a great deal of truth. He says, "The same drama was acted over again in 1798." He should have added, "only on a smaller scale:" for certainly the murders, committed by the Roman Catholics in 1798, though the same in kind, and springing from the same religious feeling, as the act of "wild justice" in 1641, were not on the same grand and imposing scale. They, however, no less than the other, exhibit the family character of the Rocks.

The tenth and eleventh chapters are very barren. The chief grievance of the former is the penalty, which Cromwell inflicted, for the massacre of 1641, by seizing on the estates of those who instigated and shared in the murders. In the latter, the Captain complains of the confirmation of Cromwell's confiscations by Charles the 2d. The twelfth chapter is chiefly remarkable for a panegyric on William the 3d and

a strong condemnation of James the 2d. The following two chapters relate the enactment of the penal code, and the abolition of the tithe of agistment: and thus the Captain brings us down to the period of his own birth, with which he commences the second book:

Having arrived at this resting-place, let us now pause, and take a retrospect of the course, along which we have been conducted. The history of Ireland is taken up, as we have seen, at the most early period, of which we have any records, indeed long before we have any authentic records. We are told, for example, of Ollam Fodlah, Dubhlachtha, Flabhartach, &c.; and of the golden age, extending back and forward, before and after their time. At that period, we are assured, Ireland, under equitable laws, and as equitable a government, was peaceable and happy. The times of British connexion are then introduced to us. Every reign from that of Henry the 2d down to the commencement of the late king's, is brought under review, for the purpose of exposing, in the most palpable and glaring form, every thing of error or of crime, which the government or the people, or any portion of either, have committed. All this is laid to the account of England; the crimes of the Irish people, no less than those of the government; the former being represented, in every case, as springing out of the latter, which of course was English. Every history is ransacked: every writer, on any Irish subject, no matter what, is pressed into the service: even the most trifling tourist, and the most contemptible pamphleteer are quoted as authority. In following the author we have occasionally controverted his statements; and we might have done so in numerous instances which we have omitted. But we lay no stress on these contradictions. Let the whole case be, as the author has represented it! We ask, for what purpose has this exposure been made? Why has the tale of long-past times been told? Why have misrule, and oppression, and crimes of every kind, and of the blackest dye, been charged upon the various governments of Ireland? To these questions, but one answer can be returned. This has been done, to prove to the Irish people, that the connexion with England has been the source and cause of all their disasters. Their ignorance, poverty, disunion, insurrectionary spirit, in a word, all their crimes and miseries are laid at the door of England: and thus the Irish people are to be taught, that British connexion has ever been a curse to Ireland. This is the obvious lesson to be learned from the first book of Captain Rock's memoirs; and for the purpose of impress-

ing this peace-inspiring lesson on his countrymen, its loyal and patriotic author has taxed his fancy. The following extracts throw light on his design.

“ The English, it is evident, from the very first disdained to owe any thing to love or good will in the ‘ inamabile regnum ’ which they established among us.” (P. 14.)

“ I am not writing a history of the English power in Ireland, but merely tracking its course by hasty glimpses, and pointing out a few foot-marks of the Hercules of Despotism, from which the rest of his colossal proportions may be estimated.” (Pp. 51, 52.)

“ The ancient name of Ireland was *Innisfail*, or the island of Destiny; and, if there had been added, of *evil* destiny, the name would have been but too truly prophetic of her history. Walsingham, who, in Elizabeth’s time, wished the whole island sunk in the sea, breathed a kinder wish for it than he in the least degree intended; and either to have been moved farther off into the Atlantic, ‘ *procul a Jove, sed procul a fulmine,*’ or to be (like Rabelais’ Island *Mèdamothi*) *nowhere*, are the only two desirable alternatives that could be offered to us.” (P. 95.)

“ I have thus,” (says our author at the close of the first book), “ given a faint and rapid sketch of the chief measures taken by our English masters, from the time of Henry II. to the accession of his late Majesty, to civilize and attach the Irish people. I shall now proceed to shew, in a brief review of my own times, how steadily the same system has been pursued ever since, with the same happy results to the government, to the people, and to me :” *i. e.* to Captain Rock. (Pp. 133, 134.)

In this last paragraph, the author intimates, that his object in the second book is the same as in the first; and we shall immediately see that he has kept that object full in view.

In this book, along with the history of himself and his own times, our author discloses his opinions on various important subjects. He first presents us with an account of his birth and education, and weaves into his narrative various episodes on education, tithes, established churches, and especially the church of Ireland, on all which subjects, he freely declares his sentiments.

As this second book necessarily introduces the account of the relaxation of the penal code, and of the various measures adopted for the relief of Ireland, and the elevation of the Irish character, one would be ready to doubt the possibility of preserving that unity of object or design, which the author intimates his intention of maintaining throughout the work. We can readily comprehend, how easy it would be to render British connexion odious to the Irish, while the English did nothing but plunder and oppress. But when England adopted an opposite policy, and proceeded to relax every

penal statute, and to enact in their stead salutary laws for the protection and aggrandisement of Ireland, it seems difficult to understand, how such measures as these could be used, as nourishment for disunion and hatred; and yet, difficult as this may appear, our author's ingenuity has accomplished it. He has actually contrived to render England as odious and disgusting in her concessions, as at the worst period of her misrule. Of his ingenious mode of effecting this, we have a specimen in the following extracts.

“About this time (1778) there were symptoms of a disposition in our rulers to soften the severity of the penal code. The indulgences, it is true, were not of a very alarming description; for the first great favour, granted to the Catholics, was an act, empowering them to take leases of ‘unprofitable bog,’ half an acre of arable land being thrown in, as a *douceur*, with fifty acres of bog, ‘in case the depth of the bog from the surface, when reclaimed, should be four feet at least.’ This liberal concession of property to the papists, though violently opposed, as a measure tending to encourage popery, (reclaiming bogs an encouragement to popery!) was at length carried in the year 1772. The next great benefit bestowed on the Catholics, was the allowing them to take the oath of allegiance; and this kind permission to the victim to come and swear eternal fidelity to his tormentors, though as insulting a piece of mockery, as can well be imagined, was received with the warmest gratitude by the Catholics. At length in the year 1778, the fears of England, then suffering in America for her Saturnian propensity to devour her own offspring, and the gradual increase of a national spirit in Ireland, concurred in removing the most obnoxious of the penal statutes,—of those laws, which had so long excluded the great majority of the nation from all interest or property in the soil on which they trod; and by which our rulers, having first plundered us of the estates and possessions of our forefathers, set an interdict on our acquisition of any more for our descendants.” (Pp. 222—224.)

“‘There is no fear,’ (said the father of Captain Rock to his children,) ‘of such a deviation from the usual course of nature, as a wise and liberal administration of the government of Ireland would exhibit. No, no. It may possibly happen again, in some moment of embarrassment and weakness, like the present, that a few further concessions may be wrung from the fears of our rulers: but the very circumstances under which such boons are extorted, leave the giver without merit, and the receiver without gratitude; and the old system of exclusion and oppression, under which our family have so long prospered, will, instead of suffering any material interruption by these momentary aberrations into justice, rather return to its iniquities with a refreshed spirit, and take revenge for the loss of those few instruments of mischief which it surrenders, by a doubly vigorous use of the many that will still remain in its hands.’” (Pp. 238, 229.)

“‘Nor was it long before the government itself took steps to deceive any simple and short-sighted persons who might have supposed

that the reign of terror was drawing to a close. Just at the time when the long-engaged sport of hunting Catholics with penal statutes was given up, a new pack of laws was put into training, of the very same blood-hound breed of legislation—which, under names as various as those of Actæon's kennel in Ovid, (Whiteboy acts, Riot acts, &c. &c.) have kept the same game full in view ever since, thus contriving with a care equal to that of the game-laws in England, to preserve to our Orange country-gentlemen their right of a Catholic *chasse*, uninterruptedly, though under different forms, down to the present day." (Pp. 232, 233.)

Thus ingeniously has our author contrived to extract, even from benefits, the poison of hatred and revenge. Over one set of privileges he pours contempt; the second he designates an "insulting mockery;" and the other he describes as extorted from the fears of England, under such circumstances as leave the donor without merit, and the receiver without gratitude.

The topic next in order, to which our author devotes a considerable portion of his work, is education: and certainly none more important can be discussed in any treatise relating to Ireland. It is undeniably true, that proper measures for imparting this invaluable blessing to the Irish people were too long neglected. The intelligence, quickness, and aptitude to learn, evinced by them, forbids the idea, that their deplorable ignorance has resulted from any other cause than want of opportunity and means of instruction. It cannot, however, with any shadow of truth be insinuated, that the Irish people were designedly consigned to ignorance. Captain Rock himself allows, that a certain kind of provision was made for their education; but the circumstances of this provision furnish another grievance, and an additional charge against the government. Hear him on this subject:

"With such skilful provisions on the subject of property, as I have endeavored to give an idea of in the preceding chapter, it would have been inconsistent not to connect some equally provident measures with respect to education. Our statesmen well knew, that an early culture of the mind alone

Emollit mores, nec sinit esse feros :

or in other words,

Learning alone the heart with virtue stocks,
And hath, like music, pow'r to 'soften Rocks.'

"Accordingly they set about reducing us to as minute a minimum in education, as we had, under their wise laws, attained in property; and a brief review of the principal steps, taken for this purpose both by church and state down to the present times, will shew, with what a steady eye to the interests of the Rock family this impoverishing and benighting system has always been pursued." (Pp. 159, 160.)

He then proceeds to describe the provision made for educating the people: and it appears, even from his statement, that what, if properly administered, would have been an ample provision, was made, and that by the special care of the government. There were, first, the Charter Schools for the education of the children of Roman Catholics; secondly, the schools of royal foundation, endowed for the purpose of giving instruction on a more liberal scale to the children of the middle classes; thirdly, the diocesan schools, under the special superintendence of the Bishops; and fourthly, in addition to these, a school in each parish, to be kept chiefly at the expence of the protestant incumbent, to receive all those children, not admissible, from whatever cause, into the other institutions. Now every one of these is a grievance; and on each of them a charge is raised against the government. Of the charter-schools he speaks thus:

“With respect to these institutions, it might have been possible, perhaps, to manufacture the same number of rebels and bigots at a somewhat less expence: but the perfection of their machinery for the purpose is now, I believe, acknowledged on all sides.” (P. 161.)

He objects to them, that they are used for making proselytes, that protestant children are not received into them, (an objection, by the way, which did not exist for forty-two years after their establishment, and which has not existed for the last twenty years), and that the catechism, taught in them, is insulting to Roman Catholics, because it describes their church as corrupt, and their crossings, and worship of the crucifix, as vain, superstitious, and idolatrous. With respect to the other institutions, he complains of the abuse of the funds, and of the neglect of the parties, who should superintend and keep up the schools. We need not stop to inquire, at present, whether these objections and complaints be well founded or not. Let it be conceded, that they can all be established! This circumstance would only prove, that the provision, made for educating the people, was not the most judicious which might be devised, and that it had been abused: but the existence of so many distinct institutions shews the disposition of the government to impart education and knowledge to the people; and thus to fit them for the enjoyment of those political advantages, and for that freedom, to which the amended state of the laws had raised them. Very different, however, is our author's conclusion. Take it in his own words.

“From all this it will be seen, that, if the poor of Ireland had only the government and the clergy to trust to for education, their ignorance would have been as complete as even a philosopher, like Mr. Banks,

could require ; and the reader of the foregoing statements will, I have no doubt, agree with me, that never did church and state, those inseparable companions, (so aptly compared to the twins of Heraclitus, that wept and laughed, waked and slept, and performed all the functions of life together,) exhibit in any other instance such a perfect cooperation and sympathy, as in this one, uniform, and constant task of strengthening the interests of the Rock family in Ireland, by benighting, beggaring, and brutalizing the Irish people, under every reign, and in every possible way, (that their joint excellencies, reverences, and graces could devise." (P. 176, 177.)

Let it be known, however, in contradiction of all such statements as this, that the ignorance of the Irish people is to be ascribed, not to the want of schools, nor to the defective nature of those provided, nor yet to the mismanagement of the funds, appropriated to the purposes of education, but to the bigoted interference of the Roman Catholic priests. For a long series of years, these men have set themselves to obstruct, and have actually obstructed, the progress of knowledge in Ireland. The charter schools have always been the object of their hostility, and their influence has all along been excited to prevent the people from sending their children to them. For this, it must be allowed, some excuse was furnished by the plan and constitution of these schools. But the same opposition to other schools, against which no reasonable objection lies, too clearly proves, that it is education itself, and not merely the constitution of the schools, to which they are opposed. Within the last twenty years various schools have been established in Ireland, some by individuals, and others by societies instituted for the purpose ; and in almost every instance the power of the Roman Catholic priesthood has been arrayed against them. Many of the schools, supported by the bounty of individuals, have been put down ; and in all cases, the efforts of the various benevolent institutions have been cramped and impeded. As Captain Rock adverts to some of the principal of these institutions, we will hear what he says on the subject.

" Within these few years, some charitable and well-intentioned persons, observing how ill our education prospered in the hands of the government and clergy, have associated themselves in various plans for our civilization and improvement ; and the consequence is, I have, at this moment, arrayed against me, the Kildare street society, the London Hibernian society, the Irish society, and a host of other minor societies ; all armed with Bibles, religious tracts, &c., determined to put down the Rock interest, and to repair the mischief, so elaborately brought about by our rulers, both lay and spiritual. To 'unwind a wrong, knit up so many years,' is no such easy matter ; and there is, in some of the prominent features of this new generation of societies,

a family resemblance to the old charter-school system, which prevents me from feeling any considerable alarm as to their success. As if we wanted any assistance in perpetuating national differences, one of these societies has kindly taken the Irish language under its protection; and the old Milesian vocabulary, which used to be hanging-matter some sixty years since, is now, as a preparation (I presume,) for the reenactment of the penal code, to be made a chief part of our national education, and to 'speed the soft intercourse' of Rockism in future under the special patronage of 'the Irish society.' (Pp. 177, 178.)

These societies are evidently not in much favour with our author, any more than with the priests. The latter give to them all the opposition in their power under the pretence that they are intended for proselyting. That they have been instituted with any such design is untrue. What the effect of the knowledge imparted in them may be, is quite a different thing: but that they have been formed solely for purposes of education, is evident from their constitution. First, the Kildare street society, (so called from a street in Dublin, where its model-school and offices are situated) combines persons of various religious denominations. Among its managers and subscribers are to be found, besides protestants of the established church, quakers, dissenters of different communions, and several highly respectable Roman Catholics. Its object is to promote education, by the training of proper schoolmasters without regard to their religious creed, furnishing elementary school-books, slates, &c. at a low price, and by exhibiting a model for the form of school-rooms, and for the management of the school. It gives assistance to no school, in which the Holy Scriptures, without note or comment, are not read; or in which any catechism or other book in religion, (the Bible excepted) is read. Thus it embraces all parties, who do not reject the Bible as a book of suitable instruction. Secondly, the London Hibernian society, so called, because, while its object is the education of the Irish, it is English in its origin, management, and funds, employs schoolmasters and inspectors indiscriminately from among protestants and Roman Catholics, and carefully abstains from interference in the religion of the children, the Bible being the only book on the subject, allowed in their schools. Thirdly, the Irish society is so called, because it teaches both children and adults to read in the Irish language and character, and for this purpose has introduced the scriptures in that language and character into their schools.

Such are the institutions, so unexceptionable in their plans and operations, and having their origin in the kindest feelings of benevolence, to which the priests shew the most

decided hostility. Ignorance is the strong hold of their system. They are sensible of it : and therefore they dare not risk its safety by letting in the light of the word of God. At this moment they are seriously alarmed for their influence ; and hence the vigilance, which they all manifest, and the violence, into which many of them occasionally break out. The peasantry of Ireland are becoming sensible of the disadvantages of that state of ignorance, in which they have hitherto been kept. Coming every where into contact with schools, and observing the eagerness of their protestant neighbours to avail themselves of these means of instruction for their children, as well as the advantages which the children derive from the knowledge they obtain, they no longer bear the restraints, heretofore imposed upon them by the priest. Nor is this the worst, which the priest has to encounter. The Irish people cannot understand why the Bible should be kept from them. Formerly they were amused with stories of spurious, protestant Bibles, false translations, &c. But recently their own Bible, as they call it, i. e. the Douay translation, has been provided and circulated pretty extensively in different parts of the country, and they eagerly demand why this should be kept from them. The priests are driven to various evasions and Jesuitical quibbles, by which they endeavor, while they withhold the word of God, to persuade the people, that they do not object to its being read. For an example of such quibbling we refer to the following extracts from Bishop Doyle's work before us.

“ What gives occasion to the imputation of our being hostile to the diffusion of knowledge ? Is it entirely gratuitous ? Is it the fruit of pure malice ? There is much of malice in it, but it is malice mixed with art. These men confound things that are distinct ; and, uniting the circulation of the sacred scriptures without note or comment, to the propagation of knowledge, they call our opposition to the former, hostility to education. There is no Christian church in Europe, which uses so many, or more inspiring forms of prayer than ours, there is no church in which so many works of piety, and on the gospel-morality have been written, there is no people on earth more devoted to their perusal, or more desirous of reducing them to practice, than the well educated of the Irish Catholics ; there is no priesthood more anxious for their diffusion than the Catholic priesthood ; and there is no church that has been more steady and uniform, in recommending to her children the perusal of the sacred Scriptures, where such perusal was not exposed to danger or liable to abuse, than the Catholic ; she has never imposed any restriction upon this practice, unless when compelled to do so by some unavoidable necessity, like as a tender mother, who feels delight in providing for her children the most wholesome and substantial food, but yet when they are threatened with a disease, which has already committed ravages in the neighbourhood,

she withdraws the diet, by which it would be nourished or communicated." (Vindication, pp. 52, 53.)

Then follows a long flourish to prove, out of the Scriptures themselves, and from the Fathers of the Church, that the Scriptures ought to be read, to which is added the authority of sundry Popes ; from all which we might conclude that this most liberal priest was going to recommend the Bible to his flock. Instead of this, however, he proceeds thus :—

"The Catholics use the following arguments to prove, that the reading of the Scriptures is not essential to Christianity ; and that they are justified in regulating the use of them, or even in suspending it altogether. They ask, were the patriarchs and their families men of pure religion ? Were not those virtuous and holy men, whom St. Paul enumerates in his Epistle to the Hebrews ? And yet, for the greater part, their faith was regulated by tradition only. Christ did not write any portion of his law ; the faith was preached almost throughout the entire world, before the Gospels and Epistles were written ; the doctrine of keeping the liturgy and form of the rites and sacraments secret prevailed up to the fourth century, and was scarcely ever committed to writing, yet these ordinances constituted the most essential part of religion. Even the creed or summary of the faith was not written, as far as I can learn, until about the time of the council of Nice : in fact it may be said, that the whole system of religion, its rules and discipline, were preserved by tradition until the conversion of Constantine." (Vindication, p. 62.)

He then assures us, that

"there are to this day preserved in some districts of Ireland sketches of the history of our Lord, expositions in *rhyme* of the mysteries, commandments, sacraments ; rites, and ceremonies of our religion, handed down probably from the days of St. Patrick, which convey more Christian truths to the mind, and impress more and better the moral duties of the gospel upon the heart than a peasant would learn from the bible probably during his whole life. The reading of the Scriptures without note or comment does not therefore appear to us necessary to make men virtuous citizens or good christians." (Pp. 63, 64.)

To this tissue of sophistry and error he adds—

"It is not to this system of reading the Bible without note or comment, that we owe the revival of letters, the invention of the compass, the discovery of a new world, the present systems of metaphysics, physics, or astronomy. We are not indebted to it for the discovery of the use of gunpowder, nor above all of the art of printing : in a word, we owe nothing to it of all those inventions or improvements, which have advanced mankind in a career of fame and glory, of what some will call misery and others happiness ; but, if there be wars, if there be feuds, if there be dissensions, if there have been despotisms and persecutions, and star-chambers and inquisitions, if there has been a revolution which almost engulfed Europe, and a plague of infidelity which nearly infected the whole western church, it would require no extraordinary ingenuity to shew the connexion of these evils and catastrophes with the diffusion

of the Scriptures among the ignorant, joined to the assumed right of each man judging of their sense, independent of the authority established in the church." (P. 65.)

How will our readers be surprised to find all this wound up by the following paragraph!

"However, whilst we venerate the revelation, which the Lord has vouchsafed to make to us, and would wish, that all Christians might piously meditate on it day and night, the pastors of our church do not cease to impress on their flocks the necessity of reading it with an humble devotion, with a pious respect for the Spirit who dictated it, and an entire deference to the authority of the Church in expounding such parts of it as are hard to be understood." (P. 66.)

These extracts will probably draw from our readers the exclamation—What a low condition must that country be in, to the meridian of which such reasoning is suited, and among whose people such men as this writer possess influence! We present these passages, to shew, how the priests are puzzled at this moment on the subject of reading the Scriptures.

Here it may be asked—What is the description of books, used in the schools, patronized by the Roman Catholic clergy? They interdict the Scriptures: what do they furnish instead of them? The following is the line of reading usually adopted in these schools, as we are assured on the unquestionable authority of the author of Captain Rock's Memoirs.

"In history, Annals of Irish Rogues and Rapparees. In biography, Memoirs of Jack the Bachelor, a notorious smuggler; and of Freney, a celebrated highwayman. In theology, Pastorini's prophecies, and the miracles of Prince Hohenlohe. In poetry, Ovid's Art of Love, and Paddy's Resource. In romance-reading, Don Belianis of Greece, Moll Flanders, &c. &c." (Rock, Pp. 187, 188.)

Let it be known to the country, that the men, who patronize such reading as this, and refuse permission for the free perusal of the Bible, are they, who at this moment are calling on the legislature to entrust to their management and control the training up of the rising generation.

Tithes were the department of Irish affairs, to which Captain Rock was specially appointed by his father. This appointment to the tithe-department accounts for the large share of his attention, which the Captain has devoted to the subject of tithes. We cannot do justice to the learning and research which he has displayed; but must content ourselves with adverting to his conclusion with respect to the right of the Irish clergy's *legal* right to the tenth part of the produce of the land.

"To the acts of the 27th and 32nd years of Henry VIII. the clergy can alone refer, for legal right to tithes; and to all the sacredness which the laws of Henry VIII. can confer on their claim, they are fully entitled." (Rock, p. 207.)

This, we shall presently see, is a very important concession for the Irish clergy. They claim, it appears, by a title as old as the time of Henry the 8th. Now it is quite clear that this claim cannot be legally disputed by any land-owner whose title to his property is of later date than the reign of Henry the 8th; and of this kind the captain assures us, are the titles of all the landlords of Ireland; for he informs us that in the reign of James the 1st, and at the restoration, the native Irish were despoiled of 10,636,837 acres; after the revolution, of 1,660,792 acres more, being the amount, altogether, of the whole superficial contents of the island. Thus, it appears, the claim of the clergy, as it respects the land, is indisputable: for the present landholders derive from those, who attained the forfeited lands; but the forfeited lands were conferred with a reserve of the tithe to the Protestant clergy; *i. e.* of that share of their produce, to which the clergy were by law entitled from the time of Henry the 8th. Surely the Irish clergy are deeply indebted to the Captain for thus establishing for them a legal claim to the tithe.

The Captain is very pathetic in his complaints of the pressure of tithes and church-rates on the poorer peasantry of Ireland; and Bishop Doyle is quite vehement in his indignation, excited by the same cause. The Captain relates a melancholy tale of a poor cotter's cow, carried off by the collector of church-rates, and of the poor children crying after her for milk; and he tells us how his father in a skirmish on this melancholy occasion, received his death-wound. Now very unfortunately for the effect of this moving tale, some of the Captain's coadjutors in parliament, (for the Captain has his friends in that august council of the nation,) called last year for returns of the church-rates through Ireland, from which it appears, that this most oppressive assessment amounts, in the majority of parishes, to about three-halfpence an acre, and that the average throughout Ireland, falls something short of fourpence. Again the tithe on the *potatoe* is so monstrous, and attended with such disastrous consequences, that upon it the anti-tithers have chosen to empty the vials of their indignation: and yet it turns out, even by the confession of the Captain himself, that this tithe is peculiar to the south of Ireland, and levied, even there, only partially, a considerable portion of it being still exempt.

In fine, as to tithes, the more the subject is examined, the stronger is our conviction, that, except under peculiar circumstances, none but the great land-owners would be benefited by the abolition of them. The middle and lower classes of the people would have the amount added to their rent: so

it is every where, at present, where land is tithe-free: and in Ireland, more especially, the land-owners deserve no such favours; for to them, in too many instances, the hardships and distresses of the poor may be traced. Their exorbitant rents, their want of feeling for the people, their disposition to throw off every burden from themselves, even on the poorest of their tenantry, (in proof of this, we refer to their opposition to the tithe-composition bill, and to their getting rid of the tithe of agistment,) are the real bane of the country. There are, doubtless, honorable exceptions. But Ireland can never become what England is, until her landlords manifest something of an English feeling for their tenantry.

We come now to Captain Rock's view of the established clergy and church of Ireland. We shall present it in his own words.

"I consider a church establishment eminently calculated to serve the cause of discord, in whatever form it exists; and, as it exists in Ireland, supereminently so." (P. 254.)

"With respect to the way in which this unparalleled wealth, (that of the church) is employed, we have already seen, in a preceding chapter upon education, how few scruples have been felt by either bishops or clergy, in releasing themselves from the obligation to contribute to the charges of public schools, which the laws and their own oaths so solemnly impose upon them. Their evasion, too, of the payment of first fruits, exhibits altogether—both on the part of the church which profits by such conduct, and the government which sanctions it—such a magnanimous contempt of justice, consistency, and even common decency, that, in putting on record the examples of dishonesty and rapacity, which have been set before us by our betters, both lay and ecclesiastical, this certainly deserves a high and most conspicuous place." (P. 269.)

"I have said that our clergy are paid for not teaching six sevenths of the population—but it will be seen by the foregoing statements, that they do teach us some most notable lessons. Of uncharitableness and bigotry they have long set us examples, by denouncing us as idolaters and infidels, in their charges, sermons, and pamphlets, and by always voting for the continuance of our slavery in the senate. But the instances which I have just given of this evasion of the payment of dues, which shame alone should have extracted from them, if the law did not say a syllable on the matter, sufficiently prove that in our notions of honesty also, we have been indebted to the same exemplary instructors; and that, in refusing to pay the various dues exacted from us, we but follow humbly and at a distance in the track of our Reverend and Most Reverend prototypes." (Pp. 280, 281.)

We subjoin a few extracts on the same subject from Bishop Doyle's publication.

"It is too much to expect of human nature, that it could be well affected towards so monstrous an establishment." (P. 30.)

“It may be asked, why I have dwelt so long on the concerns of the church? I did so, because we Catholics are accused with wishing to subvert it; that I might repel so foul a charge, and declare fully, that my hostility is not to the doctrine or constitution of the church, but to her present establishment, which I consider opposed to all the interests of Ireland. I did so, because the prelates and priests of this church have generally contributed to support and patronize a libellous and malignant press, which has not ceased to teem with publications calculated to defame and injure the body to which I belong, and the religion which I profess. I did so, because I find them uniformly and systematically opposed to every effort made in favour of a system of equal law, and supporting an intolerant and selfish spirit, which for centuries has kept Ireland enslaved, and rendered her inhabitants the most miserable in Europe. I have done so, because I am convinced, that the interests of religion, even in the established church, would be promoted, by accommodating the income of its clergy to the means of the country, and to the services which they would perform. At present, they have a profession, but no occupation; hence many of them, destitute of employment, and forbidden to exert their talents and industry in other pursuits, if they be religiously inclined, become enthusiasts, employ their time in composing hymns or tracts, or in distributing Bibles to men who want only food and employment; or they implicate themselves in worldly concerns, contrary to the command of the Apostle; thus degrading their profession, while they seek in vain to serve two masters. Perhaps they abandon God and the world, and become profligates, to disgrace not only their calling, but even their race and name.” (Pp. 39, 40.)

We shall presently examine the truth of these statements concerning the church of Ireland and its clergy. In the mean time we call the particular attention of the country to them. Here is, first, an elaborate work, written by a distinguished author, the associate of protestants of rank and talent, presented to the public in the most attractive form. By this writer the better orders of the laity among the Roman Catholics may be judged of. The bishop, on the other hand, represents the body to which he belongs, the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland. Thus we see, both clergy and laity unite in hatred and condemnation of the protestant church. They avow their hostility to it and its ministers, and their decided conviction that it should be overthrown and its revenues seized. Here let it be noted, that formerly both clergy and laity disavowed all such sentiments and designs. Political privileges were, they assured us, all they looked for; and with the established religion they never would interfere. When the opponents of their claims accused them of latent hostility to protestantism, asserting, that only opportunity was wanting to inflict a deadly blow on it and on our church, they complained of the calumny, as they called it, and loudly pro-

tested their innocence and good intentions. Let the country mark their altered language and tone !

We come now to the charges, so confidently advanced against the church of Ireland and its clergy ; and in order to the refutation of them we gladly avail ourselves of " The speech of the Right Rev. Dr. Jebb, Lord Bishop of Limerick, delivered in the House of Peers, on Thursday the 10th of June, 1824, on occasion of the third reading of the Irish tithe-composition bill."

We congratulate the episcopal bench on the accession of Dr. Jebb, a prelate, both able and disposed to remove the misrepresentations and to repel the calumnies, by which the clergy of both countries, and especially of Ireland, have so often been assailed even within the walls of Parliament. Too frequently are those misrepresentations left, unanswered, to produce their effect on the country. The apathy, with which they have long been heard by the party most affected by them, has been equalled only by the industry, with which they were advanced. The Bishop of Limerick's able, moderate, and christian-like refutation of these falsehoods will have the effect, we trust, of disabusing the public mind ; while his dignified rebuke of their authors will make them, if not more honest, at least more cautious for the time to come. The Bishop, in this very interesting speech, goes over the various charges advanced against the Irish clergy, and gives to each of them the most triumphant refutation. He commences with that of non-residence. We all remember how much was made of this topic, in a recent discussion in the House of Commons, especially by Mr. Hume. As a specimen of the accuracy, with which this gentleman makes his charges against the Irish clergy, we may refer to his statements of May last, concerning the united dioceses of Waterford and Lismore. He is reported to have made, on that occasion, the following representations, " In looking to the number of resident and non-resident clergy, he (Mr. Hume), would take up the last volume upon that subject which had been laid on the table. He first came to the dioceses of Waterford and Lismore. He there found, that there were, resident, four rectors ; absent, nineteen ditto ;—resident, thirteen vicars ; absent, thirteen ditto ;—resident, one curate ; making, in the whole, eighteen resident, and thirty-two absent clergy : of these many were pluralists, holding some two, some three and more livings. He mentioned this case as only one example out of many."

Now, in the first place, it is to be remarked, that this information professedly derived from documents laid on the

table of the House of Commons, has been drawn from a different source. It is obtained from an anonymous pamphlet, entitled, "The Protestant Hierarchy in Ireland," a work replete with error and falshood. The official return from the Bishop of Waterford, is as follows:—"In the diocese of Waterford are eleven benefices with cure of souls. The clergy are all resident on their benefices, or so near as to perform the duty of them. In the diocese of Lismore are forty benefices with cure of souls. Of the beneficed clergy, twenty-four are resident, either on their benefices, or so near as to perform the duties of them; eight are resident on other benefices which they hold by faculty; two are exempt under the provisions of the statute, 48 Geo. III. c. 66; six are absent with the permission of the ordinary. There is also an endowed chapel, where there is a house, and a resident minister."

From this official document it appears, that, instead of thirty-two non-residents out of fifty-two incumbents, as Mr. Hume asserted, there are only six liable to be questioned for non-residence, out of forty-one; and, with respect to these six, it appears from another return of the Bishop's, that there are no glebe-houses, nor churches on their livings, and that two of them are engaged in duties at Lismore. And here it should be particularly noted, that Mr. Hume had made a similar statement on the same authority in the preceding session of Parliament, which then drew forth a refutation from the Archbishop of Cashel, which his Grace published in the appendix to his charges half a year before Mr. Hume's second attack.

The Bishop of Limerick, after describing the state of his own diocese, in regard to the residence of the clergy, re-asserts the statement, made by the Attorney-general for Ireland, in the debate on Mr. Hume's motion, that, after the proper deductions on account of non-residence from sickness, infirmity, old age, and other inevitable providential hindrances, there are not above twenty or thirty beneficed Irish clergymen, in the true sense of the word, non-resident; that is, unoccupied by active clerical duty in some part or another of the country. This statement is made, he adds, after close investigation.

On the subject of the *revenue* of the Irish church, the information which this speech conveys is of the most valuable description. The Bishop sets out by remarking on the time selected for this attack. It is notorious in Ireland, that, in consequence of the impoverished state of the country, the incomes of the clergy have, every where, been reduced to

nearly one half of their former amount. In some parishes the reduction has been much greater; while several not ill beneficed clergymen have lately had mere nominal incomes. And yet this is the time when an outcry has been raised against the enormous wealth of the Irish church.

Against any inquisitorial scrutiny into the amount of church revenues in Ireland, made for the purpose of sweeping them into the public treasury, or in any way diverting them from their legitimate object, he enters his solemn protest, and makes a manly appeal to the justice of the House, and of the country. He asserts, and he asserts truly, that this would be spoliation the most unprincipled and the most unconstitutional; a principle, which, once admitted, would put an end to the security of all property of every kind.

But, while he thus objects to any inquisitorial scrutiny for the purposes of plunder, he enters freely on the subject of the amount of church-property; premising with respect to it, that there is this most important distinction between it and the *lay* property in Ireland, that it is expended, and must be expended, or at least, that legal provision is made for its being expended, at home; while as to *lay* property, not only can no such provision be made, but, in point of fact, the great mass of it is expended out of the country.

The Bishop adverts first to the *episcopal* property in Ireland. It will be recollected that £8000 a year was the sum which our reformers fixed, as the *curtailed* salary for the Irish Archbishops. Now it appears from the assurances of those Archbishops themselves, that (with the exception of the primacy) this curtailed salary would be a considerable augmentation of their income, as in no case does it amount to that sum. With respect to the Bishops, £5000 a year is the utmost amount of the income of the greater number of them. The Bishopric of Ossory is less than £3500 a year; and some of the others are yet of inferior value. In fact, it appears that the average yearly income of Archbishops and Bishops, taken together, is about £5000, rather under than over. This was the computation of Mr. Leslie Foster, member for the county of Louth, made last session in the House of Commons; and Bishop Jebb confirms its accuracy.

The information conveyed in this speech with respect to the *episcopal estates* in Ireland, and the beneficial interest held in them by a numerous and respectable lay-tenantry, is such that the public should be put in possession of it.

“It may not be amiss that I should here explain how the Bishops’ estates are leased, and how renewed, in Ireland. This subject is, in this country, very imperfectly understood;

and a right understanding of it cannot fail to remove many existing prejudices. The leases run (with a few trifling exceptions) for one and twenty years. The rents are very low; sometimes almost nominal. The renewals are annual; the tenants each year surrendering their leases and taking out new ones. The fine is usually fixed on one-fifth of the value of the lands, after having deducted the reserved rent; that is, on a calculation, which, according to Sir Isaac Newton's tables, allows the tenant *eight* per cent. on his renewed fine. And this beneficial interest is, in fact, unless the improvidence or the perversity of the tenant prevents it, *a permanent property; as permanent as any other estate whatever.* From this plain statement, it is obvious, that the Bishops cannot, in the nature of things, possess *enormous* incomes. The rent, as I have stated, bears a very small proportion to the value. After deducting this rent from the value, the utmost which a Bishop takes in the shape of fine, is one-fifth of the remainder; four-fifths, accordingly, rest with the lay tenant. Raise, therefore, the income of the Bishop as high as you please, and you must, with the deduction of a small, fixed, and unincreasable rent, raise the income of his lay tenant, in the proportion of *four to one.* The estates of the Irish Bishops, then, are, to all intents and purposes, as far as respects about four fifths of their value, the property not of *churchmen* but of *laymen.*"

On the subject of the income of the other clergy of Ireland, the same exaggerated accounts have been given to the public, as in the case of the emoluments of the Bishops. At first it was asserted, that the average of their income was 800£ per annum. As this was found too strong to go down, it was reduced to 500£. But even this reduced scale is, it appears, just double of the truth. At the beginning of the present year, eighty parishes compounded for their tithes, under the tithe-composition bill, the average income of which was 400£. But these were parishes of the higher order; and therefore, taking the lower benefices into account, and including the curates, whose salaries, varying from 75£ to 100£ per annum are deducted from the receipts of the benefited clergy, 250£ is about the average income. In the year 1786, Bishop Wardward calculated the average at 140£. The difference between that sum and 250£, is more than sufficient allowance for any intermediate increase of tillage and advance of prices. This authoritative statement of the real amount of the income of the Irish clergy will doubtless put an end to the exaggerated and absurd accounts, so industriously circulated on the subject.

The Bishop speaks also of the qualifications and services of

the Irish clergy. With respect to their qualifications, he mentions a circumstance but little known in this country, namely, their laborious and expensive preparation for holy orders. They all, without exception, receive an University education, and are obliged, previously to ordination, to produce a testimonial of their having taken, at least, the degree of Bachelor of Arts, at one of the three Universities of Dublin, Oxford, or Cambridge, and also a certificate of having attended a course of Divinity Lectures; by which means their continuance at the University for four years and a half is secured. In Ireland there are none of that class, called *literate*. *i. e.* persons who, in this country, prepare themselves by private study, at a trifling expence, for the profession of the church. There, on the contrary, all the clergy receive an University and, of course, an expensive education. From such a course of study and preparation, it might naturally be expected, that the character of the clergy would stand high; and that their services would be of the greatest importance in a country, like Ireland, destitute for the most part, of a resident nobility and gentry. The Bishop, accordingly, enumerates the names of several living clergymen (and he might have added those of many who have entered into rest) who are distinguished among the most celebrated theological authors of the day. And in addition to this, many of the Irish clergy who, from various causes have not appeared as authors, are a blessing to their country. The Bishop describes them, as the collectors of alms, the promoters and superintendants of public charities, and as administering, in every practicable way, to the necessities of the poor. Deeply ignorant, then, or wickedly malignant must that party be, which would deprive Ireland of an establishment which calls forth and secures such invaluable services.

In conclusion; we do not hesitate to express our conviction, that the two publications at the head of this article, are of the most pernicious description. They may, however, be attended with one advantage, that of opening the eyes of the people of this country to the dangers, which threaten the Established Church, not of Ireland only, but of England also. It is rendered manifest by them, that a conspiracy exists against the government of these countries, as *Protestant*. The conspirators desire, indeed, to take one at a time, and to keep England quiet, while they trample on and plunder the church of Ireland. But this done, our turn will come next, as one of our English members of Parliament lately expressed it to an Irish friend—"Let us get your end of the wedge in first, and ours will easily follow."

ART. XXX.—*The Evidence of Christianity, derived from its Nature and Reception.* By J. B. Sumner, M.A. Prebendary of Durham, Vicar of Mapledurham, Oxon, and late Fellow of Eton College. London: Hatchard and Rivington. 8vo. pp. ix. and 429.

ANY production of Mr. Sumner's pen we should expect to find replete with intelligence and learning; but we could never have expected such a happy originality, as he has evinced in the discussion of a subject, which has been minutely investigated from the first origin of Christianity. Society is largely indebted to Mr. Sumner for this application of his talents; and we hope the debt will be discharged in the manner, which we are persuaded would be most agreeable to him, by numerous testimonies to the salutary effect of his treatise.

Were there no other obstacles to the universal belief of Christianity, than the common difficulty of substantiating its fundamental facts by a competent induction of historical evidence, many books on the subject would be needless. Nay, a single volume, in addition to the evangelical records themselves, might, perhaps, be one too many. But it is too certain, that the prime impediment to being a Christian lies, not in the matter of Christ's religion, but in the minds whose submission it demands. There is a latent scepticism, an insidious infidelity, with which many minds are infected, without being distinctly conscious of the disease. Moreover with sincere Christians there are temporary fluctuations, moments of morbid or sinful imbecillity, when the faith, which has hitherto been erect, totters and stoops, and looks about for some fresh support on which to stay itself. To the attention of persons thus conditioned Mr. Sumner's book lays claim, and may deserve their gratitude. There is nothing in it to displease, but there is much to conciliate and improve. It is exact enough for the practised dialectician; plain enough for the simple learner; and sufficiently elegant for the accomplished scholar. And while, by the vein of earnest sincerity which runs through it, it is calculated to impress the hearts of those gay triflers, who have been more serious in every thing than in religion, it will commend itself to devout believers by the piety, which sheds a rich unction on its didactic and historical disquisitions.

The religion, denominated *Christian*, has obtained the suffrage of almost all Europe. Systematically supported by the ruling powers of the several states, it is professed by the mass

of their population ; though by some individuals it is attacked, disbelieved by more, and by multitudes disobeyed. That it should in the main have attracted so much interest, and have struck such deep root in the veneration and attachment of the most cultivated quarter of the globe, is certainly in its favour ; and the friendly influence which it exercises, not less on the welfare of communities, than on the character and happiness of individuals, enhances that favorable indication. Of such credentials, however, other modes of faith, that of Foh, of Burmah, of Mahomet, are not wholly destitute ; and the mere circumstance, that christianity has succeeded beyond all other systems, in reforming the minds and morals of its proselytes, may be assignable, so far as appears on a superficial view, to causes, which, though they may entitle it to a high precedence among the existing systems of religion, will hardly suffice to stamp upon it an exclusive sanctity.

To determine, on what basis its high pretensions rest, we must investigate its original. And this we shall readily discover ; for it divulges without hesitation all the circumstances connected with its nativity and growth, even those which bear hardest upon its apparent dignity. Its accounts of itself coincide moreover with all collateral and contemporary evidence. Within thirty years after the death of Jesus Christ, its reputed author, we find the religion itself become notorious, by the number of its adherents and the virulence of its adversaries ; and it continued to gain ground so rapidly, notwithstanding continued and bloody opposition, that in less than seventy years from the same epoch, those who had embraced it amounted to "a vast multitude."

Mr. Sumner, assuming as undeniable the existence and general history of Jesus, sets out with shewing, that the christian system was shaped quite otherwise than human wit and prudence would have counselled. Had Jesus Christ merely aspired to the reputation of being the successful author of a new religion, he would have industriously squared his doctrines with the sentiments of some powerful party, of which he would thereby have merited the countenance and support. This he would have done, had he aimed at any personal advantage, or relied on any human assistance. But instead of so doing, sagacious as he was by the acknowledgment of his bitterest enemies, he sent forth a religion, which was sure to provoke the hostility of every sect and party in Judea. It would be hated by the Pharisees, because it set its face against their pride, cupidity, and sanctimonious hypocrisy, and asserted, that no righteousness could avail before the judgment-seat of heaven, without greatly exceeding theirs.

It could find no favour with the Sadducees ; for it impugned their cardinal dogmas, condemned their epicurean voluptuousness, and reiterated the startling news of a future retribution, in ears which were studiously closed against it by sensuality and irreligion. The Essenes would take offence at its social temper and requisitions ; and it was sure to exasperate the Herodians by its disdain of secular greatness. Neither can it be pretended, that the collision of christianity with the headmost prejudices of the Jewish nation was accidental or unforeseen. The whole scope and genius of the new religion were directly and avowedly opposed to the tenets of the Hebrew doctors, against whom, as blind and dangerous leaders, Jesus levelled all the weight of his prophetic character and energetic discourses.

There were also several popular notions, which were so interwoven with the religious and national feelings of the Jews, that to touch them was, in the vigorous metaphor of their own Scriptures, "to touch the apple of the eye." In all countries there are certain prejudices, indigenous or long naturalized, to which are owing the specific differences of national character. It was against opinions and sentiments thus profoundly imbedded in the Jewish bosom, and maintained with a bigoted tenacity, beyond what modern times can easily exemplify, that Jesus Christ lifted up his voice. The Jews expected a king who should surpass Solomon in riches and splendour, and should make the highest earthly throne his footstool : and they are told that Messiah's "kingdom is not of this world." Had Jesus been a fraudulent pretender, he would have played another part. He would have flattered the ambitious expectations of the populace, and endeavored to make good his way to power. Again, the Jews entertained a superstitious veneration for the Mosaic œconomy, which they thought destined to continue while the sun and the moon endure. But Jesus attacks this favorite conceit also, and declares that the dispensation of Messiah demands the previous abrogation of the Levitical ritual. To the Jews, moreover, the most revolting of all doctrines was that, which broke down the partition between them and the Gentiles ; and held up the idea of multitudes gathered from the east and from the west, to constitute one fold under one shepherd ; to participate in ecclesiastical privileges ; to coalesce into one spiritual household ; and to sit down with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the kingdom of God. Yet this amalgamation of all tribes and peoples with the seed of Israel, is continually asserted by Jesus Christ to be the divine purpose, and represented as the peculiar glory of the final dispensation. Lastly,

the Jews regarded their temple with a reverence not far short of idolatrous : but Jesus, instead of being infected with this prejudice, or ingratiating himself with his countrymen by sanctioning it, proclaims, that in a little while not one stone of the sacred fabric shall be left upon another.

There are some absurdities which are too extravagant for refutation ; and one of these is the supposition, that the path which (we have just seen) Jesus took, would have been taken by an impostor. Hardly less absurd is it to imagine, that an illiterate plebeian Jew, *not taught and commissioned of God*, can have risen superior to all the prepossessions of his birth and education, and have ventured, single-handed, to force the strong intrenchments of national customs, to annul traditions which, by long descent, and the attachment of the people, had acquired the authority of divine laws, to invade the venerable reign of the Levitical hierarchy, and to abolish a form of polity, which Jehovah had ratified with thunderings and earthquakes, and preternatural voices. For it should not be overlooked, that many of the customs and opinions so dear to the Jews, although incompatible with that generous and expansive dispensation which Jesus introduced, and never designed to be perpetual, were yet not unreasonable in themselves, nor destitute of the highest sanctions. To see nothing, therefore, beyond the endowments and daring of an ordinary reformer, in the lofty intelligence and calm intrepidity with which Jesus soared above the views of his age and nation, is to see with eyes that can never have been conversant with the science of human nature and with the history of mankind.

Our author proceeds to argue that the religion of Jesus must have been divine, because it sets out upon a view of the state of mankind, which is not less original than true. The uninspired mind would never have devised a religion, of which the first principle abases man to the dust, declaring him a depraved and guilty creature. Neither, as Mr. Sumner well remarks, did the doctrine of Jesus grow under his hands, and gradually assume a definite shape, as his mind expanded, and as his ideas were amplified and corrected by larger observation and more accurate reflection. The preamble of the Christian system is this ; that the world is in a lost and perishing condition, from which it is to be saved by the sacrifice of God's own Son upon the cross, who has become incarnate and taken upon him the condition of a servant, for that express purpose. Such is the plain, invariable statement of Jesus Christ ; such the scope of his parables from the outset of his ministry. Not a tittle of the gospel scheme is an after-thought, but the whole is included

in the earliest outline, sketched by Christ himself, of the purport of his mission.

We confess ourselves at a loss to imagine, how a system so contrary to all the prepossessions and predilections of the human heart, could have made its way without assistance from on high. The success of the Koran, even if it had refused the secular sword for an auxiliary, would not have been a parallel case: for its fundamental principle is the Unity of God, a principle, to which common sense at once subscribes, and which has the seal of many venerable testimonies.

The doctrine of satisfaction by vicarious suffering, though it had a place in the Jewish scriptures, was far from being developed, as it now shines out in the open page of the gospel. By the great body of the Jews, however their own prophets may have occasionally warned them against that delusion, the blood of bulls and goats was supposed to have a real piacular value, and not a mere emblematical significance; and the Gentiles regarded the oblation of victims on the altar, rather in the light of "expensive purchase than of vicarious suffering." Yet Jesus Christ lays, as the ground-work of his system, a doctrine, which, if not authentic, it would have been the extreme of folly to advance. Remote as he was from any tinge of enthusiasm, and remarkable in his ordinary conversation and deportment for a total absence of eccentricity, he nevertheless makes one revolting novelty the basis of his system: that basis is his own death, the sacrifice of the just for the unjust, the outpouring of an innocent life for the forfeited lives of transgressors, as an expiatory offering to almighty justice. Nor yet was this sacrifice dignified and hallowed by the sublime and affecting ceremonies of religion. It carried on its front the brand of a judicial curse, and such features of dishonour and ignominy, as were likely to scandalize both Jew and gentile.

After shewing, that the Christian scheme is in a high degree original, and that its novelties are such as could never have issued from mere human invention under the influence of enthusiasm, or fraud, Mr. Sumner proceeds to point out such natural marks of relationship between this scheme and the Mosaic œconomy, as prove them both to have emanated from the same mind, the Christian being a sequel and completion of the Mosaic. It responds to its types, it fulfils its prophecies, it compleats its preliminary constitutions: and, this being shewn, it follows, that Christianity is pillared on the whole strength of the evidences for the divine original of Judaism, in addition to its own proper and direct credentials.

The principal features of the religion of Jesus are shewn by Mr. Sumner to be antitypical counterparts to several striking points in the Hebrew ritual and history; to the sacrifice of Isaac; to the elevation of the brazen serpent and its mysterious effects; to the paschal feast; to the emancipation of the Israelites from Egyptian bondage; to the appointment and office of the high-priest; and to the rites of purification and of consecration by the blood of sacrificial victims.

Now, unless we concede a supernatural direction, how shall we account for the punctilious agreement of the Christian scheme with these peculiarities in the Jewish antiquities? The facts of Hebrew history, and the ceremonials of Hebrew worship are not a little extraordinary; and still more out of the common way are those facts and doctrines of the Christian system, with which the former symbolize. And shall we impute to blind chance this astonishing correspondence? If that position be abandoned, shall we take refuge in one not more tenable, by imputing the analogy to artful management? Assuredly it was beyond the reach of any artifice, and bespeaks the agency of that power, which alone can reach from generation to generation.

The same reasoning holds good with respect to the prophecies of the Old Testament, so remarkably accomplished in the history of Jesus. It was not within the compass of human contrivance, however dextrous, to make an individual the centre, in which should be collected whatever was necessary to be done or suffered, in order to the fulfilment of those complex and singular predictions. Moreover, how happened there to be such predictions in the sacred code of the Israelites? How came it to pass that a volume, written by many pens and far apart, should be sprinkled with oracular notices of future events so strange and improbable, and of a religious scheme so alien from common apprehension, that to interpret the notices was as hopeless, before the gospel dawned, as it became easy and certain, when that dawn had brightened into perfect day? That they should have been counterfeits, struck off at random by fanatical zealots, and have subsequently attained to the dignity of genuine prophecies by the skilful adaptation of them, numerous and seemingly incongruous as they were, to the fortunes of Jesus of Nazareth, must stagger any credulity short of antichristian. Had this been the case, moreover, as Mr. Sumner very sensibly argues, the historians of the gospel would have ostentatiously marked the coincidences, especially in minute matters, instead of now and then cursorily glancing at a few of the

most obvious and striking. In short, this accordance of the facts of the New Testament with the symbolical representations and prophetic declarations of the Old Testament, is inexplicable on any principle, but that which allows the divine legation of Jesus.

We are now to observe the extraordinary phraseology, in which the writers of the New Testament convey the sentiments of their great master to mankind. It is indeed a model of grave simplicity: yet many of the words, employed to express certain capital truths, are necessarily diverted from their original import. Words, of which the sense is generic and variable, are limited and fixed by some particular collocation or adjunct to certain definite ideas, which have their origin in the religion those sacred writers inculcate. Thus the word *salvation* conveys, in common usage, a lax and indefinite notion of deliverance from any supposable evil, and a restitution to a state of safety: but, when dropt from the pen of the evangelists, it signifies deliverance, according to the gracious constitution of the gospel, from the mischiefs and penalties of sin, and restitution to the holiness of our original nature. Mr. Sumner shews the same to hold good of the word *gospel* (εὐαγγέλιον), which is used to express in the generic sense, *good news*, but was appropriated by the historians of Christ and his kingdom, to the incomparably consolatory message of reconciliation to God through the blood of the cross. A similar innovation appears to have been made with respect to the word *righteousness*, which, from meaning *justice*, has come to denote the justification of a sinner before God. The word *χαρις*, *grace*, has undergone a similar change, being consecrated in the phraseology of the New Testament to that transcendent manifestation of divine favour, of which Jesus Christ is the organ. In like manner *flesh* (σὰρξ) with its derivatives, in the apostolical writings implies our inborn corruption, the ascendancy of animal appetite over reason and conscience; and the use of it strongly savors of minds, imbued with that doctrine of spiritual regeneration, to which the world was strange before the preaching of Jesus. Some other instances are adduced by Mr. Sumner, and the list might have been increased, had he proposed to do more than furnish examples in support and illustration of his positions. The general inference is, that since words, long appropriated to certain ideas, are not usually warped from their primitive signification, except by the force of some new circumstances engendering new ideas; therefore the first ministers of Jesus Christ's religion must have acted under such a necessity. They imposed new

senses on several words, which had hitherto been current under quite other meanings, because their minds teemed with new doctrines, for the due exposition of which the language, in which they wrote, must be recast. It must take a new form, to be a fit vehicle of the mighty revelation it is wanted to convey. And this it becomes at once, being transformed, as it were, in a moment, by the magic pen of the unlettered apostles. Those words, which are pressed into the service of the gospel, and transfigured into competent symbols of its mysteries, bear the same sense invariably from one end of the New Testament to the other. They lose no part of the meaning, with which they were first charged; and they collect no additional meaning; a plain proof, that the writers, or that spirit, by whose inspiration they claim to have written, thoroughly understood the whole design from the beginning, and never saw occasion to alter it. Assuredly this originality of language, resulting from originality of doctrine; this infant ripeness of the Christian religion, by which it is so advantageously distinguished from ordinary systems which reach a comparative perfection by continual obliterations and retouchings, bears strong testimony to its supernatural descent.

Another argument for the divine authority of the Christian religion is educed from the surprising foreknowledge, displayed by its author, of the manner in which it would be received. There are three considerable circumstances, which entitle this unerring prescience to our admiration, and argue, that it went far beyond the reach of felicitous conjecture. In the first place, Jesus Christ stands, in this respect, alone and pre-eminent among his countrymen. The Jewish writers are by no means remarkable for nice discrimination of character, or for acute inferences from experience as to the probable conduct of men under given circumstances. The apocryphal writers, and some celebrated rabbies, have let fall much shrewd remark on the common business of life, and have struck out many pertinent axioms for human conduct: but their attempts have been few at resolving moral character into its elements, at developing its hidden formation, and at discussing its manifold varieties under new combinations and in specific positions. We have reason therefore to be astonished, when a Jew, who had enjoyed no foreign advantages, and had received a very scanty domestic education, stands before us, adorned with a knowledge in the metaphysic of moral philosophy, exceeding what could be hoped for from the closest application. He is a perfect adept in the most difficult of all imaginable sciences, that of fore-

casting, to the end of the longest series, the results of the most complicated moral machinery at work on the largest scale : and for this rare endowment he is nowise indebted to long, various, and intimate communication with mankind. It is from the workshop of a provincial mechanic, that he issues, a consummate master of divine and human wisdom.

Moreover, what greatly enhances the sagacity, displayed in forewarning his disciples of the manner, in which his doctrine would be received, is the fact, already considered, that this doctrine was quite original. Consequently he had no assistance from analogical induction in auguring, that his religion would prove a stumbling-block to the Jews, and to the gentiles foolishness, and that to espouse it would be a sure road to calumny, persecution, and death. But the crowning merit of this foreknowledge is, that it discerned events, which were contrary to all probable anticipations. Could any one have expected beforehand that men would be persecuted by their brethren "for righteousness' sake," and would be ejected from society, as pestilent disturbers, in proportion as they were conspicuous for meekness, temperance, sobriety, piety, charity ? Would human sagacity have calculated, that Christianity, of whose very essence it is to propagate benevolence and good will, should give rise, notwithstanding, to fell dissensions, and arm the nearest relatives one against the other ? Yet this did actually take place, and was literally foretold by Christ.

Nor was he less admirably exact in predicting the manner in which his spiritual dominion should be ultimately established. He likens the progress of his religion to the fermentation, produced in a measure of meal by a particle of leaven ; so gradual and stealthy, and from such small beginnings, yet so thorough, so effectual, so assimilating. Neither does he hazard only a general assertion that his religion will not subdue the world without great opposition, but he points out, with unparalleled wisdom, the particular obstacles it will encounter in the several descriptions of character, of which the world is composed. This is ably illustrated by Mr. Sumner in an exposition of the parable of the sower ; not that this parable stands alone, the lucky hit of a bolt launched at a venture. Every where Jesus Christ speaks the same language, as having the same picture constantly and distinctly in view. All the future ages of his church with its wonderful vicissitudes, its fiery trials and its splendid triumphs, lie unfolded, like a mighty scroll, before his capacious glance. He sees how his church will be in-

fested with hypocrites, with mere nominal believers, and with those who would turn godliness to a mercenary account; and he forewarns his apostles to be prepared for this discrepancy between practice and profession, in such parables as "the tares and the wheat," "the guest without a wedding-garment," and "the net which enclosed fishes of all varieties and values." It is difficult to say, which is the most admirable, that Christ should foresee these occurrences, or that, foreseeing, he should dare to foretel them, or that the prophecy itself should not have prevented its accomplishment. For what would have been the natural consequence of the representation Jesus made of the sufferings, which awaited the constant profession of his name? What, but the extinction of his religion, by the utter discouragement of his disciples? At all events it was to be confidently expected, that a religion, ushered in with such forbidding presage, would dissolve as soon as the master of the spell was no more: or, if it survived his decease for a time, we should hardly look for any to profess an attachment to it, but the few, who, for whatever reasons, were singularly sincere in their attachment. But Jesus prognosticates the very contrary to these high probabilities. His religion, he declares, will triumph, though its enemies will be numerous and active, its supporters few, and feeble, and timorous: and in spite of the severity, with which it frowns upon "all that is in the world," it will yet obtain the countenance of multitudes, who are utterly averse to its spirit. If foreknowledge, such as this, be within the compass of human wisdom and calculation, we are at a loss to imagine what limit can be assigned to the powers of a created intellect.

Some notice might perhaps have been taken, in this part of Mr. Sumner's argument, of that independence of the control of circumstances, which marked the ministerial career of Jesus Christ. It is usual with the projector of any considerable change, to which strong resistance may be expected, to be on the watch for circumstances, that may favor his enterprise. Successful impostors, whether political or religious, whether Cromwells or Mahomets, have usually compassed their ends by address, in suiting their manœuvres to particular conjunctures, and in taking advantage of unexpected contingencies. But nothing of this appears in the conduct of Jesus. He is not seen feeling his way, with the diffident circumspection of one conscious either of dishonesty, or of weakness. He never shifts his ground, nor varies his posture, in compliance with pressing difficulties, or with sudden opportunities. When the inhabitants of Capernaum,

struck with admiration of his miracles, beseech him to remain among them, instead of catching at the hope of forming a party in that city, which might abet his scheme of personal aggrandisement, or provide him an asylum in case of disaster, he represses their eagerness with the unambitious reply—"I must preach the kingdom of God to other cities also; for therefore am I sent." Tracing him through all his career, we never find any movement, that argues a mind on the alert to gather help from fortunate chances. He pursues his steady way, like a being superior to accidents, and who knows himself to be endowed with powers, which make the miscarriage of his enterprise impossible.

In his seventh chapter our author points out the extraordinary wisdom, manifested by the writers of the New Testament. In discussing so vast a variety of topics, historical, moral, and religious, many of them relating to truths of a high and mysterious order, the Lord Jesus and his apostles never fall into any absurdity. We meet with no contradictions, no rhodomontade, no perplexed disquisitions, no flights of fancy. Weighed in these respects against the compositions of the wisest heathens, or of the apocryphal writers, the New Testament has a vast superiority. Comparing the description in the Koran, of the respective conditions of the righteous and the wicked after death, with the statements of the New Testament upon the same subject, we find the bombast of the one in striking contrast with the simplicity of the other. And this simplicity on a point, which offers such a lure to fanciful excursions, is no slender proof of a wisdom more than human. The most obvious mode of alluring or terrifying the multitude to acquiescence in the new faith, would have been to depict with a pencil, dipped in the brightest colours, the recompence, prepared for the obedient, and to bring before the eye, in the high-wrought terrors of oratorical amplification, all the miseries which impend over the unbeliever and the miscreant. So thought Mahomet: and accordingly he is exuberant and impassioned in such details and representations. But Jesus had higher objects in view than the mere formation of external societies, cemented by definite articles of faith, and a prescribed mode of worship. His object was to purify the heart, and to fix his religion in a higher region of the soul than the imagination. He is therefore cautious of applying stimulants to our sensitive nature; and touches with a sedate solemnity, but without the slightest attempt at effect, on those doctrines which are apt, by their powerful operation on our hopes and fears, to interrupt the deliberate exercise of the judgment.

One must also be struck with the oracular manner, in which the author of Christianity delivers his principles. He speaks as one having authority ; as one, to whom all truth is intuitively manifest. To his followers it is left to prove, and to expatiate on, those doctrines, which their master does no more than enunciate.

Another palpable sign of Jesus Christ's wisdom, as a teacher, appears in the generality of the rules he prescribes. He deals in first principles, which shall be applicable to all persons and all ages. By deviation from this wise method, the church of Rome, as Mr. Sumner well remarks, has sadly marred the integrity of the gospel, and has vitiated its most salutary principles, by wiredrawing them into a legislative code, intolerably rigorous and minute.

The next step in Mr. Sumner's reasoning is to prove that the originality of the Christian character bears witness to the celestial origin of Christ's religion. Had the character, which this religion tends to create, been conformable to the bias of human nature, and consonant to the tone of worldly principles, it might have been the fabrication of a shrewd inventor. But the character which results from a cordial belief of the gospel, is fundamentally unlike what springs from natural principles, or is shaped on worldly maxims. The character of a real Christian is, in some respects, of a different cast from any thing previously known in morals ; and may be said to grow out of the scheme of truth revealed in the gospel. Obliterate that scheme ; one cannot comprehend, why a man should be, what the precepts of the New Testament would make him. For illustrations of this position we must refer our readers to the work before us.

But the Christian character stands further confessed for no human progeny by its unearthly mien, its celestial port and aspect. Transforming its subjects into the likeness of God it makes them objects of his complacency. Unhappily this character is never consummated upon earth, because no heart is thoroughly imbued with the knowledge and love of the gospel. But this is the character, which the Christian religion is perfectly fitted, and uniformly tends, to create : and the forming principle of it is, faith in Christ Jesus.

Another argument for the credibility of the Christian revelation is derived from the reasonableness of its doctrines. The human intellect is so impaired by sin, as to be little competent to pronounce what is, or is not, conformable to man's condition and destiny. But of Christianity the reverse may be affirmed, that the more severely it is investigated, the more is its excellence discerned ; and its suitableness to the

state and necessities of mankind has been recognised, in proportion as that state, and those necessities, have been clearly understood.

In illustrating this argument, our author discusses two cardinal points of the christian system, at which the reasoners of this world have repeatedly stumbled. One is the punishment, denounced upon sin by the gospel; the other is the way of escape from punishment, which the gospel announces. As to the former of these doctrines, Mr. Sumner shews it to be in perfect unison with whatever is known by us, through other channels, of the divine character; and to furnish the best solution that has ever been offered, when taken in connexion with the recompence, promised to the righteous, of difficulties which occur in God's visible administration. With regard to the method of escape from punishment disclosed by the gospel, this is a masterpiece of wisdom, not less than of benevolence; being so contrived, that while it opens a door of deliverance to transgressions, it preserves inviolate the awfulness of the law, and furnishes the strongest incentives to future obedience.

It is a dictate of reason, moreover, that the author of Christianity should be himself a model of Christian virtues. By sustaining the part of an ordinary man, in an indigent station, whenever his mediatorial undertaking demanded nothing extraordinary, he moreover put an exemplary slight on worldly riches, and presented himself an accessible friend, an imitable pattern to all, even the humblest of mankind.

The first promulgation of Christianity is alleged by Mr. Sumner to have been impressed with a character, that evinces its divine pedigree. Men may be carried impetuously towards an object, merely because it is new and marvellous; but, unless it offer some strong lure to their good or evil inclinations, they will not be long captivated by it: for it is of the essence of novelty to be transient. Now Christianity throws out no bait to the sensual appetites of mankind, and opens no treaty with the passions. It exacts the abandonment of favorite pursuits; it looks down upon secular state and show; it rebukes the pride of birth, the ostentation of wealth, the arrogance of station, the vanity of beauty, the superciliousness of learning. We refer our readers to Mr. Sumner's treatise, for some excellent observations on the improbability of such a religion making any way, unless corroborated by supernatural evidence.

Extraordinary as this method was of planting a religion, against which the clamour of numberless confederated passions and interests would instantly be raised, a still more

wonderful fact is, that it succeeded. The prospect of future advantage must have been made very clear and certain, to induce men, who had hitherto been wedded to the world, to pursue a less tangible object. We see, how hard a matter it is now to reclaim from courses of sinful indulgence even those, who have been educated to christianity, by urging upon them the awful considerations, presented in a book, which they profess at least, and not quite insincerely, to believe and revere. Can it then be imagined, that it would be easier, in the first century of the christian era, to deal with the libertines of Rome and Corinth, who disallowed the standard, applied by the apostles to their aberrations from moral rectitude?

The argument of Mr. Sumner's last chapter is drawn from the *utility* of the christian religion. That it does not accomplish more than it was its avowed design to accomplish, is a charge that will be urged against it by none but weak and uncandid reasoners. It was not the purpose of Jesus to create, by instantaneous operation, a new world that should be exempt from all pollution and misery; and this accordingly his religion has not effected. His purpose was to provide a sufficient remedy for the disorders of the moral world, and for the maladies of souls, that had apostatized from God by forsaking the fountain of true happiness: and the remedy has been proved, by the trial of eighteen centuries, to be certain and sufficient, wherever it is faithfully applied.

Mr. Sumner after shewing, that the success of Christianity, in regenerating the world, is limited by no defect in its own nature, but by the corrupt opposition of evil hearts, by the discountenance it meets with from open or disguised enemies, by the indifference of lukewarm friends, and the infirmities of sincere believers, points out the general and particular benefits, which it has nevertheless conferred. In the world at large, in its civil and domestic policy, and in the treatment of women and children, it has effected a change, by which the sum of human happiness has been immensely increased. That this general improvement of habits must be ascribed to the diffusion of the gospel, and not to progressive civilization, is concisely, but conclusively demonstrated by Mr. Sumner.

“ These effects cannot with any justice be attributed to the progress of reason and civilization; because they are, in most instances, effects, which directly proceed from the new views of the nature and destination of man, unfolded by the Gospel; and further, because this improvement of moral habits exists in countries, very far inferior, in literature and the arts, to the nations addicted to those habits which christianity discountenanced; and because it follows the course, and accompanies the growth of christianity; being more and more visible

as that is more and more received; and being most visible, where christianity is best understood, and embraced most cordially." (Pp. 388, 389.)

Our author then enlarges on the blessings which have come to individuals under the healing wings of the gospel. It provides the most ample, the only effectual consolation for the hour of adversity, by shewing, that affliction is often ordained with a merciful intent to the sufferer, in order to wean him from earthly attachments, and to train him up for that inheritance of glory, to which the road lies through sufferings, and of which the reversion is secured to him by the covenant of grace. To the gospel also, and the views it lays open, must be ascribed the pains taken to bring up children, from the earliest period of reason, in such a system of principles and habits as shall fit them for future blessedness, while it now preserves them from misconduct, subversive of their comfort and usefulness. Moreover, by its promise of gratuitous pardon, without exception of cases, on sincere and fruitful repentance, the gospel holds out to the most abandoned sinners an encouragement to reform; and it does, in fact, continually reclaim to habits of sobriety and godliness persons, who, debarred from this incentive to amendment, would daily plunge deeper into vice and profaneness. Lastly, it is found to refine and elevate the intellectual character of the laboring and uneducated classes of society, to defecate their minds from the grossness incident to their condition, and thereby to render them more capable subjects of inward religion, as well as to dispose them for noble and persevering efforts of active virtue. It is indeed the prerogative of the Christian religion to suit mankind in all possible states and stages, dilating without effort to any compass of extension, and contracting itself with no less facility to the minutest particulars.

In his conclusion Mr. Sumner gives a summary of the arguments which it has been the business of his valuable book to display. We shall do it the best justice, and gratify our readers, by transcribing it into our pages.

"The preceding chapters have been intended to establish a strong moral evidence of the truth of Christianity. Whether we consider the doctrines introduced by its author, their originality in his nation, their originality in the world, and yet the confirmation, which they receive from many singular facts, singular enactments, and minute prophecies contained in the Jewish Scriptures: or whether we consider the internal evidence of the Christian writings, their language, their anticipation of conduct subsequently developed, and their general wisdom: or whether we consider the peculiar character formed under the influence of christianity, its excellence in individuals, its beneficial effects upon mankind, and its suitableness to their condition

as dependent and corrupt beings : or whether we consider the rapidity with which a religion so pure, so self-denying, so humiliating, and so uncompromising, was propagated and embraced, even in the face of bitter hostility : we have phænomena, which nothing, except the truth of the religion, can adequately explain. Except on this supposition, it would be difficult to account for any one of these several facts. But either we must believe, that not one only, but all of these improbable facts concur to deceive us : or Jesus Christ did appear in the world, and bear the character which he claimed of Mediator between God and man ; did suffer the penalty due to human transgression ; and does redeem from that penalty as many as 'receive him' and commit themselves to his care.

"It must be always borne in mind, that this is the assertion made throughout the gospel. Jesus is either the Redeemer of the world, or he is nothing. That he professed to be. That his supernatural birth, his miraculous power, his peculiar death, his predicted resurrection, were designed to prove him. Unless then he is that, his professions are untrue, and the whole authority of his religion falls to the ground. We cannot distinguish between his doctrines and his precepts. We cannot deny his mysterious divinity, and retain his moral supremacy. Not to insist upon the undoubted fact, that the precepts and the doctrines are connected together, and depend upon one another ; why should we practise sobriety, why enforce purity or humility or any other characteristic of christianity, because it is recommended by Jesus of Nazareth, unless Jesus of Nazareth were indeed the son of God, and requires these graces as a preparation for that future kingdom, which he came to reveal, and offers to his followers ?

"What therefore the preceding evidence proves, if it prove any thing, is, that the gospel is a message of reconciliation from God to man, proposed by Christ in the character of their Redeemer. And what those reject, who are not living as the disciples of Christ by a vital and practical faith, is the offered means of restoration to the favour of their Creator." (P. 418—421.)

Mr. Sumner is quite successful in obviating the trite objection, that, if the religion of Jesus be divine, the evidence of its divinity ought to be irresistible. We have all the evidence, that can reasonably be called for, of those capital facts, on which the credibility of the Christian system depends. These facts could not take place every where. There could not be an hourly repetition, or a local multiplication, of the birth, the crucifixion, the interment, the resurrection, the ascension of Jesus, to satisfy persons in all times and places. Such a notion is preposterous. But the historical attestations of these transactions far exceed the testimonies to those records of heathen antiquity, on which it would be reckoned the scepticism of an infirm mind to cast a doubt. In addition to these, we have the moral evidences resulting from the indubitable fact, that the history now extant of Christ Jesus was so fully credited

at the time of which it treats, as to influence multitudes of people in divers nations steadily to pursue a line of conduct, on which nothing, but a belief in the doctrines he promulgated, could have induced reasonable beings to enter. Waving all proof of a more subtle nature, arising out of the intrinsic character of the religion, we insist on the two above-mentioned classes of evidence, as sufficient to satisfy any mind, that is not hardened against the truth by a criminal reluctance to embrace it.

Mr. Sumner then shews, that the religion of Jesus, had the evidence of its divinity been obvious and overwhelming, would have been an anomaly in the administration of the world. The general rule upon which the divine government proceeds with mankind is this, that "he that seeketh findeth." Had the dispensation of the gospel been framed on another principle, it would have wanted the evidence, which it now possesses, to its genuineness, from analogy.

Once more,

"to argue as if the proofs of a revelation must necessarily be intuitive or self-evident, is to assume that man is not and cannot be placed in a state of probation." (P. 426.)

Many other reasons might be alleged, and will occur to the serious thinker, why it might have been very inexpedient to clear away all difficulties from the Christian scheme, and to make the reception of it wholly independent of the ingenuousness and sedulity of those, to whom it is declared. Indeed it seems impossible that moral truths, or truths essentially connected with practice, should be placed in such a light, as to be equally clear to every man, irrespectively of moral dispositions and habits. But the Bible goes farther, and assures us, that mankind are naturally so ill-affected to the doctrines of the gospel, as to make the agency of the Holy Ghost universally indispensable for disposing the heart to embrace them. On this subject Mr. Sumner, in concluding his book, makes the following sound and pious observations.

"Surely there is enough of ignorance and enough of evil discoverable in the mind of man, to shew, that he needs illumination from above, and to set him upon earnest prayer to the Author of 'every good and perfect gift,' that in matters, relating to God and to eternity, he may be enabled to exercise his understanding humbly, and with proper deference to divine wisdom. Those, who inquire thus, will find the Bible its own best evidence; carrying with it marks of divine origin, which can neither, perhaps, be easily described, nor accurately defined; but are not the less indisputable and infallible. Reason would lead us to expect, what experience uniformly proves, that the secret of the Lord is with them that fear him, and he will shew them his covenant." (Pp. 428, 429.)

We have now laid before our readers the scope of this masterly volume. It is one great beauty of Mr. Sumner's book, that it is didactic and not controversial. The pious author rarely meddles, and then only incidentally, with the objections and cavils of gainsayers: but he displays a particular class of evidences in favour of Christianity, always with a force and precision, and frequently with an originality of remark and illustration, which justify a sanguine hope, that his own deep impressions on the most important of all subjects will be widely propagated.

Neither is it a trivial merit, in a volume, which claims the attention of all classes of society, to be free from the encumbrance of superfluous learning. Every page discovers indeed the divine and the scholar. But the discovery is made, not by an oppressive parade of quotations, but by the pure and tranquil flow of well-digested knowledge: and, while the pious mind is gratified with the scriptural sentiments, uniformly and feelingly expressed by Mr. Sumner, the most fastidious taste will find nothing exceptionable or peculiar in the phraseology. The style throughout is excellently suited to the subject. Unambitious of ornament, it is manly, clear, correct, and copious.

We must not omit observing, how much the usefulness of this book is enhanced, by its gathering proofs of the divine authenticity of the Christian system from the heart and marrow of that system itself. The object of writers on the external evidences of Christianity is to verify the statements of the evangelists, and thence to infer the supernatural origin and authority of the religion of Jesus: but it is no part of their undertaking to display the form and genius of the gospel; and the reader, who is convinced by their reasonings, may still remain as ignorant of that inestimable revelation, as of the Vedas or the Koran. But Mr. Sumner's dissertations not only prove, that Jesus Christ was a divine teacher, but they exhibit farther what Jesus Christ taught; and they demand an acquiescence in his claim to be received as an ambassador from God, by shewing that the doctrines he promulgated, those doctrines of which nominal believers know nothing or only enough to be offended at them, will be found, when thoroughly examined, to bear the undeniable mark of a divine original.

We conclude this long article with confidently predicting, that, high as Mr. Sumner's reputation stood before, it will be exalted by this production; and we have been the less lavish of quotation, from a hope, that the imperfect skeleton we have presented to the reader, will induce him to make nearer and closer acquaintance with the body of the work itself.

ART. XXXI.—*The Two Rectors.* London : Longman and Co. 1824. 12mo. Pp. xvii. 458.

How far the communication of religious knowledge through the medium of fiction be either advisable or proper, we shall not aim to determine, nor even stop to discuss. The Author of our being has endowed us with various faculties, all of which have, undoubtedly, a peculiar province in which their activities are to be exerted ; but when, and how, and where they are to be employed, must be left, in many cases, to the judgment and conscience of individuals. As to ourselves, we readily confess, that, where the religious interests of mankind are immediately concerned, we are far more attached to real history than we are to the most splendid and ingenious fabrications of fancy. But if an author will present the world with religious instruction in the garb of fiction, it may be reasonably expected of him that he should most scrupulously regard and maintain nature, wisdom, truth, and gravity.

The volume before us is a novel, professing to have for its “humble object,” (we should have said its high and noble object,) to heal the wounds of the church, to produce among her children greater unanimity, and thus to promote her stability and prosperity. Such an object is worthy of the best exertions of our best powers. As to that part of the work; then, which properly constitutes the novel, we shall allow it to pass without any remarks, and confine ourselves to its theology.

But before we enter on this task, we must observe that the author seems to us to have set out with one object, and to have concluded with the accomplishment of another. A question of no small moment was once proposed to an able and venerable clergyman, “Pray, Sir, what, in your opinion, is the difference between the old school in religion and the new?” After a pause of a few moments, an answer was given in sufficiently significant language. “Why, in my view the difference seems to be this ; the old school did all it could to separate Christians from the world ; the new school does all it can to drag them back into it.” The book before us is a most striking exemplification of the truth of this remark. It inculcates the maxims, and it breathes the spirit, of a debased and secularized Christianity. It is by no means so well calculated to promote unity, love, and concord, as it is to teach Christians how to mingle the garlick and onions of Egypt with the celestial manna, while they travel over the

wilderness of mortality. If the author supposes, that a lowered and accommodating Christianity would heal divisions and reconcile parties in the church, we differ from him, and have no hesitation in saying, that it would speedily destroy its very existence. Men may reason, as they choose: but we must be the servants of one master. Truth and error, wisdom and folly, good and evil, are such contrary elements, that an attempt to establish a coalition between them is equally impossible and absurd. The prosperity of the church cannot be effected by the adulteration of religion, by staining its robe with the soil and mire of the world; it can only be effected by inducing the worldly, the giddy, and the vain to receive religion, such as it is, in all its glory, riches, and purity.

Not only does this author, in our estimation, pursue his object by wrong means; but, conversant as he must be with the world, he labors under various palpable mistakes, and is carried away, it should seem, by the vehemence of his prejudice or the current of popular report, instead of searching after truth and forming just conclusions. It would be perfectly ridiculous, if it were not painful, to see, how he has picked up a few hackneyed ideas, which he twists and turns, laughs at, rails at, and exposes with a singular union of flippancy, indignation, and imbecillity. The church is divided: an enemy exists in the camp, who calls himself evangelical, far worse than an open foe: this enemy is unsocial, proud, gloomy, austere, and full of Calvynistical notions. Such are the ideas, such the

“Gorgons, and hydras, and chimeras dire,” that float before the vision, disturb the repose, and rouse into action all the energies of this fluent novelist. But in all this we charge him with want of knowledge, or of candour, or of both. We strenuously advocate legitimate discussion, and all proper strictures on the sentiments and practice of any body of men; but we wish every writer to have so much honesty, as not to send volumes into the world, until he is certain, that he is possessed of authentic materials, and has well digested them.

There is, unhappily, no small diversity of opinion among churchmen. The visible church of Christ must ever, in the present state of our nature, have ministers of different characters serving at its altars. There will be some of them, who are laborious and conscientious in the study of religion and in the discharge of their duties; and there will be others, who are idle and indifferent, trifling and secular. But notwithstanding all moral variety of this sort in any branch of the visible church, the ministers of that branch are one body, so

long as they adhere to its established polity and doctrines. As to the term evangelical, we regard it as one of high and holy import; and we consider the true "Concionator Evangelicus," to be a character invested with a peculiar glory: but we are totally at a loss to conceive, how the term can with propriety be applied to one part of our clergy, until the other part avow a want of attachment to the gospel. Still there are some doctrines, which contain more of its essential beauty than others; those for instance, which teach how God has gained himself glory by establishing peace on earth, and shewing good-will to men: and if by the application of the term, evangelical, it be meant, that one part of our clergy is distinguished for their earnestness in enforcing these peculiar doctrines, we see not, why any one should be anxious to decline the name, however slow he should be to assume it.

We have been much amused, and not a little surprised, to find gloominess, austerity, and an unsocial spirit ascribed by our author to those of his fraternity who are the objects of his dislike. We fear, on the contrary, that, if they err, it is on the other side. It is easy for any one to call seriousness austerity, and gravity gloom; and thus the most excellent qualities may be held up to ridicule. A calm, grave, and sedate spirit, mild and unaffected, bespeaking a proper habit of thought and feeling, becomes the legate of the sky. What moping and miserable beings our author may have met with, we aim not to determine: but we think, that the clergy, whom he censures, are, as a body, sufficiently cheerful and social, and that his delineation of their character only shews the scantiness of his knowledge or the violence of his prejudice.

This writer is continually reviving the stale accusation of Calvinism. In the writings of that school, which he labors to degrade, there may be found, we doubt not, many passages, which we might wish had never been written: and there may be living some individuals of this school to many of whose theological sentiments we might hesitate or refuse to subscribe. But, when we consider the weakness and perverseness of the human mind, when we calculate on the innumerable accidental circumstances, that give a peculiar direction to its movements, we are not in the least surprised that a great diversity of religious opinion should exist among religious men. Is it, however, a fact, that the clergy, called evangelical, are calvinistic, and labor to feed their people with the impalpable wind of high notions, and not with the plain and wholesome bread of sound, vital, and practical doctrines? Of an offending individual here and there we can speak nothing; but why must the condemna-

tion of all be grounded on the errors of a few? Our author indeed seems to have little regard for justice or charity, or he would deal out his censures with more discrimination. In fact he has ventured to write on a subject, which he is not competent to discuss; he is carried away by the common prejudices of an unreflecting multitude; and his views are formed on the common-place calumnies of those besotted individuals, who traduce men, because they hate religion. We shall now proceed to the work itself, and notice a few particulars in each of its chapters.

Mr. Gordon, a London clergyman, "a great admirer of the fair sex," puts himself into the mail-coach, to visit Mr. Alworthy, an old fellow-collegian, who had a living in one of the great mercantile towns of the kingdom. The first chapter contains an account of Mr. Gordon's journey; it is sufficiently amusing; but of course it is preparatory to what follows. Mr. Gordon admits, that an improvement in religion has of late years taken place from "the activity of so many able, enlightened, and zealous advocates." (P. 19.)

We would ask him, who, under the blessing of God, have been most instrumental in producing this great change? He admits also, that there

"still exists among many a lamentable want of deep reflection upon this subject." (Pp. 19, 20.)

We would again ask him, of whom do you speak? He hopes, "that the sober principles of our faith may wholly supersede that mode, which is produced solely by feelings." (P. 20.)

Such a crude insinuation needs no comment. The clergy, to whom he alludes, are far more anxious, we think, to establish piety on principle, on judgment, reason, and conviction, than they are to excite or captivate the fluctuating passions of the heart. Moderation is easily commended, and ultra zeal is as easily condemned; but the more valuable and far more arduous task would be, to awaken the drowsy spirits and call into action the dormant energies of the indifferent. But we dismiss the chapter, which is certainly by no means calculated to raise high expectations of a work intended to promote unanimity in the church.

The next chapter is called "the Bookseller's shop," because Mr. Gordon visits one in this mercantile town. Mr. Alworthy is represented as a pleasant man, rather low-spirited, calvinistic, and an evangelical preacher. Religion is to him the source of all his happiness, and without it "all here seems darkness and misery." Mr. Gordon is constitutionally cheerful. On the introductory conversation of

these gentlemen, of whom the one is as feeble and pliable as the other is bold, fluent, and plausible, we can only observe, that it proceeds on a completely mistaken view, and can only be supported by facts, that are exceptions to general rules, and which therefore prove nothing.

We were rather surprised at the manner in which our novelist brings forward the character of the late pious and venerable Mr. Scott. That character demands no vindication from us. "The Force of Truth," which wrought so powerfully and beneficially on the mind of Henry Kirk White, and the "Essays," which wrought with equal power and benefit on the acute and accomplished mind of the late Dr. Bateman, have nothing to fear from the present writer.

On the subject of the education of the poor, our author speaks with such a sort of reserve as manifestly betrays his disapprobation of it. With him it is a delicate matter, open to contrariety of sentiment, on which he will give no opinion; a matter of expediency and necessity; a choice of one evil to avoid another. Far from us and from our friends, be that timid policy and cold calculation, which would lead us to sacrifice the best interests of our species at the shrine of temporal interest, if indeed at any time there were a collision between them. But such a collision is a mere fancy, inspired by some evil power, to divide the opinions, deaden the energies, and weaken the efforts of men in this great work of duty and benevolence. If education do partial harm, yet ignorance is universal evil: and as we contemplate with gratitude that the Bible alone is the wisdom of protestants, so we contemplate with almost equal gratitude that the Bible in every hand is the benevolence of protestants. As to those who scarcely wish that every poor man should read the Bible, we are strongly inclined to think, that they themselves read it with but little delight, and with less benefit.

At the close of this chapter we have an important document, a catalogue of a library for a lady. On this we offer no remark, but that the works of Bishop Hall, Archbishop Leighton, and Bishop Beveridge, and also the works of that venerable lady, Mrs. Hannah More, may be added to the list; and, as we think, Lalla Rookh may be expunged from it without any detriment.

In the next section, "Social intercourse," we find Mr. Gordon succeeding in getting the daughters of his host into the world. These young ladies are represented as very retired, amiable, and more richly stored with divinity than, we fear, one-fifth of our clergy, whether ordinary or evangelical.

In some general remarks on the reprobated party, our author admits, that

“every sincere Christian must applaud their ardour to be thoroughly acquainted with the religion they profess, and that no people study it in all its parts so much as they do.” (Pp. 84, 85.)

He also admits,

“their exemplary mode of fulfilling the duty of private, individual worship.” (P. 85.)

This is no mean eulogy : but we request this sagacious writer to trace, as a sound philosopher, causes to their effects ; and he will then perhaps find in the excellence, which he applauds, the springs of those very proceedings which he distorts and condemns.

Our author makes his representative, Mr. Gordon, expatiate on what he calls “a serious, or spiritual rout.” The thing itself may be objectionable ; but we are sorry to see a clergyman so far forget the law of love, as to use a phrase that would please the sarcastic spirit of a Gibbon. We have in the next place an argumentative conversation between Messrs. Gordon and Alworthy, on recreation and amusement ; the latter is subdued by the flowing eloquence of the former ; and the result is, that the young ladies are to be ushered into a select company. One keen remark occurs here, which the wise will turn to good account.

“Did not the lively expressions of their sense of the working of sin in their hearts seem to indicate more pleasure in having to acknowledge the sin, than pain that there was the sin to be acknowledged ?” (Pp. 98, 99.)

The young ladies and their mother are now to be seen in the party ; and the manner in which the evening was spent is distinctly stated.

“Here a party of four or five men were gaining from each other all that could be collected of the passing occurrences of the day ; another set were on the subjects of commerce and discoveries in mechanics. One was recounting to another group the pleasing and interesting incidents and occurrences of a journey into a distant part of the country, commenting upon the variations of the mode of agriculture, or the manner of manufacturing articles of different descriptions ; while another was detailing to those around him the peculiar circumstances of such judicial proceedings as were passing in the courts of law ; and a third explaining the treatment of various cases of sickness prevalent in their neighbourhood. Ladies were conversing with ladies on the shape and colour of dress ; others were inquiring into the nature of the popular works of the day ; in short, all were agreeably busied ; and cheerfulness, good humour, and contentment sat smiling upon the countenances of all. The room, spacious as it was, was full without being crowded ; card-tables were set out, and upon others were placed splendid works, fine engravings, scrap-books, albums,

and the like; and in a short time all the company was occupied." (Pp. 109, 110.)

In all this we see the world, but we do not see the real Christian.

Before we quit this subject, we must observe, that we are no advocates of any thing, that is wrong or perverse or absurd, among religious people. Of what our author sarcastically calls spiritual routs, we cannot speak at present: but we fear, that some of his remarks are not entirely without foundation. We have long thought social intercourse to be a subject, for the regulation of which it would be by no means an easy task to lay down satisfactory rules. Our author seems to feel no difficulty, and decides the point with perfect ease. Every thing that comes under the description of evil-speaking; and every thing that generates pride and bad feeling of any sort, should be most carefully avoided: but then shall Christians meet, shall a clergyman be among them, shall they spend several hours together, and shall religion be politely buried in total oblivion? Of the two evenings, which our author has adverted to or described, though the one be given in caricature, and the other in factitious charms, no wise man can hesitate which to choose, if he must choose either. Religion with all its blunders is far better than mere secularity. The pious, however imperfect, remember the whole of their character and the whole of their existence; while, on the contrary, the worldly forget the most important part of each.

But we hasten to the next section of the work, "The missionary," which indeed scarcely demands any notice, as it would be difficult to find any close connexion between it and our author's "humble object." He dislikes both the name and labours of the Church Missionary Society; and he roundly asserts, that in his view

"the bold asserters of the doctrines of election and perseverance, so far from being parts of our church, are its enemies." (P. 127.)

Christianity, we find, is not to obtain extensive diffusion and a permanent establishment in India, but by doctrines and modes of proceeding, very different from those adopted by the Church Missionary Society. He suggests, that missionaries, in order to be successful, must get access to the teachers and men of rank and importance, exhibit conciliatory manners, make useful communications in natural science, and thus perhaps ultimately convert these leaders.

The next division of this performance, "Patriotism," will not detain us long. With respect to the alleged disloyalty of dissenters, we leave our author and the delinquents to settle the point together. That our blessed Lord was a true patriot we do not doubt; but, we confess, we were never taught

before to consider his laying down his life for his sheep as an exemplification of "the noble spirit of his country's love." Our author observes, that

"It is our duty to bear as well with the religious and political differences of our neighbours, as with their infirmities and sickness"—: (P. 204.)

and yet, what little forbearance does he manifest towards these clergymen, whose "austerity and want of liberality and true Christian charity he must ever condemn!" We expected in this section to find, that something was wrong in the political creed or conduct of a certain part of the sacred order. In this we were mistaken: and therefore we do not clearly see, how it stands connected with the promotion of unity in the church.

We consider "Amusements," the title of the next section, as forming a subject, that presents no common difficulties to the sound theological casuist. To rail against all amusements or recreations, as unlawful, immoral, or injurious, and to applaud them, as giving to human life a large portion of its purest pleasures, are extremes: but the candid examiner will come to the investigation in a different spirit, and he will frequently confess, that his conclusions are to be received rather, as modest suggestions, than as peremptory dogmas. Happily, where religion operates, the tendency of its holy attractions will render such refined casuistry in general superfluous. The soul, that is illumined by its truth and purified by its efficacy, will despise common amusements, as idle and frivolous, and will not choose to play with straws, when it ought to be gathering gems.

But, whatever difficulty may belong to this subject in reference to Christians in general, in reference to clergymen it is far less ambiguous, and may be reduced to a narrow compass. If a clergyman says, that all things are lawful for him, yet he must also say, that all things are not expedient for him. It is his duty not merely to consider the moral character of an action or a habit in itself, but also to take into account with all fidelity the probable consequences of his conduct in its influence upon others. Let his motto be, "unspotted from the world"—!

Our author's discussion, of the question, as might be expected from the advocate of "mirth and cheerfulness," is very unsatisfactory. As to hunting, indeed, he, as a clergyman, is "decidedly opposed to it," and he "hesitates not at once to pronounce it derogatory to the sacred office for any to engage in it." (P. 243.)

On the other hand he tells us:

"I have never known nor heard of any evil arising from dancing,

but on the contrary much kindness, and real friendship and good feeling to result from it." (P. 263.)

The ball-room, the concert, the opera, the theatre, and the gun, the card-table also, as has been already seen, are allowed by this accommodating writer, while he would give "no quarter to the clerical fox-hunter." If our readers wish to see how a bishop of the united church treats this subject, he will find a quotation from a charge of Bishop Jebb, in our twenty-first volume, p. 99.

In the next division of the work, "The Keeper's Lodge," we see partridges fall, we find a marriage concluded, and we hear a great deal of theology. Our author leads us to examine the nature of faith, which he calls "a dry point of divinity;" and he tells us of an historical faith, a faith to do miracles, a temporary faith, and a saving faith. He dwells on the last at considerable length; and his statement forms a singular specimen of modern theology.

"But the true vital faith, the faith in Christ, is that *saving faith* which, combining knowledge and assent, leads the Christian firmly to rely upon the love and mercy of God, through the merits and intercession of the Redeemer, and makes that belief the guide of his life, shewing him that it is by implicit obedience to the laws of the gospel, and a firm belief in the merits of Christ's atonement, that salvation can be obtained, and that the manifold sins, of which the best men are guilty, can only be ransomed from punishment by the infinite love and mercy of him who came from heaven to seek and to save, even to the uttermost, and to preserve unto himself 'a people zealous of good works.' And as when the breath or spirit leaves the human body, death necessarily follows, so when this vital faith leaves religion, we become not merely unprofitable servants, but direct aliens from God, slaves of sin, and subject to eternal condemnation.

"Now this genuine evangelical faith consists of the aspirations of the soul to God, and the disposition of the heart to man; the former cannot be laid open to the world, the latter may; the one is known only to the conscience, the other is manifested by keeping the commandments and performing all those duties to the Almighty which the gospel enjoins, and all those other acts of duty, enjoined by the same authority towards our fellow-creatures and ourselves. And though neither faith nor obedience singly can procure our justification, yet both in conjunction constitute the conditions of salvation, through Christ, prescribed by the covenant of grace." (Pp. 295—297.)

"The conditions of our justification are faith and good works, a faith sanctified by the Spirit, and works made perfect by the satisfaction of him who, by his blood, hath obtained remission of our sins." (P. 308.) What is meant by a faith sanctified by the Spirit? The author makes no distinction between justification and salvation. He says, that faith, "comprising belief and obedience jointly," is the faith, that justifies. We hope and think,

that the clergy, whom he so excessively dislikes, understand the Christian system much better, unfold it more clearly, harmoniously, and justly, and do not confound things that ought to be kept distinct. As to justification, they consider man as not in the least degree contributing to it: "it is God that justifieth." They look, we presume, on faith, as a principle, that, where it is true and justifying, leads to all good works. In their view, justifying faith is a foundation, and good works are the superstructure. Such sentiments are, in our opinion, far more scriptural, and in far stricter accordance to the doctrines of our church, than those, which our author has chosen to submit to the world, as an exhibition of his presumed orthodoxy, in opposition to the pestilential opinions of the day.

On the next section, "The repentant criminal," a few words will be sufficient. After all our acquaintance with the rash dogmatism of the author, we were surprised to hear him speak in such positive terms about dead-bed repentance and the repentance of criminals.

"You may supplicate, and so may the sufferer, for pardon: but the gospel, so far from holding out any expectation of it in such cases, declares the direct contrary." (P. 337.)

It is undoubtedly a most perilous experiment to put off religion to the last hour: the piety, acquired at so late a season, may be rightly considered of a questionable nature: but where is the passage of scripture that forbids our entertaining hope? Surely, as our author admits, it is not for us to limit the divine mercy. We grant, indeed, that there is little wisdom in circulating splendid details of conversion in such circumstances. Of such apparent conversions, however we may think with hope, we ought to speak with diffidence. But, believing as we do, that pardon was never refused to real repentance, we are at a loss to reconcile the contradictory statements which follow. Of a condemned malefactor, it is first said, that

"never did a man die more resigned, or more truly penitent." (p. 354.) Yet in the next page but one it is stated, that

"when on the platform, he looked around; but, reflecting, that there were none, that could, or that ought to pity him, that he was now, as it were, alone upon the earth, forsaken by God, despised by man, he put up an earnest prayer to Heaven, and hastened to the conclusion of the tragic scene; and he died in a moment, saved from the pang of knowing, that his children were orphans, and that his wife had died, broken-hearted, ere his guilty soul had quitted the comely, but frail tabernacle of his body." (Pp. 356, 357.)

The next section, "The Church Service," presents us with much to condemn. A painful and awful subject, the ineffi-

ciency of preaching, is discussed in a most unsatisfactory manner. The man of God, of the Bible, of the closet, who meekly depends upon, and implores the blessing of the Holy Spirit, will in all probability be the most successful preacher. God will honor those, who honor him. No cultivation of eloquence, no excitement of the passions, no going with the times, will ensure ministerial success; in vain does any one hope for it, unless he advances plainly, soundly, and fully the genuine doctrines of Christianity, and shews by his separation from the world, and by his holy and useful life, that he is not merely a preacher, but a true believer, "transformed by the renewing of his mind," and, in a word, deeply and happily acquainted with the truths which he inculcates on others.

But we must leave this weighty subject, to notice the last section, "The Departure," which we consider the most feeble, perverse, and malevolent part of the work. Mr. Alworthy, now converted from gloominess and austerity to cheerfulness and gaiety, expresses himself in a manner, both as to language and spirit, perfectly congenial to that of his friend, while Mr. Gordon ventures on another philippic against calvinism, methodism, and evangelism. We have here also a vision of the future judgment; a most flippant delineation of that day, which, we humbly hope, every truly good man anticipates with holy awe.

We turn from it, and indeed from the volume which contains it, with serious concern.—We are confident, that all judicious and thoughtful readers will, on an honest examination of it, pronounce it to be crude, superficial, and contradictory; and for our own part, it has seldom been our lot to see a writer come forward with such freedom and confidence in a most important and arduous cause, so destitute of qualifications for his undertaking. In conclusion we beg to call his attention to a short extract from a charge of Archbishop Magee, from which we have already enriched our pages with one quotation, in vol. xli. p. 48. "It will not do, to boast of our orthodoxy, and to shew no fruit of right opinions in our practice; to content ourselves with exclaiming against what is called new light, without endeavoring to extend to our flocks the benefits of the old; to be fearful of an excess of zeal, without any alarm as to the consequence of indifference; and to reserve, for the appearance of sanctity and separation from the world amongst our brethren, the indignation and censure, which should be bestowed upon levity of demeanour and habitual carelessness about spiritual concerns." (Primary Charge. Pp. 17, 18.)

ART. XXXII.—*The Epistles of Paul, the apostle, translated, with an exposition and notes*, by the Rev. Thomas Belsham, minister of Essex-street Chapel. London: Hunter. 1822. 8vo. 4 vols. Pp. lxxxiv. and 2247.

If we were required to characterize this publication in a single sentence, we know not, how we could execute the task better than by saying in the words of Cowper, applied on a very different occasion, that it serves St. Paul, as a cook serves a dead turkey, when she fastens the legs of it to a post, and draws out all the sinews.

The theological tenets of the school of which Mr. Belsham is the most distinguished advocate, are unhappily too well known. Yet there are admissions in the course of these volumes, which would hardly be expected in the writings of a professed and zealous unitarian. Thus in respect to the doctrine of universal depravity, we read the following just remarks:—

“In the very case where a law has in fact been given, which if observed would have ensured justification, yet such has been the frailty and folly of those who have lived under such a dispensation, that not a single individual has uniformly adhered to the law so as to claim justification by it, but every one by transgression has become obnoxious to its condemning sentence.” (Vol. I. p. 91.)

Even the imputation of Adam's sin to his posterity is affirmed by our author: for he tells us, that St. Paul argues, (and he adds, that whatever we may think of his reasonings, “we are fully authorized to admit his conclusions), that the curses, entailed by Adam's fall, and the blessings secured by the death of Christ, are equally independent of the antecedent merit or demerit of those who are the subjects of them; also, that the curse and the blessing are equally universal, but that the blessings of the gospel extend far beyond the miseries of the fall. It is as though he had said, the mercy of God in the gospel of Christ, may be illustrated by referring to the narrative of the fall. The first sin was the transgression of Adam; and by the law under which he was placed this transgression was punished with death. And death was for this offence entailed upon all his posterity; who are so far regarded as sinning in him, that they are for his transgression condemned to suffer death, without any transgression of their own.” (Vol. I. pp. 110, 111.)

“Mankind were originally created innocent, happy, and immortal, but were soon reduced to their present frail and degraded state, not by any voluntary act or fault of theirs, but by the folly and transgression of their first ancestor; in consequence of which they were, by the awful sentence of God, made subject to sin and death.” (Vol. I. pp. 172, 173.)

"Adam was a transgressor, his sin was reckoned to all his posterity, so far that all became subject to the punishment of death for his one transgression." (Vol. I. p. 119.)

"*The creation was made subject to vanity.* The apostle plainly refers to the state into which mankind were brought by the fall." (Vol. I. p. 171.)

The freedom of the divine justification through faith is also thus strenuously asserted:

"That justification, that is, the blessing of the gospel should be granted to faith, was necessary to the accomplishment of the promise that it should be both gratuitous and universal, extending to all the heirs of Abraham's faith." (Vol. I. pp. 91, 92.)

"Being by our belief in the doctrine and resurrection of Jesus Christ, transferred, like Abraham, out of an unholy into a pardoned and a holy state, without submitting to the rites of the law, we are like that eminent patriarch become friends of God, through the medium of our master Jesus Christ, who was commissioned to offer and to ratify the terms of pacification; and by faith in him we have been introduced by him into that state of privilege and favour which we now occupy." (Vol. I. p. 99.)

"The case of Abraham is clear: he believed and was justified before the birth of Ishmael, many years before circumcision was instituted, Gen. xvii.; and that rite was appointed, not as a means of justification, but as a token that he was already in a justified state, which he had been, and was declared to be long before." (Vol. I. p. 88.)

"All who believe, are, as such, the workmanship of God; created anew by Jesus Christ, and by the profession of the gospel brought as it were into a new world." (Vol. I. p. 304.)

"The blessings of the gospel are the free gift of divine mercy, the possession of which comprehends every thing desirable both for this life and the next." (Vol. IV. p. 170.)

"Believers in the Christian religion are justified by faith without the works of the law; they are brought into a state of privilege and hope by the simple act of belief in Christ, and by making a public profession of their belief independently of a compliance with the Mosaic ritual. And if they live up to their profession and their future expectations, they are not obnoxious to that sentence which the moral law denounces upon all impenitent offenders." (Vol. IV. p. 174.)

"We who serve in the celestial temple are permitted to feast upon our glorious victim, by whose blood, offered once for all, we are sanctified; to eat that flesh which is meat indeed, and to taste of that blood which is drink indeed: and thus to express our fellowship and communion with God, and our devotedness to him." (Vol. IV. p. 722.)

Also the design and effect of Christ's coming are assigned in terms, on the whole, surprisingly correct.

"The death of Christ was an appointment of God, the result of his love. He pitied the wretched state of the heathen world, their ignorance of God, of duty, and of a future life, their inability to help themselves, and their deplorable idolatry and vice; and he determined

to rescue them from their ignorance and guilt and misery, by sending Jesus Christ, his beloved Son, his chosen servant, not only to teach them, but to die for them. And thus the love of God became eminently conspicuous. Had mankind been sinless, the love of God in giving up his Son to die for them would not have been so highly distinguished. Men do not indeed usually expose their lives for the benefit of others, however just and unblameable; although it is possible, that here and there, a generous spirit might be willing to die in order to save the life of some distinguished philanthropist, some illustrious benefactor of mankind. But where could any one be found who would submit to death for the benefit of rebels and enemies? Such, however, was the exceeding greatness of the love of God to man. Christ was sent to die, not for the innocent, not for those who had merited favour by antecedent virtue: No; he died for sinners, for enemies, for those who had forfeited their lives by their transgressions, and who could prefer no claim to mercy." (Vol. I. Pp. 103, 104.)

"God hath included all together in unbelief, that all might be objects of mercy. Such was the plan of the all-wise providence of God. It was his will to hide pride from man, and that all should know that the invaluable privileges of the gospel covenant, and the promise of eternal life, were not the reward of human merit, but the free gift of abounding mercy. And to this end he permitted both Jew and Gentile to fall into a state of ignorance, and vice, and misery, from which nothing could extricate them but the arm of unbounded mercy. All, through unbelief, are become prisoners of his justice; that all might be, and might be made sensible that they were, the objects of his mercy: to which and not to their own antecedent merits, they are wholly indebted for the blessings of the gospel. The main design of these dispensations is, that the whole might be, and might appear, and be acknowledged to be, an act of mercy, and not the reward of merit." (Vol. I. p. 259.)

"The sacrifices of the law are superseded by the far superior sacrifice of the gospel; that sacrifice, which was a great act of filial obedience in him by whom it was presented, and on that account most highly acceptable to God." (Vol. IV. p. 605.)

"This sacrifice which he made of his life for the benefit of mankind, may be called a ransom, a price of redemption from bondage." (Vol. IV. p. 189.)

"All who believe in Christ, and who are members of the Christian community, are said to be redeemed, and sometimes to be redeemed by the blood of Christ." (Vol. II. p. 162.)

"This blood, sprinkled on the believer, reconciles him to God; he no longer appears as an offender against the law." (Vol. IV. p. 702.)

"As the victim by whose death the covenant is ratified, and by whose blood believers are as it were sprinkled and purified, he redeems and delivers them from the anathemas of the obsolete and superseded law, and reconsecrates them as the peculiar people of God under the new covenant." Vol. IV. p. 586.)

"A sentence of death was passed upon all. But Jesus died for the benefit of all." (Vol. II. p. 495.)

“He lived, and died, and rose again, not for his own benefit, but for that of all mankind, both the living and the dead.” Vol. I. p. 297.)

“Great indeed are our obligations to our gracious Master, who voluntarily, and while we were yet sinners, gave himself up as a sacrifice for us, to purify us from the incapacities of our heathen state, and to qualify us for admission among the people of God.” (Vol. III. Pp. 11, 12.)

Of the person of Christ, Mr. Belsham declares, that

“Christ was the seed of David, *κατα σαρα*, according to the flesh, Rom. i. 3: but the Son of God, according to the spirit of holiness; *i. e.* by natural descent the son of David; by the Holy Spirit, the Son of God.” (Vol. II. p. 496.)

“Christ in his moral character was sinless.” (Vol. IV. p. 551.)

In respect to the government of the church by our blessed Saviour he speaks of

“our glorious Lord and Master being advanced by the power of God to supreme authority in his church.” (Vol. III. pp. 177, 178.)

“The distribution of spiritual gifts and powers, in the apostolic age, was under the direction of Christ himself.” (Vol. III. pp. 227.)

“All their spiritual gifts were imparted by Christ in the measure and degree which he thought fit.” (Vol. III. p. 227.)

“Our Lord appears to have maintained personal intercourse with the Church during the apostolic age.” (Vol. II. 620.)

And here Mr. Belsham makes mention of a

“corrective rod, which is sometimes placed in the hands of the apostles, and is exercised under the immediate direction of Christ.” (Vol. II. p. 433.)

He also introduces him, as personally interposing in the concerns of the church, and appearing to the apostles—

“The person to whom Paul addressed himself at this time (says Dr. Priestley,) was probably Christ, whom he saw in his vision. He addressed his prayer for relief to Jesus Christ. It is probably at one of these sacred interviews that the apostle humbly and earnestly requested to be relieved from that bodily infirmity which was so great an obstruction to him in the course of his public duty; and it was upon such an occasion that he received the gracious and memorable answer here recorded.” (Vol. II. pp. 620, 624.)

“The apostle upon every occasion expresses himself as immediately under the direction of Jesus, from whom he received his commission, and with whom he appears occasionally to have been favored with personal interviews, and to have been directed by him in his various journeys.” (Vol. III. p. 353.)

“On 1 Thess. iii. 11, 12. Expositors understand this text as a prayer to Christ, and as authorizing what they call *mediatorial worship* of him. I think the prayer is addressed to Christ; who during the apostolic age maintained a personal intercourse with the church. (Vol. IV. pp. 56, 57.)

Even on the union between Christ and believers, Mr. Belsham says—

“Christ and his church form as it were a complete person : Christ is the head, and the church the body, which derives that light and vigour, and vital influence from him by his doctrine and his spirit, which are essential to the life and nourishment, the growth and beauty of every part, and to the symmetry and perfection of the whole.”

“The church is Christ’s mystical body, which he regards as a constituent part of himself; which therefore he protects, nourishes, and comforts.” (Vol. III. Pp. 178, 276.)

“It is from Christ, the head, that the church which, like the natural body, consists of various parts and limbs, every one in its proper place ornamental, useful, and necessary to the compactness, beauty and perfection of the whole, derives its nourishment and vigour. It is from him that those supplies of the Holy Spirit are communicated, by which every believer in his proper station is qualified to occupy the post assigned him, and contributes to the increase and prosperity of the general body of Christians.” (Vol. III. pp. 237, 238.)

“He gave us the holy spirit as an abiding principle within us, for our consolation and encouragement : a proof that we are already adopted into his family ; and a glorious earnest and pledge of the eventual accomplishment of all his promises, and the completion of all our hopes.” (Vol. II. p. 430.)

“Christians are dead to all expectations from the world, and from the law ; yet they possess a life with Christ ; they are raised with him to a life of holiness, and to the hope of immortal life. This life is treasured up in God ; secure in his purpose and promise. It is also concealed ; for the blessings promised are not known to the world, nor even to believers themselves. But the time will come when the divine purpose shall be made manifest. Christ, their life, the preacher of life, whose resurrection is the proof and pledge of theirs, and who is their living head, whose life is inseparably connected with theirs, shall appear to fulfil his glorious mission, and then they shall be publicly manifested as the heirs of immortal happiness.”

“By the profession of Christianity, you are become new creatures, and have entered into a new world. Your former persons, your heathen selves, are dead. It is however possible that some parts or limbs of this former self may not be quite extinct, but may still possess life and motion. If this be the case, I strictly charge you to put them to death without delay and without reserve.” (Vol. III. Pp. 463, 466.)

“The participation of the eucharistical cup was receiving (i. e. symbolically receiving,) blood from the head into the several limbs ; and partaking of the loaf was (the symbol of) being vital parts of the same body ; so that partaking of the Lord’s supper was a symbol that all believers were vital parts, were flesh and blood of Christ’s mystical body. The sense is, *q. d.* Is not the wine the blood of Christ ? is not the bread the body of Christ ? Is not, then, the participation of both an indication that those who so participate are vital parts of that body, of which Christ is the head ?” (Vol. II. p. 203.)

“The practice of vice is utterly inconsistent with a vital union with him, and with the participation of blessings from him.” (Vol. III. p. 240.)

The doctrine of spiritual influence seems to be occasionally inculcated: for the author observes in paraphrasing St. Paul's words to the Corinthians,

“The wonderful change which has been wrought in your minds, in your hearts and lives, is a more satisfactory evidence of my apostolic mission, than the miraculous engraving of the ten commandments upon tablets of stone by the finger of God, was, of the divine legation of Moses.” (Vol. II. p. 452.)

“No argument nor persuasion of mine would ever have induced any one of you to have renounced the idolatry, in which you had been educated, or the vices to which you were habituated, and to have become the true worshippers of God, and the virtuous disciples of Jesus. Whatever ability I possess, whatever success I have met with, all is the work of God.” (Vol. II. p. 453.)

To the same effect Mr. Belsham allows, that unassisted reason has not always been found adequate to the determination of divine truth; for he says,—

“For wise and good reasons, which it may not be in our power to discover, God did not permit the world to make clear discoveries of his attributes and will, by the exercise of reason, and the acuteness of philosophy; but while he refused to employ these means, and permitted the philosophers to lead their disciples into the grossest delusions, he was pleased to render the preaching of that doctrine which the world call foolishness, efficacious to the salvation of those who received it, and who yielded a practical regard to it.” (Vol. II. p. 26.)

Mr. Belsham even in one part of his elaborate work goes to the full extent of calvinism: for he says—

“From the ages of eternity, when the whole plan of providence was present to the Divine mind, having decreed that at the destined period Jesus of Nazareth should appear in the world, as the deliverer of mankind from ignorance and idolatry, from vice and misery; and that he should be raised from the dead, and put into possession of an everlasting inheritance, God at the same time foresaw, that it would be right that some should believe in him, should become his disciples, and participate in his reward: and upon this foresight he did from the beginning determine to introduce into existence a certain number of human beings, and to place them in those circumstances and to expose them to those influences which would produce the effect required, of forming them to a resemblance to Christ, both in his character and state.

“And whom he predestinated, them he also invited. All who are predestinated to salvation by Christ, either have been or in due time will be so invited to accept of the reasonable terms and the gracious offers of the gospel; they either have had or shall have such means of information of their understandings and conviction of their judgment, and shall have such motives applied to their affections and will,

that they either have been, or will be, induced sincerely and practically to admit the truth of the gospel; to acknowledge Christ as their master; and to govern their conduct by the views and principles of the gospel." (Vol. I. Pp, 184, 185.)

"Though the reason of the appointment of some to advantages and privileges which are denied to others may often not be discoverable by human sagacity, we are not for that reason to suppose that the great common Parent of mankind acts arbitrarily and from caprice; for infinite wisdom always governs its choice by the best motives, though they may be imperceptible or incomprehensible by the human intellect. It is also obvious, though it is not the immediate subject of the apostle's discourse, that the same principles must and do apply to individuals as to communities. The Maker of all things appoints to every human being the circumstances of his birth, his talents, his constitution, his connexion, his education, his early impressions, his moral principles, the result of which is his moral and social habits, his character, his success in life, and his ultimate condition and state. God is the cause of all causes, all things come to pass according to his purpose, and whatever inequalities may appear in his conduct to individuals, no one shall ever have reason eventually to complain of injustice." (Vol. I. p. 207.)

We must not omit to notice that a construction of the Greek words, by which the deity of our blessed Saviour is incontestably proved, is uniformly adopted by the author in places, where that consequence does not follow, as Phil. iv. 20.

"To our God and Father be glory!" (Vol. III. p. 398.)

So the same phrase is translated in 1 Cor. xv. 24; Eph. v. 20; Col. i. 3; and 1 Thess. iii. 11. How then can the like inference in respect to the identity of our Saviour, Jesus Christ, and the great God be disputed in Tit. ii. 13? The one phrase is *τῷ Θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ ἡμῶν*. The other is *τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*. The first proves our God and our Father to be the same. The other proves our great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ to be the same. The inference is equal in both instances; and in both it is conclusive. Yet in reference to the former texts Dr. Priestley says:

"I would observe what is conspicuous through all the New Testament, that *God* and the *Father* are synonymous terms, neither Christ nor any other person being so much as called God." (Vol. III. p. 398.)

On the latter he remarks:

"From this expression some have *hastily* inferred, that Jesus Christ and the great God were the same person." (Vol. IV. p. 390.)

When these admissions are duly considered, it may be difficult to account for the occasional unwillingness of the author, if we should not rather say his general repugnance, to adopt the very same truths on other occasions, except upon the idea, that the admissions were a reluctant concession to

the force of truth. Why else, after the statement already adduced, of universal depravity, should the author labor to reduce the import of the testimony to that fact in the fourteenth psalm, saying—

“ It is difficult to say to whom the original description was intended by the Psalmist to be applied: surely not to every individual Israelite in his day, nor even to the majority of his countrymen; perhaps he refers to his enemies only, who opposed his accession to the crown. He might possibly have too bad an opinion of his countrymen.” (Vol. I. p. 67.)

Or why should he resort to a figurative explanation to account for what he has already admitted in the broad and literal statement? as when he says

“ Not having been admitted into covenant with God, the heathen are represented as sinners and enemies, and in an unjustified, unpardoned state? (Vol. II. p. 103.)

“ Sinners and heathen are convertible terms.” (Vol. II. p. 322.)

Again after his fair and explicit statement of the scriptural method of justification, Mr. Belsham subsequently explains it quite away by broadly affirming that the apostle by

“ his doctrine of justification by faith without works meant nothing more than that by faith in Jesus, as the Messiah, they were admitted into the Christian community, without submitting to the Jewish ritual.” (Vol. I. p. 63.)

“ This symbolical and highly figurative mode of expression gives no countenance to the modern and extravagant doctrine of the sinner being clothed with the imputed righteousness of Christ, in order to his justification: a notion than which nothing can be more foreign to the apostle's mind, or more inconsistent with reason and with Christianity; and which indeed never occurred to any one's imagination till many centuries after the mission and ministry of the apostles had been concluded.” (Vol. III. p. 73.)

“ Gentiles, as such, being out of covenant, are *sinners*. Believers are in a corresponding sense *holy, reconciled, and adopted*. Forgiveness of sins, therefore, in this connexion, is admission to the privileges of the gospel: it is the translation from an unholy to a holy state.” (Vol. III. p. 159.)

“ God is said to have freely forgiven the sins of their heathen state, by having gratuitously admitted them to a participation of the privileges of the gospel, upon the profession of their faith in Christ. This, in the apostle's language, is being justified freely by his grace.” (Vol. III. p. 471.)

And in this unwarrantable statement we cannot but weep to think that he has the support of one, though happily but of one English prelate, who in his memorable questions to candidates for holy orders, which have never been authoritatively withdrawn, first insists on our justification being exclusive of works, and then lowers that cardinal truth down

to the untenable notion of justification by baptism. We trust however, that, while the text of St. Paul is uncorrupted, his doctrine will purge off every baser admixture, however supported, and remain victorious.

But again what is the faith, which according to Mr. Belsham justifies a sinner? He shall speak for himself.

"The great article of the Christian faith is, that God raised Jesus our Lord from the dead. All who believe this important fact are justified in the sight of God, that is, they are received and acknowledged as members of the Christian community." (Vol. I. p. 97.)

"The words express no moral change, but merely the separation of believers by baptism from unbelieving Jews and Gentiles, their admission into the church of Christ, and their participation of all its privileges and blessings." (Vol. II. p. 112.)

And to whom does this justification extend? From the preceding statement it would appear to belong to those only who are baptized. But elsewhere we are told—

"Through the free goodness of God all who became transgressors by Adam's fall are justified and made righteous by Christ's one act of obedience; the sentence of death is reversed, and all are restored to life, in circumstances far superior to those from which Adam fell." (Vol. I. p. 119.)

In the same way Mr. Belsham shews a natural eagerness to get rid of every statement which implies an atonement for sin, although from the truths we have already quoted from his pages the necessity of such an atonement for the recovery of fallen man may fairly be deduced. Thus he says—

"In order to extract any appearance of argument in favour of this unscriptural doctrine, it is necessary first to interpret the word REDEMPTION, which often expresses deliverance without purchase, as necessarily including a ransom paid, and finally, to interpret the expression, that 'God may be just' as alluding to a satisfaction, made to justice by the atonement of Christ, when there is no proof, that such satisfaction was ever required, or such atonement ever made." (Vol. I. p. 78.)

Here it seems granted, that our interpretation of redemption is agreeable to the primary and obvious meaning of the word, and nothing further is urged against it, than that, though natural, it is not necessary. A similar eagerness to discard the plain import of a plain statement is discovered in the following passages.

"Christ was delivered for our offences, and was raised again for our justification. The apostle probably meant nothing more than that Christ was delivered up to death, and was raised again that we might be justified from our offences; that we who were heathen transgressors might by faith in his resurrection be introduced into a state of covenant privilege. At any rate, the few ambiguous words which the apostle here uses, will not support the commonly received doctrine of atonement for sin by the vicarious sufferings of Jesus Christ. The

free unpurchased love of God is the foundation of all the privileges and hopes of the true Christian." (Vol. I. p. 98.)

"Luther, in order to combat with more advantage the popish doctrine of human merit, advanced the merits of Christ in opposition to it. Then, and not before, it was conceived that God could not forgive sin till an adequate satisfaction had been made to his offended justice : and as sin was considered to be an infinite evil, as committed against an infinite being, it was necessary that the person who made satisfaction should himself be infinite, or God. But you find nothing like this in the scriptures : there God is uniformly represented as forgiving sin freely on the repentance and reformation of the sinner."

"It appears to me probable, that, when it is said Christ died for *sinner*s, the more usual meaning is, that he died for the Gentiles, familiarly called *sinner*s : that is to ratify that new covenant, under which believing Gentiles are admitted to equal privileges with God's ancient people the Jews."

"The sufferings of Christ are placed in the very same light with those of other good men, his followers. As he laid down his life for the brethren, we also are exhorted to do the same if we are called to it ; which shews that there was nothing peculiar in the sufferings of Christ, as making atonement for the sins of men. He suffered in the cause of truth and virtue."

"All mankind, whether Jews or Gentiles, were under a sentence of death, and Christ was sent to publish the new covenant of pardon and reconciliation, and to ratify it by his death. In this sense he died for all." (Vol. II. pp. 120, 310, 415, 494.)

"Neither, indeed, ought any stress to be laid upon the figurative representation of the death of Christ, as a sacrifice, as though it necessarily implied atonement, propitiation, or satisfaction to God for the sins of men ; a notion utterly unfounded in the scriptures. Christ, from good will to men, made a sacrifice of his life upon the cross ; and his benevolent and disinterested conduct in this instance was highly acceptable to God." (Vol. III. pp. 252, 253.)

"If a present of money was called a *sacrifice well-pleasing to God*, can we be surprised that so heroical an act of virtue as that which Christ manifested in his death should also be called a *sacrifice well-pleasing to God*? How then can we be authorized from such phrases as these to suppose that the death of Christ was a sacrifice in any other sense, than that in which this contribution of the Christians at Philippi to Paul was called a sacrifice ; or, than prayer, or any other part of our duty, may be called a sacrifice?" (Vol. III. pp. 396, 397.)

"One great mistake on this subject is, that the apostle is understood to speak of deliverance from sin and its punishment, when he only means deliverance from the yoke of heathenism and the ceremonial law." (Vol. IV. p. 189.)

"Many suppose some great mystery to be involved in the priesthood of Christ ; whereas, in truth, no greater mystery is contained in comparing Christ to a high-priest than in comparing him to a shepherd or a householder." (Vol. IV. p. 495.)

"The author of this epistle" (that to the Hebrews) "carries on a

very ingenious parallel between the Aaronic priesthood and the priesthood of Christ, to the great advantage of the latter, in order to soften the prejudices of his Hebrew readers: all the while meaning nothing more than that the dispensation introduced by Christ relieves those who yield obedience to it from the yoke, the ceremonies, and the sacrifices of the law, that it requires nothing but the practice of virtue, and is intended to last for ever. With this key, if I mistake not, it will be easy to understand the scope, the reasonings, and the allusions of this writer, and to see how little foundation this celebrated epistle lays for the modern unscriptural doctrine of atonement." (Vol. I. p. 541.)

"This explains the sense in which the word *sinner* often occurs in the New Testament; and also that in which the blood of Christ is said to cleanse from sin, for it is never said to atone for it. *They* are called *sinners* who live neither under the Mosaic nor under the Christian covenant; and who are therefore said to be in an unholy state, how excellent soever their moral character may be. And they are called *saints*, or *holy*, who publicly profess the Christian religion whatever be the imperfection of their moral characters. And these are purified by the blood of Christ, because his death ratified the new covenant, and his blood is in a figurative sense said to be sprinkled upon believers, to separate them from the unbelieving world to the service and worship of God." (Vol. IV. 590, 591.)

"The mass of modern critics, having their imaginations occupied with the persuasion, that the death of Christ was somehow or other an expiation for the moral offences of mankind, an idea, which never crossed the mind of the writer of this epistle, mix up this notion, of which their minds are full, with all which this writer advances upon the subject of ceremonial pollutions and levitical sacrifices; by which . . . the writer only means to satisfy the Hebrews that the death of Christ has put an end to the Mosaic institute, the law of works; and that of course it for ever supersedes the necessity of sacrifices to those who believe in Christ." (Vol. IV. Pp. 611, 607.)

But the author has found one text, which in his view fully refutes the doctrine of atonement. It is Heb. vii. 27.

"This text has greatly puzzled the commentators; and is indeed, when rightly understood, a complete refutation of the popular doctrine of the *atonement*: *i. e.* that Christ died to expiate, or make atonement, or offer satisfaction, or appease the wrath of the Father for the sins, the moral offences of mankind. **THIS HE DID** once for all: What? The construction plainly requires, that the antecedent should be, '*he offered sacrifice first for HIS OWN SINS*, and after that for those of the people.' So Grotius: *Videtur hic et supra dici. c. v. 3. Christus quoque obtulisse non sæpius quidem, sed semel pro peccatis non populi tantum, sed et suis.* So Crellius; '*Principaliter hic de oblatione pro ipsius pontificis agi, ex superioribus, ipsoque rationum contextu manifestum est.*' To avoid, however, the shock which it would naturally give to the feelings of those who did not understand the author's meaning, and indeed in perfect consistency with their own

mistaken views of the subject, most of the commentators introduce an exceptive clause, unwarranted by the text. So Peirce expounds the passage, Who has no need, like the priests under the law, from time to time to offer up sacrifice, first for his own sins, and after for the people's. For this latter he did once for all, when he offered up himself, and as to the former, he had no occasion to do it at all.' So also Sykes: 'He had no sins of his own, and therefore could not offer for them.' So Doddridge: 'Of the former of these he never had need, nor could there be any room for it: and this last he did once for all.' See also Whitby, Rosenmuller, &c. And, no doubt, if the writer of this epistle had entertained the same ideas of *the doctrine of the atonement* which these learned and pious expositors did, he would have made the same reserve; whereas, as Crellius justly remarks, the context plainly points out the sins of the high-priest as the principal object. In what sense, then, can it justly be said, that Christ 'offered up a sacrifice for his own sins?' The plain interpretation is, that the sins of Christ were merely ceremonial, such as the high-priest was accustomed to expiate on the day of atonement: ch. ix. 7. Our Lord sprang out of Judah; of which tribe Moses spake nothing concerning the priesthood: v. 14. He was, therefore, as to the priesthood, in the unconsecrated state; that is, ceremonially a sinner. And as Aaron was consecrated to his priestly office by the blood of animal sacrifices, so Christ was consecrated to his nobler office by his own blood. In this sense he offered a sacrifice for his own sins. This way of representing the death of Christ was adapted to conciliate the prejudices of the Hebrew Christians." Vol. IV. pp. 550, 551.)

"It is evident all along, that he is addressing the Hebrews upon their own principles, laboring to reconcile them to the offensive doctrine of a crucified Messiah, and an abrogated law, without the least allusion to a supposed atonement for the moral offences of mankind." (Vol. IV. p. 594.)

Is it then to this, that all the arguments of the epistle to the Hebrews on the priesthood of Christ are reduced? Then there is no type or antitype; but Aaron made a ceremonial atonement for ceremonial offences: and Christ, to conciliate the prejudices of the Hebrew Christians, may be represented to have done the same. Well may such reasoning be called verbal and declamatory, p. 423. For ourselves we are persuaded, that Christ's sacrifice was offered for actual moral offences; and, as he is admitted to have had none such of his own, the exceptive clause, introduced by most of the commentators, must of course be understood, the admitted sinlessness of Christ making it necessary.

Indeed, could we entertain a different opinion, could we imagine, that the death of Christ was only a ritual expiation of ceremonial transgressions, we cannot conceive on what rational principle the necessity of his death could be maintained. It was in that case only a formal act, necessary to

give validity to a covenant. But why necessary? Could not the Almighty have admitted his fallen creatures into favour without the death of a victim? If indeed the holiness of his nature and government required an atonement to be made for every wilful transgression of his commandment, it is clear he could not. But, if the necessity of a real atonement is denied, where can be the necessity of a formal one? and what benefit can mankind derive from the voluntary sacrifice of Christ, which was not attainable without it? Indeed the author does not rate that benefit very high, when he says—

“No sins of ignorance, no involuntary violations of ritual precepts, exclude from the new covenant. Christ has completely saved his disciples from all lapses of this kind.” (Vol. IV. p. 546.)

And he only allows to our blessed Lord the title of the author of eternal salvation, as

“Having taught the doctrine, and being himself an example of the fact; having led the way to eternal life.” (Vol. IV. p. 503.)

Again, after the description, which Mr. Belsham has given of our Lord, as personally interposing for the direction of the apostles, and government of his church, in the first ages of Christianity, his readers must naturally be surprised to learn from him, that this government has been since withdrawn.

“Christ had a personal intercourse with the church during the apostolic age, of which there has been no proof or example since.”

“There might therefore be a propriety in ascribing effects immediately to his interposition, and even in directing prayers to him in the apostolic age.”

“But this is far from authorizing us to pray to Christ when we do not see him, and cannot know that he is present to hear us, or authorized to do any thing for us if he did.”

“Nor is there any reason to suppose that Christ exercises any personal authority over believers: but as the dominion of Satan signifies the dominion, not of a real person, but of ignorance, idolatry, and vice, so the dominion of Christ is the dominion, not of Christ personally, but of the doctrines and the spirit of the gospel.” (Vol. III. Pp. 231, 620, 422.)

Is then an actual sense of the presence of the object of worship essential to the acceptable performance of the duty of prayer? Then is there something to be said for idolatry: for, as God himself is not an object of sense, we need some sensible image, to which our petitions may be addressed. We however are satisfied with following the example of the apostles of our Lord; and we leave it with Mr. Belsham to prove, if he can, that we are not right in doing so.

After all, however, the feature in this work, which will most startle every humble believer, is the irreverent freedom, with which the translator of St. Paul treats his divinely-instructed

author. We give a few out of innumerable instances, leaving them to produce their natural effect on the mind of the reader.

"This apostle, as well as the other ancient writers, seems to have been too fond of what we now call a play upon words, using the same term in different senses; which, though it may sometimes amuse and entertain, yet too often misleads the reader." (Vol. I. p. 59.)

"The apostle does not say, that he was inspired to assert the literal truth of the Mosaic history of the fall: probably, he knew no more of it than we do. Perhaps he only argued *ex concessio*, upon the supposition of the fact; and certainly no reasonable person in modern times can regard it in any other light than as an allegory or fable, the moral of which is sufficiently apparent." (Vol. I. p. 110.)

"Such is the train of the apostle's reasoning, the defect of which need not be pointed out." (Vol. I. p. 112.)

"If the apostle had expressed himself in the clear distinct manner of a correct writer, it would have been in some such language as this: "i. e. Mr. Belsham's! (Vol. I. p. 114.)

"Had the apostle been a correct writer, the antithesis would have stood in this form." (Vol. I. p. 110.)

"This is the train of ideas in the apostle's mind; it is not for us to inquire whether it is the most accurate and logical way of reasoning upon the subject." (Vol. I. p. 126.)

"Paul, having been educated among the Pharisees, who were strict predestinarians, appears to have retained a peculiar partiality to this doctrine, and frequently introduces it in a way which, though strictly true and perfectly consistent with the divine character, and with the most enlightened philosophy, is, nevertheless, by many, thought to be unguarded, and even dangerous to good morals. It has also excited, in the minds of some, a most unreasonable prejudice against the apostle's writings; while others have endeavored to vindicate him by interpreting his words in a sense, which they will not bear. The apostle however, in this instance, needs no apology. His assertions will be found to be strictly true; though they may require explanation, to guard against consequences to which possibly he did not advert." (Vol. I. p. 183.)

"The apostle's argument in these verses from the Mosaic history, will not bear any great stress to be laid upon it." (Vol. II. p. 229.)

"We have no reason to believe that the apostle was a profound metaphysician." (Vol. II. p. 488.)

"Where reasoning is introduced, the claim to inspiration is in that instance waved, and the apostle's *doctrine* may be *true* and his conclusion *just*, though his reasoning may be sometimes *illogical* and his premises *doubtful*." (Vol. III. p. 51.)

"The apostle's directions are better suited to the state of society and manners in the East, where the female sex then were, and still are, kept under an undue and ungenerous restraint, than to the more enlightened views and more polished manners of European countries and

modern times; and they are by no means to be regarded as obligatory in their strict and literal meaning." (Vol. III. p. 270.)

"Such is the nature of the apostle's argument, which, to say the truth, is of no great weight, and will hardly bear him out in his conclusions." (Vol. IV. p. 196.)

All scripture is given by inspiration of God. In this sense the word scripture must necessarily be restrained to the sense which suits the connexion: that is, to the *prophetic* scriptures, of which alone the apostle is treating. To understand it, as some do, as a general authoritative assertion of the plenary inspiration of all the books of the Old Testament, is, to say the least, very injudicious; and it is hard to believe that the apostle intended to make a declaration so palpably erroneous." (Vol. IV. p. 339.)

"The fashion of allegorizing the Old Testament might not be unpleasing to those who were accustomed to Jewish habits of thinking and reasoning, and who were not proficient in the dialectic art. It is, however, quite impossible that such writing and reasoning should have any claim to inspiration." (Vol. IV. p. 423.)

"The difference is so great between the nonsense of the doctrinal, and the wisdom of the practical part of this short epistle, that one might be tempted to believe that they were written by different authors." (Vol. IV. p. 424.)

"This writer frequently quotes passages of scripture merely from the sound of the words, without any regard to the connexion or to the true meaning of the text; and the arguments are often of no intrinsic value, being addressed merely to the *professed opinions*, and sometimes (it should seem) even to the *ignorance* of his readers. The writer of this epistle, whoever he was, is more of an eloquent declaimer than a judicious reasoner. Christianity is not bound to defend all her advocates: the doctrine may be, and undoubtedly is true, though some of the arguments alleged by its friends may be inconclusive, and some of its advocates injudicious." (Vol. IV. p. 439.)

"This writer, citing the passage more from regard to the sound than to the sense, inverts the meaning of the psalmist." (Vol. IV. p. 444.)

"I cannot therefore agree with the author of this epistle, in the censure which he passes upon the believing Hebrews." (Vol. IV. p. 509.)

"This mode of reasoning is evidently inconclusive, and in the present enlightened age is altogether discarded; but it was admired and approved in the age when this epistle was written, and was probably well adapted to the crude conceptions and to the inveterate prejudices of the simple and illiterate Hebrews. (Vol. IV. p. 526.)

"It is an idea so improbable, so revolting, so unlike any thing and every thing in the divine character and dispensations, that a father should be required to sacrifice his own son upon the altar, that notwithstanding the testimony of the book of Genesis, appealed to as it is by the author of this epistle, whose authority, however, is of little value, I must acknowledge that I feel great doubt as to the reality of the fact: (Vol. IV. p. 649.)

"The safer course appears to be, after having inferred the divine legation of Moses from the perfection of Jewish theism, to consider how far we are warranted by evidence to receive the whole Pentateuch as written or dictated by Moses himself; and to inquire whether all the facts recorded are equally authentic; and by what criteria we may separate those which are worthy of entire confidence, from those which are of a doubtful or suspicious aspect." (Vol. IV. p. 664.)

Yet Mr. Belsham again and again admits

"The apostle assumes, as the foundation of his analogy, the account of the fall of man, as recorded in the book of Genesis, and argues upon it as literally true." (Vol. II. p. 328.)

He admits also, that there are some truths, which "the apostle declares, as a doctrine of immediate revelation." (Vol. II. p. 528.)

But he adds,
"that, wherever he does not expressly assert his inspiration, he is not to be regarded as inspired. For inspiration is a miracle, which is never to be admitted but upon the clearest evidence. And the apostle no where claims unlimited inspiration." (Vol. II. p. 149.)

Nevertheless on the mode of dealing with his author, of which we have thought it necessary to produce the preceding specimens, Mr. Belsham is on more than one occasion his own censor: for without entering into the question, how far he is to be regarded, as inspired, it is sufficient to observe, that he quotes with approbation

"that judicious observation of Mr. Locke, that 'they who accuse St. Paul as a loose writer, prove themselves to be loose readers.'"
and tells us—

"It is rather too much to say, that the author of the address to the Athenians, Acts xvii. and of the defence before Festus and Agrippa, Acts xxvi. was an inelegant and embarrassed speaker." (Vol. II. pp. 165, 574.)

Our readers may perhaps be curious to know, how Mr. Belsham turns the edge of some of those texts, which are commonly thought most decisive of the deity of Christ. We will therefore proceed to gratify them.

First, in respect to the pre-existence of our blessed Saviour, he reasons in this way from Rom. viii. 30.

"Observe here, that the apostle speaks very familiarly of an event, which exists only in the eternal immutable purpose of God, as having actually taken place, even though it had not then, nor has yet come to pass. They who were foreknown, and predestinated, and invited, and justified, are also said to be glorified; that is, in the divine decree, which at the appointed time will assuredly be fulfilled: which to the all-comprehending mind of God appear, as though they actually existed; in reference to which things, that are not, are spoken of, as though they were. Let it not then be said, that those Christians pervert the language of scripture, who understand our Lord's asser-

tion of his existence before the world was, as an existence and glory which he possessed only in the divine decree ; for if it is quite necessary, in the case before us, to interpret the glorification of true believers, as an event, hitherto only existing in the divine mind, it is equally reasonable to explain the existence and glory, attributed to Christ, as existing only in the divine decree." (Vol. I. p. 187.)

This is ingenious. But there must be a limit to such interpretations ; or we might infer, that our Lord's crucifixion itself exists only in the divine decree : and the apostle meant to affirm, that true Christians are already glorified in their already glorified head, Heb. xii. 22—24.

Secondly, the memorable passage in Phil. ii. 5, 6, is thus translated by our author.

" *Let the same mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus, who being in the form of God, did not peremptorily lay claim to this resemblance of God, but divested himself, assuming the form of a servant, and becoming like other men. And being in condition like another man, in-obedience to God, he humbled himself unto death, even unto death upon a cross.*" (Vol. III. pp. 337—340.)

With the help of interpolations this passage even under Mr. Belsham's management excites an idea, far more favorable to the catholic than to the socinian doctrine ; and therefore a considerable appendage of notes is necessary, in order to explain away the sentiment, which cannot be dissipated in translation. It appears from the version, that Christ was at one time in the form of God, and that he voluntarily divested himself of it. This is intelligible. But how does the commentator understand it ? First by his being in the form of God he understands, that

" the voluntary power of working miracles, which Christ was permitted to exercise, exhibited a striking resemblance of the divine omnipotence, and distinguished this illustrious prophet from all former prophets, and messengers of God ;" (Vol. III. p. 338.)

and secondly by his divesting himself of this form, he conceives to be meant

" not that he actually resigned his miraculous powers, but that he never exerted them, except upon special occasions ; and that in the common intercourses of life he acted as though he possessed them not." (Vol. III. Pp. 339, 340.)

If this be the sense of the passage, we certainly are of opinion, that it is not safe to read the bible without note or comment. But farther, how happens it, that the idea of equality with God, τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῶν, which is found in the original, has no place in the translation ? Mr. Belsham renders the phrase *this resemblance of God* : and he justifies this departure from literal exactness by the following explanation.

" Ἰσα θεῶν, ' to be as God, or in the likeness of God,' Whitby ; who observes, that ἴσα is frequently used adverbially in the LXX, Job x. 10.

hast thou not curdled me, ἴσα τυρῶ, like cheese? xi. 12. man is born, ἴσα ὄνῳ, like a wild ass's colt. See also xiii. 12. xv. 16; Isa. li. 23. If the apostle had intended to express complete equality, he would rather have used ἴσων τῷ Θεῷ. See John v. 18. But the thought of the humble Jesus arrogating to himself perfect equality with the Almighty God, whose servant and messenger he was, could never have entered into the apostle's mind. The true sense of the passage appears to be that which is expressed in the paraphrase." (Vol. III. p. 339.)

What it was, that entered into the apostle's mind, we do not pretend to any better method of determining, than by observing the obvious import of the language, in which he expressed himself; and according to that τὸ εἶναι ἴσα Θεῷ certainly means to be upon an equality with God: and, what is more remarkable, such is actually the signification of the phrase in all the passages cited by the commentator. The next expression, on which the author exercises his ingenuity, is that of assuming the form of a servant, on which he says:

"Μορφη δούλου does not imply that he was actually a slave, nor does μορφη Θεοῦ prove that he was truly God. He resembled God in his miraculous powers, he resembled a slave in his labours and sufferings." (Vol. III. p. 340.)

Now the word, δούλος, does not signify necessarily a slave, but any one, who is not a δεσπότης, a subject, a servant, or a slave. We hold therefore, that both phrases are to be construed literally. Christ had the form of God before his incarnation, and appeared, as such, to the angels. But he had the form of a subject after his incarnation, and appeared, as such, to men. We will only further notice Mr. Belsham's translation of the next phrase, *becoming like other men*, and being in condition, like another man. The introduction of the word, *other*, in these two places is an admission, that without it they are unfavorable to the socinian scheme. But he supports it by a parallel instance

"See Judges xvi. 7. 11. 13. 17.: *I shall become weak* and be ὡς εἰς των ἀνδρωπων, *like another man*. The expression *likeness of men*, no more proves that Christ possessed a nature different from that of men, than the similar expression, as applied to Sampson, proves that warrior to have been one of a superior class of beings." (Vol. III. p. 340.)

The phrase quoted from the septuagint, may be translated literally, *as one of the men*; and the same sense will be conveyed by it. But, unless the word, *other*, be interposed, the passage now under consideration will not express Mr. Belsham's idea. In another respect his translation is exact, *being in the form of God, and becoming like man*, that is, *being*

originally God, in a divine shape, and *becoming* man in a human. Now let us translate Mr. Belsham's sense of the passage into plain English, and it will stand thus.—‘Let the same mind be in you, which was also in Christ Jesus, who, being invested with miraculous powers, was not intent on exhibiting them, but abstained from using them, except on extraordinary occasions, and

“voluntarily submitted to the labours, the indignities, and to the punishment of a slave.” (Vol. III. p. 340.)

Undoubtedly, if the apostle had intended to express this sentiment, he could have done so. But, as it is, he has said something very different.

In the tenth verse, where St. Paul expresses the will of God, that ἐν τῷ ὄνοματι Ἰησοῦ πάντων γόνων κάμψη ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων, we have this note.

“I. e. says Newcome, and most of the expositors with him, ‘*of angels, of men now living, and of departed men.*’ I would rather understand this figurative expression of Jew and gentile, the living and the dead.” (Vol. III. p. 343.)

“Whether the apostle annexed any distinct idea to these phrases, (says Dr. Priestley,) or only meant to give one general idea of the great power to which God had raised Christ is not very certain. The phrase *heaven and earth* might have been a kind of proverbial expression, denoting the universe in general, but it has been conjectured that *the things in heaven, the things in earth, and the things under the earth*, in this place may refer to the threefold division of the heathen gods, some of whom were said to have power in heaven, others upon earth, and others under the earth, or among the ghosts of the dead; intimating, that all the heathen deities would fall before the doctrine of the gospel of Christ; or, that idolatry in all its forms would fall before it. This interpretation appears to me not improbable.” (Vol. III. p. 344.)

So, whether the apostle annexed any distinct idea to his words, is uncertain. But, that he could not mean any thing by them, which modern unitarians do not believe, and consequently, that, if he meant anything, he must have meant something, which they do believe, appears to them not improbable. In short, whatever his words may seem to express, he could not have meant more than this, that

“the righteous and benevolent Governor of the world, who, to answer the wise purposes of his administration, imposed this severe duty upon his holy servant Jesus Christ, has in return made him ample compensation for the great act of filial obedience and magnanimous benevolence. He first raised him from the grave; and has since advanced him to the highest honour and authority. He has made him superior to all former prophets and messengers of his will, without excepting the Jewish legislator himself.” (Vol. III. p. 344.)

One of the texts, which points to a difference in nature between Christ and us, is 1 Cor. xv. 45. Of this Dr. Priestley's exposition is adopted, which is, that

"Christ, who is here called the last Adam, being originally as much a man as the first Adam, became after his resurrection a being no more liable to corruption or death. This the apostle, not knowing how else to characterize it, calls, in opposition to the present animal body, a spirit endued with a principle of immortal life, and moreover, as the words literally imply, having a power of imparting it to others." (Vol. II. p. 263.)

Another is 2 Cor. viii. 9. thus explained by Mr. Belsham.

"The apostle's words express nothing more than this: That one who was rich denied himself the comforts and conveniences of life, and lived like a poor man; a case which often occurs from motives very different from those by which Jesus was influenced. He, though opulent in the possession of powers which might have commanded the treasures of the earth, nevertheless, for the sake of promoting truth and virtue, denied himself every comfort, and led a life of indigence and meanness." (Vol. II. p. 544.)

And yet what is the amount of this voluntary humiliation?

"Miraculous power does not appear to have been in any case subject to the will of men, our Saviour and his apostles always feeling a supernatural impulse upon their minds, whenever divine wisdom judged a miracle to be proper." (Vol. III. p. 358.)

A third text is Col. i. 16, 17. which our author translates with sufficient fidelity, reserving for his notes that secret train, which is to undermine so fair a structure.

"All things are created *in* him: i. e. all are remodelled under the Christian dispensation, or by the profession of Christianity. When the apostle enters into the detail of things said to be created, he mentions neither animate nor inanimate beings, neither angels nor men, but enumerates merely states of things, thrones, dominions, &c. which, whatever they mean, are not substances, but orders and ranks, or conditions of being: so that nothing can be more astonishing than the confidence with which the generality of Christian interpreters explain this text, as asserting that all natural substances, all worlds and all their inhabitants, and even celestial intelligences, angels, archangels, and the like, were created by Christ; than which nothing could be more remote from the apostle's meaning. The apostle seems to refer to the orders and ranks of persons holding offices in the Jewish church, which having been alluded to under the name of heaven, the officers employed in it, prophets, priests, Levites, &c. are fitly represented under names given to a supposed celestial hierarchy. The meaning is, that Jesus has introduced a new order of things into the visible church, and that all who are employed to dispense the gospel and to occupy offices in the Christian church, receive their commission from him, whether apostles, evangelists, &c. and that he, by his spirit, qualifies them for their work. All are created *for* him, that is, to be governed by him and to reward his

obedience and sufferings by the unspeakable delight which he derives from having been honored as the medium of accomplishing the gracious purposes of God to man." (Vol. III. pp. 423—425.)

Let now the reader substitute for St. Paul's words, Mr. Belsham's version, and he will have this sentiment. "By the profession of Christianity the whole order of the church is new-modelled in relation both to Jews and gentiles, all whose ecclesiastical officers receive their commission from Christ, and are united in him." If St. Paul meant this by the creation of thrones, dominions, principalities, and powers, visible, invisible, in heaven, and in earth, we suppose we must agree with Mr. Belsham, that he is not a very accurate writer.

The often exposed fallacy is repeated with approbation in a note from Dr. Priestley, by which the proof of Christ's being a real man, is magnified into a proof of his being a mere man, and the reader is led to believe, that those, who assert the deity of our blessed Saviour, deny his humanity.

"In the law of Moses, the first fruits was only the first ripe corn gathered before the rest; Christ, therefore, must be of the same nature with us, in order to be the first fruits from the dead, and that his resurrection may be a proper encouragement to us to expect the like. Had he been of a nature considerably different from ours, especially much superior to us, as he must have been if he had been the creator of the world and of man, his rising again would be no proper specimen of a resurrection in which we might hope to partake; for there might be very good reasons why so great a being as he could not be holden of death, which would not at all extend to us." (Vol. II. p. 326.)

Mr. Belsham also himself says on 1 Cor. xv. 21.

"If Christ was not a man, a mere man, a man in the very same sense as Adam, then the apostle's assertion is untrue." (Vol. II. p. 328.)

Here to be a man, to be a mere man, and to be a man in the very same sense as Adam, are represented as equivalent expressions, whereas Mr. Belsham must well know, that we maintain Jesus Christ to be a man, and a man in the very same sense as Adam, which is all that is necessary to the apostle's argument, while yet we deny him to be a mere man. Such confusion of ideas, which are required to be kept distinct in order to convey any fair idea of the point in dispute, is most discreditable. Yet the same false accusation is quoted from Dr. Priestley.

"The great corruption of Christianity in later ages, has been the abandoning the great doctrine of the divine unity." (Vol. II. p. 583.)

We are also in the habit of referring to texts, in which the same actions and attributes are ascribed at one time to Christ, and at another to God, and thence inferring, that Jesus Christ is truly and essentially God. Mr. Belsham of course encounters

some of these texts in the order of his exposition. Of the manner, in which he replies to our inference, we offer the following specimens.

“That God is the person referred to, is evident, as Peirce observes, because the person speaking is he, whose voice at Mount Sinai shook the earth, and who had promised by the Prophet Haggai, “yet once more, I shake not the earth, but also the heaven.” This could not be Christ, because the same person is called by the prophet the Lord of Hosts.” (Vol. IV. p. 705.)

“*To him be glory.*” The expression is grammatically ambiguous. Christ is the nearest antecedent; but doxologies to Christ are not usual. To the Hebrews they would be peculiarly offensive. Mr. Hallett justly observes, that God is the principal person mentioned, and to him probably the doxology belongs.” (Vol. IV. pp. 730, 731.)

On the description of our Lord's pre-existent glory in the beginning of the epistle to the Hebrews, the author admits, that his own interpretation of that description is new—

“It has been misunderstood by modern interpreters and indeed by the ancients.” (Vol. IV. p. 437.)

No inconsiderable concession this to the antiquity of our construction of the apostle's word.

In 1 Tim. v. 21. the apostle gives a solemn charge to the young bishop of Ephesus, whom he addresses, as in the presence of God, and the Lord Jesus, and the elect angels. So at least our translators have rendered his words: and in this order there is an evident congruity, all the witnesses being superior to mankind and perfectly holy. Moreover the author allows, that all the christian world were in favour of this acceptance of the words before his time. He however translates the last two words, chosen messengers, and makes these remarks on his own fortunate discovery—

“This interpretation, which appears to be so obvious, so intelligible and so appropriate, seems to have escaped all the commentators, who with one consent interpret the phrase as of spirits superior to mankind; of whose existence even, we have no certain information, much less can we know any thing of their orders and laws, of their offices and employments; who, if they exist at all, and it is indeed probable that millions of orders of intelligent beings, exist in the boundless universe, in all probability know as little of what is passing in this diminutive planet, as we know of them. At least we have no evidence that they know any thing about, or have any concern with this world and its inhabitants.” (Vol. IV. p. 248.)

Here there is a concession of some importance; for it is admitted, that all commentators on the New Testament, even the earliest, have conceived of Jesus Christ, as a great super-angelic being.

The word, *ἀγγέλως*, cannot in all places mean an earthly

messenger : and therefore even Mr. Belsham here and there allows it to bear the sense of angel. Yet his method is not to consider, which meaning the context seems to require, but to act upon it, as a settled principle, that it should never be translated angel, where it can possibly be rendered otherwise : Thus he translates Gal. iv. 14.

“ Ye received me, as a messenger of God, even as Christ Jesus.” (Vol. III. p. 86.)

And upon this his note is—

“ Ἀγγελος in its primary sense, signifies a messenger, and not a celestial spirit. And it is sufficiently obvious that this text gives no countenance to the popular doctrine that Jesus Christ is in his nature superior to the angels in heaven.” (Vol. III. p. 86.)

Now, whether Mr. Belsham has translated this passage rightly or otherwise, it is obvious that he has assigned no reason, why it should be translated messenger here, rather than angel : and his preference of the former version can only be referred to his rule of practice above cited.

“ Of the existence and ministry of angels we know nothing ; nor does it concern us to know any thing.” (Vol. III. p. 67.)

We might exhibit similar specimens of the author's skill in lowering the import of divine revelation in regard to the personality of the Holy Spirit, and other doctrines, offensive to his theology. But our readers have probably had enough. Without a citation of particular examples, they would hardly have credited the extent to which this system is carried. We will only further observe, that in his vocabulary *flesh* or *sin* signifies the law, *spirit* the gospel, *blood and flesh* heathen idolaters, *things in earth* gentiles, things in heaven Jews, *the darkness of this world* the inveterate prejudices of the Jews, *the world* itself the Jewish dispensation, *principalities and powers* the Jewish hierarchy, and *salvation* deliverance from Mosaical institutions.

This reminds us of Dr. Watts's schoolboy, who by the word *learn*, meant eat, and by *lesson* breakfast, for surely there is as wide a distance between the words and the meaning, attached to them in the one case, as in the other.

Our readers are probably by this time of opinion, that all the evangelical statements of Mr. Belsham quoted in the beginning of this article, have been sufficiently contradicted in the sequel. One illustration of a peculiar and somewhat novel kind has, in the course of this examination, been afforded to the value of the written word of God : for we find, that it has been impossible even for a man of this author's sentiments to go through the epistles of St. Paul *seriatim*, without occasionally dropping sentiments and making con-

essions as much in unison with the apostle's general reasonings, as in opposition to his own. It has extorted evangelical statements even from Mr. Belsham.

On the whole indeed it must be allowed, that he has gone to one of the most unlikely parts of the sacred volume for the deduction of unitarian divinity: not perhaps to the most unlikely; for St. John (we apprehend) would afford him still more formidable impediments. Nevertheless we have little doubt, that by the same fearless hardihood of interpretation he would contrive, if he set seriously about it, to unsinew St. John also: for, if he found one text make against him, he would only have to charge the apostle with error, and to impute the sentiment to the superstition of his times, or else to depreciate the force of a plain statement, till it shall peep forth from behind the mask of his notes, a different sentiment from any the apostle ever entertained. This process, together with a few staggering assertions, bolstered upon the hyperapostolic authority of the unitarian school, would soon reduce the strenuous asserter of our Lord's deity down to the level of those, whom he exerted his chief zeal to confute.

But we should do wrong to the subject, on which we have been writing, if we were to consider the work before us, as a solitary performance, designed to promote inquiry, and assist the cause of truth. It is part of a system, long since begun, and perseveringly continued, of which the commencement was the Improved Version, of which the Monthly Repository of Theology and General Literature, published at Hackney, is a periodical continuation, and of which the uniform character has been a resolute, unsparing exertion of every engine to force the sacred scriptures into an accordance with the unitarian heresy by expunging the stronger testimonies that oppose it, by explaining away the more manageable texts, and yet inconsistently maintaining the authority of all that remains.

In the Improved Version of the gospels whole chapters were disposed of at the will of the editors without any pretence of authority from manuscripts or versions, but according to a criterion of doctrine, set up by themselves, to which the inspired writers are required to accommodate all their statements. Hence, as it pleases the editors to deny the incarnation of the Lord that bought us, the chapters in Matthew and Luke, which record the miraculous conception, are most unceremoniously degraded from a place in the sacred volume, and reduced to the standard of apocryphal writings. But into this subject we need not enter, as the reader may find it discussed with consummate ability and with exemplary

patience and candour in a volume entitled, *A Vindication of the authenticity of the narratives, contained in the first two chapters of the gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke, by a Layman.*

The indignation, which was naturally felt at this unblushing attempt to take away from the words of the book of God, seems to have led to a humbler, and yet (we must also say, paradoxical as it may appear) a bolder attempt in the publication, which we are now reviewing. It is a humbler attempt, because it does not venture to question the genuineness of any of the texts, which it offers to translate, not even of those which are considered most decisive against the unitarian hypothesis. It is at the same time a bolder attempt, because it aims at making even the writings of St. Paul, to which Mr. Belsham gratuitously adds the epistle to the Hebrews, which he denies to be the production of that or of any apostle, speak the language of unitarianism. Its expedient is, as our readers have seen, not to expunge, but to explain away; while yet it so far agrees with the improved version, that after denying authority and inspiration to every thing which happens to be offensive to Mr. Belsham, and treating the apostle's arguments, as those of a simpleton or a schoolboy, it appeals to the authority of that very apostle in such passages as he thinks favorable to him, for the establishment of the doctrines which he espouses.

With such perversions of all candour in reasoning, and of all fair dealing with the reader, of which the specimens we have produced are but a very moderate sample, (for in references and quotations, which obviously could not be minutely examined in a review, they abound and superabound), we do not apprehend, that either the improved version of the gospel or the new epistles of St. Paul would produce much effect on the public mind, except in those places, where there is a predisposition to the doctrine. But sentiments which, when singly stated, would be innocent, become formidable from constant repetition; and even a mode of reasoning and a treatment of prophets and apostles, which would shock our christian feelings at first, may be fatally familiarized to the mind by being administered in monthly doses, and with the most empirical assumptions of authority.

We are therefore desirous to call attention, before we close, to the third work in this system of attack, namely, the *Monthly Repository*. This work has been going on for near nineteen years; and we can only give a slight specimen of its tendency by reference to some of its late numbers. The volume for this year is embellished with a portrait of Ram-mohun-roy,

in whom the unitarians may well glory, as an auxiliary and ally, since Mr. W. Adam, who was formerly a baptist, avows himself to have been converted by that learned Hindoo to their creed, p. 167. We will now quote one or two short samples of the contents of this volume.

Our first extract shall be from the reasonings of an apostolic christian, so named, on Matt. xxviii. 19. He questions the genuineness of that text on this ground, that the apostles baptized simply in the name of the Lord Jesus, and that hence it is incredible, that they should have been directed by their master to baptize in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; in addition to which argument, of the value of which our readers may judge, the following swaying considerations are introduced, tending to illustrate the principles, on which, according to unitarian exposition, particular texts ought or ought not to be erased from the sacred code. We quote the writer's own words. "If I believed in the authenticity of the text, I should blush to find myself in spite of it an unitarian." P. 25. The writer nevertheless is an unitarian. What then is to be done? He shall help himself out of the dilemma. "Both averments cannot be true, that the Lord ordained baptism in the name of the Father, &c., and that the apostles practised it in the name of the Son only. Infidels we must be as to the one assertion or the other: and, if the scandal of the more unpopular infidelity be the more to be deprecated, let us console ourselves in the exclamation, which we may triumphantly repeat, 'Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye!'" p. 26. This we must presume to be good unitarian logic, from the frequency, in which it occurs among writers of that stamp. "Two texts appear to me to be at variance with each other. I cannot hold them both. Therefore I am at liberty to choose, which of them I will reject, and will cast it out of the bible accordingly."

In the same number is a letter from Dr. Evans, expressing a wish, that the Rev. Edward Irving, "would review the heart-withering doctrine of eternal torments," and that not because of any thing unscriptural in the tenet, but only, as far as appears, from the objection to the doctrine implied, in the epithet, with which it is coupled. The same subject is resumed by other contributors, particularly by one, who grounds his disbelief of the doctrine entirely on the horrible nature of the punishment denounced, and its inconsistency with his own idea of the divine goodness. This writer ventures to use the following comparison—"I ask you or any man, whether you would feel much at your ease, if you were

invited to the court of a despot, who had immured in dungeons the greater part of his subjects, and there subjected them to incessant tortures. You would not, (I am quite sure) accept the highest office, which such a wretch could confer. But what is his cruelty in comparison with that of the calvinist's God?" p. 280.

An article on the Athanasian creed is followed up with this sentence, which is a sort of summary of its contents. 'The Athanasian creed supplies no feeble argument for the devil's personality, inasmuch as all must now be convinced, that such a composition could only proceed from such a being.' p. 157.

The volume contains more than one labored defence of that disingenuousness in argument and in conduct, which every party of men should be forward to disown. It is well known, that by the divinity of Christ trinitarians mean his deity, which unitarians deny. Yet one correspondent says, "Let unitarians no longer unanimously sit silent under the unmerited obloquy of denying the divinity of the Son of God. They do not singly deny—on the contrary they exclusively affirm it in the only sense, in which it was ever challenged by Christ, or imputed by his apostles. They only honor the Son, solely as the missionary of the Father." (P. 275.)

Another correspondent gravely maintains, after much discussion, that it is not improper for an unitarian, holding sentiments such as we have been reviewing through the whole of this article, occasionally or even frequently to be a partaker in the devotions of the national church. (P. 263.)

This volume also contains a long correspondence on the removal of an unitarian baronet from the presidency of a district society for promoting Christian knowledge, with all the publications, connected with that controversy, and remarks upon it, which are detailed with evident satisfaction, as marking a difference of sentiment among professed adherents to the established church.

The reader will not have failed to observe in the passages we have now extracted from the Repository, the same general strain of sentiment and a continuation of the same system, which characterizes the improved gospels and epistles. We do not mean to deny, that many sincere and honest inquirers after truth are to be found among the contributors to the Monthly Repository. But we produce the extracts, as a specimen of what those inquirers must continually meet with; and we leave our readers to judge of its probable effect, in lowering the tone of their piety and deteriorating their respect for the scriptures.

It is of consequence, that the Christian public should be

aware, how many doctrines are denied by unitarians, which we believe to be revealed in scripture, and regard, as integral portions of the Christian system. They deny that everlasting punishment, which is in plain terms denounced by our Saviour himself, against all ungodliness and unbelief. They deny the preexistence, deity, and incarnation of our blessed Lord, and the atonement which he made for sin. They deny the existence of the Holy Spirit, as a distinct person from the Father and the Son, of good and evil angels, and of any intermediate state between death and judgment: and there is the less cause to wonder at their denying these, when we find them denying also the inspiration of the sacred volume, which reveals them.

Accordingly between those, who deny these doctrines, and those, who maintain them, there is a marked distinction in the degree of reverence, which they respectively entertain for the text of scripture. We have seen, how slightly Mr. Belsham thinks of the sacred writers, and what indecent liberties he and others of his party have taken with their remains. It would be difficult to point out, in the whole compass of the religious writings of those who differ from him, a degree of irreverence towards the holy volume, from which we all profess to derive our belief, at all comparable to this: and surely, if the question be, whether their creed or ours be more accordant to the spirit and tenour of the Bible, the public will regard the disposition to break loose from the authority of the divine record, whenever it appears to make against them, as betraying a consciousness of error.

Unitarians are much shocked at the statement, which pronounces their creed the half-way house to deism. Yet, if we had ourselves got so far as they have gone in the downward course from orthodoxy, we do not see, what there is to hinder us from going farther. The absurdity of building Christianity, as Mr. Belsham appears to do, upon the statements of an illogical, incorrect, fanciful writer, is so gross, that it must naturally prepare the way for those who would gladly demolish a building, which they find erected on so sandy a foundation. Indeed the successive attempts of Unitarians to construct a system, on which they might themselves agree, and which should prove impenetrable to the shafts of their opponents, have exposed the hopelessness of their cause. If we may judge from the publication now before us, they have been driven from their old artifice of garbling the Bible and denying the genuineness of such parts as do not suit their system. They now allow genuineness, where they deny authority, and thus degrade the sacred writers below the level

of many modern divines, by representing their accredited productions, as infected with the vices of their times, and breathing the narrow-mindedness of a party.

We submit this consideration to those, whom it concerns, and would most affectionately intreat them to consider, whether the system they uphold be not supported rather on their own notions of what is fit and reasonable than on the plain declarations of Scripture, and whether, if they received the Bible, as throughout the inspired word of God, which cannot err or deceive, they would not be compelled to adopt many statements, which they now reject and oppose.

But they do not so receive it; and we cannot take our leave of them for the present without earnestly imploring them to reflect on the hazard, to which they expose themselves, when they shall come hereafter to be judged by a book, which solemnly enjoins it upon us, as a sacred duty, that we do not add thereto, nor diminish from it.

On the other hand, the existence of a numerous body, who watch for our falling, who observe our differences, and are ready to give publicity to our disputes, ought to dispose those, who, against the unitarians, hold the entire authority of revelation, and, against the papists, the sufficiency of the written word, to stricter union among themselves, that, discarding minor differences, which may either be amicably adjusted or suffered to continue without a violation of charity, and the continuance of which may reasonably humble us under a sense of our infirmity, we may endeavor to strengthen each other in our common faith, and have always an answer to give to those, who falsely accuse our good conversation in Christ.

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